VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

THETIC CONSTRUCTIONS
IN KOINE GREEK

with special attention to clauses with εἰμί 'be',
γίνομαι 'occur', ἔρχομαι 'come',
ἰδού/ἴδε 'behold',
and complement clauses of ὁράω 'see'

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

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geboren te Redwood City, Verenigde Staten van Amerika

In memory of my parents

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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Reference and citation conventions

For citing other works, this study generally follows the conventions of the journal *Language* (Linguistic Society of America) as of 2008. Most works are cited by author, publication year, and, if relevant, page number(s). But Greek grammars, Greek lexicons, translations, and analytical keys to the New Testament are typically cited by abbreviation, without date and page number. Grammars are referred to by section (e.g. §101), lexicons by entry (e.g. §ἰδού), translations and analytical keys (and sometimes Bible commentaries) by book-chapter-verse (e.g. Jhn 1:1).

References are collected at the back of the book in four sections: (i) 'General references', (ii) 'Modern texts cited as linguistic data', (iii) 'Ancient texts', and (iv) 'Translations'.

Typographical and orthographical conventions

In this study, **bold type** highlights important terms that are being introduced for the first time or that are being reintroduced in a section.

For language data from languages other than Greek, *italics* are used within my prose (but numbered examples are not in italics). *Italics* are also occasionally used to bring attention to a technical term as well as to indicate emotive emphasis in my prose.

Words in CAPITAL letters indicate primary sentence stress.

Quote marks '…' are used in most of the conventional ways: e.g. to mark a quoted element, such as a technical term or a whole sentence. Quote marks are also used to set off English glosses within my prose (but not in the numbered examples). Additionally, they are used to mark propositions and parts of propositions that underlie utterances. In this way, propositions and their parts are graphically distinguished from the actual words used to express them. For example, in the prose could be cited a sentence like *He entered it*, where the underlying proposition was 'Paul entered the synagogue'. The clause in italics represents the actual words spoken or written. As a part of the sentence, I could refer to the subject phrase *he,* which refers to the entity 'Paul'.

In the text and in the grammatical glosses, 'Ø' means null. It may stand for (i) a non-lexical (i.e. phonologically null) instantiation of an element, (ii) grammatical ellipsis, or (iii) a translation rendering (i.e. a word or phrase in the source language X is left untranslated in the goal language Y).

Conventions for representing ordered and non-ordered clause constructions

S+BE	The elements S and BE occur *in any order* in the construction and other elements may intervene.
S–BE	The elements S and BE occur *in this order* in a construction.
SV	The elements S and V occur in this order.
S...V	S and V occur in this order and other elements may intervene.
$S_1...V...S_2$	S_1 and S_2 form a single split subject constituent, part before and part after V.

Conventions for quoting vernacular translations (English, French, etc.)

[…]	Brackets in the vernacular translations indicate my editorial comments or additions.
<u>English</u>	<u>Underlining</u> in the vernacular indicates the construction being illustrated in the Greek.
italics	Italics are in the original.
¶	indicates a paragraph break in a text
v, vv	verse, verses
‖	indicates a parallel passage, e.g. where the same saying or episode occurs in another Gospel.

Conventions and abbreviations for Greek examples and English glosses

For the Greek examples:

(…)	Parentheses in the Greek examples set off words that are textually disputed (e.g. some manuscripts do not have them). (They represent brackets […] in the UBS Greek text.)
[…]	The bracket symbols in the Greek with subscript tags ($_{FD}$, $_{TOP}$, etc.) are my additions. They indicate information structure. E.g. [Ἰωάννην]$_{FD}$ indicates a focus domain.
|	is sometimes used to indicate where a clause (or information unit) break occurs in the Greek.
κτλ	καὶ τὰ λοιπά = Greek equivalent of *et cetera.*
–	is used to gloss discourse particles (e.g. δέ) and articles (e.g. ὁ 'the') that can be ignored.
*	is sometimes used in place of a gloss for a difficult word that is under discussion.
<u>αβγ</u>/**αβγ**	<u>Underlining</u> and **bold** indicate Greek words under discussion.

For the English and other languages:

[…]	Brackets indicate a syntactic domain, including information structure domains.
[…]$_{FD}$	Focus domain.
[…]$_{TOP}$	Topic expression.
[…]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$	Topical open proposition.
$X_{TOP'L}$	Any topical element.
Ø	'Zero': (i) a non-lexical (i.e. phonologically null) instantiation, (ii) grammatical ellipsis, or (iii) an untranslated element.
-	in Hebrew glosses divides words that are orthographically attached.

Grammatical information in the glossing of the Greek (and other languages) is only provided where it is deemed crucial for the argument at hand. The glossing typically follows *The New Greek-English Interlinear New Testament* (1990, electronic version 2003, from BART). Number and person on verbs is always indicated (e.g. 'I', '3S'=third person singular; see below), but other verb morphology is usually only implied in the glosses (e.g. an English simple past usually represents a Greek aorist, an English imperfect with '-ing' represents a Greek imperfect, etc.).

Greek morphological glossing (when used):

Nominals, Adjectives, Participles

Slot 1: *Case:* N=nominative, G=genitive, A=accusative, D=dative

Slot 2: *Number:* s=singular, p=plural

Slot 3: *Gender:* m=masculine, f=feminine, n=neuter

Examples with *nouns:* ὄχλου 'crowd.G.s.m'; τινος 'of.a.certain.G.s'; υἱοί 'sons.N' (which is obviously masculine)

with a *participle:* ὄντος 'being.G.s.m'

with *adjective* (=Adj): ὑγιεῖς 'healthy.Adj.A.p.m'

Verbs including Infinitives and (again) Participles

Tense/Aspect/Mood is indicated only if relevant.

Aor=aorist, Impf=imperfect, Pres=present, Prf=perfect, PluPrf=Pluperfect, Inf=infinitive, Prt=participle

act=active, ps=passive, '!'=imperative

3S=third person singular; 3P=third person plural;

'you'= singular or plural;

'I'=first person singular, 'we'=first person plural

Examples with *verbs:* ἤκουεν '3S.was.listening.Impf' (=imperfect)

with *participles:* καθήμενον 'sitting.Pres.A' (present accusative; I ignore here that it is singular and masculine); παρακαθεσθεῖσα 'having.sat.beside.Aor.N.s.f' (=aorist, nominative, singular, feminine)

with (tense)-aspect: καταλελειμμένος 'left.behind.Prf.ps' (=perfect, passive)

Abbreviations listed alphabetically

A	=	accusative	NT	=	New Testament
act	=	active	NTG	=	New Testament Greek
Aor	=	aorist	ObjCmp	=	object complement (often a clause)
C1 … C5	=	ἰδού/ἴδε constructions			
C2c-NP	=	C2c construction with a NP	OT	=	Old Testament
CF	=	constituent-focus	p	=	plural
D	=	dative	PluPrf	=	pluperfect
f	=	feminine	ps	=	passive
FD	=	focus domain	Pres	=	present
G	=	genitive	Prf	=	perfect
κτλ	=	καὶ τὰ λοιπά, Greek equivalent of *et cetera*	Prt	=	participle
			s	=	singular
Impf	=	imperfect	S	=	subject
Inf	=	infinitive	SP	=	subsequent predication (typically follows a thetic)
L.	=	Lambrecht			
LXX	=	Septuagint Greek translation of OT	TOP	=	topic (expression)
			TOP'L OP	=	topical open proposition
m	=	masculine	V	=	verb
n	=	neuter	1oe	=	first order entity
N	=	nominative	2oe	=	second order entity
NP	=	nounphrase	3oe	=	third order entity

Bible book abbreviations

For ease of searching, a three-letter abbreviation from the following lists is used for every citation from a Bible book. For multiple citations from the same book, the book abbreviation is repeated (e.g. Mat 1:1; Mat 2:2).

New Testament Books		
Mat	=	Matthew
Mrk	=	Mark
Luk	=	Luke
Jhn	=	John
Act	=	Acts of the Apostles
Rom	=	Romans
1Co	=	1 Corinthians
2Co	=	2 Corinthians
Gal	=	Galatians
Eph	=	Ephesians
Php	=	Philippians
Col	=	Colossians
1Th	=	1 Thessalonians
2Th	=	2 Thessalonians
1Ti	=	1 Timothy
2Ti	=	2 Timothy
Tit	=	Titus
Phm	=	Philemon
Heb	=	Hebrews
Jas	=	James
1Pe	=	1 Peter
2Pe	=	2 Peter
1Jn	=	1 John
2Jn	=	2 John
3Jn	=	3 John
Jud	=	Jude
Rev	=	Revelation

Old Testament Books		
Gen	=	Genesis
Exo	=	Exodus
Lev	=	Leviticus
Num	=	Numbers
Deu	=	Deuteronomy
Jos	=	Joshua
Jdg	=	Judges
Rut	=	Ruth
1Sa	=	1 Samuel
2Sa	=	2 Samuel
1Ki	=	1 Kings
2Ki	=	2 Kings
2Ch	=	2 Chronicles
Neh	=	Nehemiah
Est	=	Esther
Job	=	Job
Psa	=	Psalms
Isa	=	Isaiah
Jer	=	Jeremiah
Ezk	=	Ezekiel
Jon	=	Jonah
Zec	=	Zechariah
Mal	=	Malachi

1. CHAPTER ONE: GOALS AND SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

This study investigates how theticity interacts with a selection of linguistic issues in Koine Greek, especially in the New Testament (=NT). Following the work of Knud Lambrecht in particular, I use the term 'thetic' for a sentence that serves primarily to introduce an entity or state of affairs into the discourse (what is also called 'presentational' function) and I assume that theticity is prototypically expressed cross-linguistically by 'sentence-focus' constructions (i.e. where the subject is in some way marked as non-topical).[1]

One well-known issue for grammarians of Classical and Koine Greek is the relatively free order of words and clause constituents (subject, object, verb, etc.). Several recent studies have attempted to explain the different constituent orders in terms of 'topic', 'focus', 'discourse (dis)continuity', and other discourse-pragmatic categories. One even finds occasional comments on the constituent order of 'existential' clauses employing εἰμί 'be, *there+be*', many of which are thetic. But to my knowledge, no systematic study has yet been made for either Classical or Koine Greek that considers the relationship of theticity to constituent order or that considers theticity in general terms. So, one goal of the present study has been to discover how theticity interacts with constituent order, and to relate those findings to other Greek constituent order studies. It will be argued that theticity in Koine Greek is compatible with both *Subject...Verb* and *Verb...Subject* orders, and that factors other than theticity and focality are responsible for most (if not all) kinds of constituent order variation in thetics. Thus, there is not a single position for focal thetic subjects in relation to the verb. Still, for some syntactic contexts and discourse contexts, certain orders are pragmatically unmarked and systematically motivated.[2]

Besides constituent order, this study investigates several other issues in terms of theticity:

- the meaning and use of εἰμί 'be, *there+be*' and γίνομαι 'occur, happen'
- *possessive* constructions with εἰμί and either a dative or genitive possessor
- the *periphrastic εἰμί+participle* construction
- the indefinite pronoun τις 'a certain'
- perception reports, especially as objects of ὁράω 'see' and ἀκούω 'hear' (including constituent order issues)
- sentences with ἰδού/ἴδε 'behold' (including constituent order issues)

Translation issues involving thetic sentences are frequently touched on. Since theticity is not consistently encoded in languages to the same degree and in the same ways, certain types of cross-linguistic mismatches occur. Moreover, some languages, including written Greek and written English, make use of information structure 'abbreviations' (informationally 'heavy' sentences) that are unacceptable in other languages.

Finally, this study touches on the phenomenon of 'grammatical constructions' as defined in Construction Grammar. Most of the constructions studied here are thetic. This suggests why they share many features, including, for example, why their subjects tend to occur in

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[1] This definition of 'thetic' is narrower than its original use; see §2.3.1.

[2] Sections dedicated to constituent order include most of Chapter 3, which treats previous studies, §4.10, which treats non-deictic thetics, sections §5.2.2, §5.3.2, and §5.5, which treat order in complements of perception reports, and §6.2.1 and §6.7.3, which treat ἰδού/ἴδε sentences.

certain positions in the clause. But there are also many differences among the varieties of thetics studied here. Parts of this study are devoted to contrasting similar constructions where one is a prototypical thetic and the other is not. In particular, I compare copular and non-copular uses of εἰμί 'be', noting that it is only a subset of the non-copular uses of εἰμί that are thetic. And I compare different uses of ἰδού 'behold', noting ways that non-thetic or semi-thetic uses resemble and diverge from what I will argue is ἰδού's basic use, as a here-and-now deictic thetic. Also explored are constituent order correlations between (i) thetic ἰδού sentences with a finite verb and (ii) participial object complements of perception verbs where the object has a thetic-like function.

The study is organized as follows. Chapter 2 offers first a general introduction to information structure and then it focuses on theticity and a range of thetic constructions. Many examples are provided, especially from English, which will prepare the reader for the discussion of Koine Greek. Chapter 3 places Koine Greek in its historical context and then reviews a selection of previous studies on the information structure of Classical and Koine Greek. Also mentioned in this chapter are the Greek texts studied for this research, as well as a significant handicap in studying the information structure of a dead language, and how I attempt to overcome that handicap. Chapter 4 treats a selection of Koine Greek thetic and thetic-like constructions, all of the non-deictic type. Chapter 5 then deals with perception reports, and Chapter 6 with ἰδού and ἴδε constructions, of which only some are thetic. Chapter 7 offers a synopsis of the findings and some final thoughts on cross-linguistic mismatches and areas for further research.

This work has been written with a variety of readers in mind: linguists, Greek specialists, and translators. The danger in having a diverse audience is that it is hard to be comprehensive enough in all areas to interest everyone. Some linguists may have wished for me to give less background and instead to have explored issues of syntax more deeply. Greek specialists may at times be put off by the linguistics, not to mention the elementary explanations of Greek grammar. Translators may have to sift through a lot before finding what interests them (but the passage index should be helpful to them).

My glossing of Greek texts is another compromise. Although it may displease some linguists, the glossing usually ignores most grammatical information except where it was deemed crucial for the argument at hand (see page ix for conventions and abbreviations). Given the large number of passages I discuss, I feared that too many grammatical glosses would make for tedious reading. Hopefully most readers will find the compromise justified.

2. CHAPTER TWO: AN OVERVIEW: INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND THETIC CONSTRUCTIONS

> '…this amounts to saying that a single intonation unit can convey no more than one previously inactive, or new concept.' (W. Chafe, 1987:31)
>
> 'You can't hold two watermelons with one hand.' (Kurdish proverb)

This chapter lays the foundation for the discussion of Koine Greek thetics.

§2.1 offers a brief, non-technical illustration of some thetic sentences and contrasts these with non-thetic constructions.

§2.2 is more technical. It gives an overview of many general aspects of information structure and defines many basic terms (topic, focus, various types of presupposition, assertion, polar focus, etc.). Marginally related factors, like contrastiveness and emotive emphasis, are also discussed.

§2.3 considers in more detail the nature and function of a variety of thetic constructions.

§2.4 then looks at a few special cases of thetics and thetic-like constructions. First, deictic thetics are treated in more detail, where they are contrasted with the non-deictic type. Then, thetics embedded in perception reports are treated.

Interspersed throughout this chapter are illustrations of how languages differ in the way and degree to which theticity and other information structure functions are expressed. Although a main goal here is to emphasize that languages tend to express theticity and other information structure categories in certain ways, one cannot overemphasize the fact that individual languages differ in many details.

2.1 A preview: a few introductory examples

To give the reader a preview of the kinds of constructions that feature in this study and the type of analysis that is proposed, I offer here a few initial examples in English. A more technical discussion of these sentences will come later.

Consider the following pair of sentences, (1) and (2). They express the same semantic proposition ('the speaker's car broke down') but differ in which word takes the primary sentence stress (indicated by capital letters).[3]

(1)   My car broke DOWN.

(2)   My CAR broke down.

In what sense do these two sentences 'say' or 'mean' different things? A common answer, one which I will take for granted, is that these sentences have different **information structures** and that the appropriate use of each depends on *discourse context*. Depending on context, these sentences serve to *inform* a hearer of different things. The linguistic act of '**informing**' is, according to Lambrecht (1994:46-49), a relational act that normally involves two elements. One element is the common ground between the speaker and hearer. This is

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[3] These examples are from Lambrecht (1994:14, 19, etc.).

what the speaker expects the hearer will take for granted for a given sentence. Against this common ground, something is added where the union of the two creates information, something that the hearer, having processed the utterance, will then be expected to take for granted. Crucially, it is the form of the sentence that clues the hearer about what is to be taken as the common ground and what is the new informative idea.

Thus, sentence (1), where *DOWN* as part of the predicate bares the primary sentence stress, would be appropriate when 'the speaker's car', expressed by the subject, is assumed to be a topic of discussion, that is, part of the common ground. For example, it could have been established as the common ground if the hearer had just asked 'So what happened to your car?'[4] In such a context, the one answering could use this sentence to increase the other's knowledge about the said car, that is, by informing him (or her) that it has broken down.

Sentence (2), where the word *CAR* alone is stressed, would be appropriate in very different contexts. One possible context would be where the hearer was assumed to be already entertaining the idea that some other object of the speaker had broken down, such as his motorcycle. In this context, the common ground is that 'something of the speaker's had broken down'. Against this common ground, (2) would be used to correct the hearer's understanding, informing him that what had broken down was the speaker's car and, by implication, not his motorcycle.

But there is another type of context where (2) could be used. Consider a scene where the speaker arrived a couple of hours late to work and had to explain his tardiness to a grumpy boss. In such a context, this sentence could be uttered *without* there being any common ground involving either the speaker's car or the fact that something of the speaker's broke down. This is not to say that there is no common ground of any sort. Not only is the boss expecting an explanation, but he may also know the speaker has a car.[5] But for (2) to be appropriate in the given context, the boss would not normally be assumed to be thinking about the employee's car. That is to say, the car would not yet be a topic of discussion. So the proposition as a unit, what is referred to by the subject and verb, is unpredictable, and as a whole it informs the hearer of a single state of affairs that is relevant to the interchange. Such utterances are considered a type of **thetic** sentence.

Another important type of thetic sentence that will feature in this study is one that introduces an entity, like a person or thing, into the discourse, and uses a construction comparable in function to English *there+be*. Consider (3) and (4).

(3)   There once was a MAN who was a poor SHOEMAKER.

(4)   There's a BOY sitting on your DOORSTEP.

Such clauses are often called 'presentational' or 'presentative' because they present a new entity to the hearer. As in the previous example of a thetic (*My CAR broke down*), so in these thetics the subjects ('a man' and 'a boy') are accented. But unlike 'my car' in (2), 'a man' and 'a boy' refer to entities that are unknown to the hearer (i.e. indefinite or 'unidentifiable'). Notice that no common ground is explicitly evoked in these *there+be* clauses. But as soon as the entity is introduced, it immediately becomes the common ground about which something newsworthy is said—a comment is made about it (that the man 'was a poor shoemaker' and that the boy was 'sitting on your door step'). Such examples illustrate how a complex

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[4] We will consider later the fact that, in the given context, *it* would typically be more natural than *my car.*

[5] See the discussion of (7) in §2.2.3 on how a phrase like *my car* involves certain trivial types of common ground (i.e. types of presupposition).

sentence (with two clauses) can accomplish two tasks, that of introducing an entity (a thetic function) and making a comment about it (a 'topic-comment' function).

Some linguists have described the weakly accented word *there* in (3) and (4) as being 'semantically bleached' or meaningless except for its syntactic function. In this study, it will be assumed instead that *there+be+subject* is meaningful as a linguistic unit. As such, it is a learned **construction**, one that, when used in such contexts, functions to introduce something into the mental world of the discourse. Moreover, this construction is less typical in contexts where the hearer is expected to be able to physically *see* what is being introduced.[6] Languages (including English and we will see Koine Greek) often have special constructions to introduce something into the discourse that the speaker simultaneously wishes the hearer to physically look at. One such construction is illustrated by (5).

(5) THERE's a BOY sitting on your DOORSTEP.

Now note that, even though English orthography spells the word *there* the same way in (5) as in (4), the two *'theres'* are different. Unlike in (4), the word *there* in (5) is fully pronounced and may even seem to be more strongly stressed than *a boy*. Moreover, *there* does not refer to a mental world but rather it is a true deictic adverb that refers to something in the real world, something the speaker will typically be pointing to or looking at and which the hearer would be expected to then look at.[7] Example (5) too, by our definitions, is a thetic sentence, and in this study we will consider Koine Greek sentences that have similar function.

Having presented the reader with this brief preview, we will now turn to a more technical introduction of information structure and theticity.

2.2 An overview of information structure

There is a great sea of terminology and perspectives that one encounters in the literature about information structure, much of which, unfortunately, clashes with each other. The field is notoriously difficult. The result has been that terms like 'topic', 'focus', 'emphasis', 'presupposition', 'given', 'new' (besides others) have acquired infamous reputations among linguists. No doubt, some linguists have hoped that information structure (and its terminology) would simply fall off the face of the earth. But over and over the concepts of the field have proved indispensible for the study of grammar and discourse. They just won't go away.

It is therefore vital to carefully define our terms from the outset. Some terms will be thrown overboard and others overhauled to make them compatible with the theoretical rigging proposed here. In most cases, I will follow the theory and terminology set out by Knud Lambrecht, especially in his 1994 book.[8] We will also take other linguists on board with us, especially Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1987, 1995a, 1995b, 1996), besides others who will be recruited at times on our journey.

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[6] Bolinger 1977:95; Breivik 1981; Hannay 1985:25.

[7] Compare also Lakoff's (1987:470) pair of sentences: *THERE'S an ape flirting with Harriet* vs. *There's an APE flirting with Harriet.*

[8] A reader might ask, 'Why so much emphasis on Lambrecht's work?' Although there are a few places where I diverge from Lambrecht, his theory and work (embedded in Construction Grammar) seemed to me an obvious starting point. Not only has his work gained fairly wide recognition over the years, he has succeeded in making a very complex field comprehensible and relatively easy to wed with the kind of grammatical description one finds in traditional grammars of classical languages and relatively theory-neutral descriptive grammars. It would have been, in contrast, much more difficult to incorporate the jargon and perspectives of formalistic theories (e.g. Formal Pragmatics, Alternative Semantics, etc.). In the end, I am aware that I have not done justice to either the elegance of Lambrecht's work nor to the many contributions I have gleaned from others.

Readers who are familiar Lambrecht's work or who are not interested in this general overview may wish to jump to section §2.3, which concentrates on thetic constructions.

2.2.1 What is information structure and what is information?

Information structure, as understood in this study, concerns the way sentences are 'packaged' (Chafe 1976:28) or 'tailored' (Prince 1981a:224) to fit the assumed mental states of ideas in the mind of the hearer (Lambrecht 1994:2-3). Information structure does not so much concern the actual content of utterances, that is, their semantic or propositional meaning, as the way this content is 'transmitted' in a specific communicative context (Chafe 1976:27). Such packaging enables a hearer to process an utterance with relatively minimal effort. Ideally, this means that the hearer can, with relative ease, access the intended set of background assumptions (i.e. the 'common ground') as well as the new informative proposition which the speaker intends to communicate in relation to the background (compare Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:199).[9]

To return to our first two example sentences, (1) and (2), we saw that the predicate-accented form *My car broke DOWN* and the subject-accented form *My CAR broke down* represent different 'packagings' of the same proposition ('the speaker's car broke down'). Each serves different needs of the hearer, these needs being related to the contexts the utterances were used in and what was the common ground.

Information structure belongs to the greater field of pragmatics, which in turn concerns the interpretation and use of sentences in discourse. But information structure is distinct from some types of pragmatic studies in that it necessarily involves linguistic **structure** (L. 1994:3-4 [L.=Lambrecht]). Information structure concerns the formal cues (prosodic patterns, constituent orders, morphosyntax, choices between noun versus pronoun, etc.) that reflect the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's mental states. Strictly speaking, what has no formal linguistic reflex falls outside the sphere of information structure as defined here.[10]

The linguistic domain of information structure is the sentence or clause, according to Lambrecht. 'It is not concerned with the organization of discourse, but with the organization of the sentence [or clause, nab] within a discourse' (p. 7). Moreover, information structure is a **component of sentence grammar** (pp. 3, 7). It is grammar in the sense that it concerns not (just) strong correlations between forms of sentences and their typical functions in discourse (as might be emphasized in typological and radical functional linguistics), but it concerns the **systematic** correspondences between form and function that a child learns as part of the 'rules' of a grammar. (But see §2.2.3 on the limitations form-function correspondences, e.g. how a particular focus structure may be 'underspecified' and thus compatible with more than one function.)

2.2.1.1 Lambrecht's definition of information structure

Against the above background, let's now consider a concise definition that Lambrecht gives for information structure (p. 5). Some of his terms will require explanation.

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[9] This last sentence is a loose paraphrase of Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:199), whose introductory comments on information structure suggest that the 'principle of relevance' (Sperber & Wilson 1986) plays a significant role. Van Valin (1993:24-25, 1999:155) has argued that Lambrecht's theory of information structure is grounded on the Gricean maxim of quantity (á la Kempson 1975). Ironically, Sperber & Wilson (1986) were reluctant to recognize that information structure notions like topic, focus, theme, rheme, etc. can be relevant to either grammar or pragmatics.

[10] See also T. Payne (1997:342-3) on the difference between '*linguistic analysis* of discourse' and the 'interpretation' of discourse. Compare also Levinson (1983:9-10, etc.).

INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

The notions of 'conceptual representations' and 'mental states' in the above definition assume that information structure concerns 'mental representations' of entities (concrete things and persons) and states of affairs (states, events, processes) in real or imagined worlds (p. 37). For example, depending on the context, a speaker could refer to his car by either the phrase *my car* or *it* (among other ways). *My car* and *it* reflect different **representations** of the same entity in the speaker and hearer's minds. Similarly, the different forms of our examples (1) *My car broke DOWN* and (2) *My CAR broke down* reflect different representations of the same state of affairs.

Note that, to be precise, it is not the statuses of the words in a sentence that are the domain of information structure but the statuses of the abstract mental *representations* of the entities and states of affairs *that the words refer to* (L. 1994 pp. 37-8; compare Chafe 1976:28-9). Since this more precise way of talking about things is cumbersome, I will often describe the words themselves, like *my car* or *it,* as having one or another information structure function (e.g. the 'topic' or 'focus' of a sentence), or I will say they 'express' the topic or focus. But it should be kept in mind that what is really meant are the mental representations of the entities or states of affairs that the words refer to.

Note also that, according to the above definition of information structure, the 'conceptual representation' is **propositional**. Lambrecht describes the information structure of a sentence as 'the formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in a discourse' (p. 5), that is, it is 'a pragmatically structured proposition' that 'reflects not only a state of affairs but also the speaker's assumptions about the state of mind of the hearer at the time of utterance, by indicating what is assumed to be already given and what is assumed to be new' (p. 52). These admittedly dense points should become clearer shortly when we consider his definitions of presupposition, assertion, topic, and focus. But first I must introduce a few more ideas that relate to reference.

2.2.1.2 The text-external and text-internal worlds—more aspects of reference

Lambrecht (1994:36-7) divides the 'universe of discourse' into two parts. (This binary distinction features prominently in my study; see below on deictic and non-deictic thetics.)

(a) the TEXT-EXTERNAL WORLD, which comprises (i) SPEECH PARTICIPANTS, i.e. a speaker and one or several addressees, and (ii) a SPEECH SETTING, i.e. the place, time and circumstances in which a speech event takes place;

(b) the TEXT-INTERNAL WORLD, which comprises LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS (words, phrases, sentences) and their MEANINGS.

Before commenting on these two worlds, I must explain 'linguistic expressions […] and their meanings' in (b). For Lambrecht, the meanings of linguistic expressions are multifaceted. First, there are the inherent meanings of lexical items and the relational meaning between arguments and predicates (I assume this covers what would be the semantic meaning of a proposition without its information structure). Second, there are the referents themselves, the entities and state of affairs the linguistic expressions refer to.[11] And then there

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[11] Some writers (including Lambrecht) use the terms 'entity' and 'referent' interchangeably. I usually reserve 'referent' as a cover term for entities and states of affairs. But in §2.3.2, I will introduce a four-way taxonomy of entity types which makes the term 'referent' redundant.

are the above-mentioned mental representations of those referents (which is the proper domain of information structure).

Now the difference between the internal and external text worlds affects the way elements in each may be referred to. Because elements of the text-external world can be directly perceived or deduced by the communicators from the speech situation, they do not need to be introduced into a discourse in the same way as other things (p. 38). Deictic words illustrate this point, since they refer directly to something in the text-external world, as illustrated by *I* and *you* (the speaker and addressee), *now, tomorrow* (which is defined relative to *now*), *here,* and deictic *there.* Such elements may normally be taken for granted in a discourse (p. 38).

But, as Lambrecht says (p. 38), elements in a discourse 'which pertain to the TEXT-INTERNAL world cannot be taken for granted in the same way by a speaker. In the text-internal world referents are not designated deictically by "pointing" but indirectly, via REPRESENTATIONS which the speaker must set up for the addressee.' These representations are introduced and constructed in the discourse. For example, depending on 'the status of the discourse representation' of an entity in the hearer's mind, the speaker may refer to that entity in different ways. If the entity is unknown to the hearer, it may be introduced by means of an indefinite NP, *(I have) a car*, which would serve to set up the representation of a new entity (NP=noun phrase). But if known to the hearer, it can be referred to by a definite NP, *my car,* or even by a (uniquely identifiable) name, if it has one (e.g. *The Bomb*).

2.2.2 Pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion

As briefly stated in §2.1, 'information' is, according to Lambrecht, **relational** and normally involves what I called the 'common ground' between the speaker and hearer, and a new contribution.[12] The 'common ground' is what Lambrecht generally refers to as the '**pragmatic presupposition**' (or assumptions) and the new informative contribution is his '**pragmatic assertion**'. They represent what has been called, often confusingly and imprecisely, the 'old' and 'new' parts of information.[13] Consider the following definitions from Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998:493 [henceforth L&M]):[14]

> Pragmatic presupposition: The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.

> Pragmatic assertion: The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered.

Note that assertion and presupposition are not mere complementary notions, since the assertion *entails* the presupposition, if there is one (not all utterances explicitly evoke a presupposition).

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[12] Many others have assumed that information is relational in nature. Lambrecht in particular draws on Strawson 1964. See also Kuno (1972:271-2, plus note 5) and Halliday (1967:199, 204).

[13] There are important similarities between such definitions of presupposition and assertion and terms used by Henri Weil (1879). What we are calling the presupposition or old idea, Weil described as the 'point of departure, an initial notion' (as Super translated Weil's 'point de départ, une notion initiale'), which served as the ground between the speaker and hearer, i.e. 'the ground upon which the two intelligences meet' ('le lieu où les deux intelligences se rencontrent'); the new idea, or 'goal of the discourse' ('but du discours'), was 'another part of discourse which forms the statement' ('une autre partie du discours, qui forme l'énonciation') (Weil 1879:20-1 and Weil-Super-Scaglione 1978:29-30).

[14] 'Or believe(s)' is new compared to the definitions given in L. 1994:52.

Note also that Lambrecht's use of 'assertion' differs from how others use this word, where an assertion is contrasted with a denial or question, etc. Any utterance that is informative—that is, any sentence that adds a new proposition to the hearer's mental model of the discourse—makes an assertion. This applies to not only positive statements, but also denials, questions, commands, requests, and exclamative sentences. For example, the assertion made by a question informs the hearer that the speaker wants to know something (L. 1994:54-55; L&M 1998:513), and a command informs the hearer he should do something.

The logical concept of truth has no place in information structure, according to Lambrecht. Even if an assertion happens to be *false,* it is still informative: it adds a new proposition to the hearer's mental model (L. 1994:44-45). If I say to someone that 'The present King of France is bald' (to use a well-known example), I succeed in changing his mental model of the current discourse. This is the case even if the hearer thinks there *is* no king of France and is therefore convinced my utterance is nonsense.

2.2.3 Propositional topic, focus of assertion, and their grammatical expression in focus structures

Lambrecht's definitions of 'topic' and 'focus' are tied to those of presupposition and assertion, which, as stated above, are elements in the abstract propositional world of the communicators that words and sentences refer to.

Focus (or more fully, '**focus of assertion**' or 'focus of the new information'; 1994:213) is defined by Lambrecht (2000:612; compare L. 1994:213) as:

> […] that element of a pragmatically structured proposition whose occurrence makes it possible for the sentence to express a 'pragmatic assertion', i.e. to convey new information to an addressee. Somewhat more technically, the focus is that element whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from each other. A focus denotatum is by definition a communicatively unpredictable element of a proposition.

It follows from this definition that there cannot be multiple foci in a single clause 'since a given assertion cannot have more than one focus and since a given proposition cannot express more than one assertion' (1994:329). So Lambrecht's definition of focus differs from definitions defined in terms of a structure (e.g. an accented NP or clause position) or the notions of saliency, 'sets of alternatives', or contrastiveness.[15] We will see a bit later that, according to Lambrecht's definitions, both topic and focus may involve contrastiveness.

Topic is defined as follows in L&M 1998 (p. 494; compare L. 1994:131):[16]

> A referent which a proposition is construed to be about in a given discourse situation; a proposition is about a referent if it expresses information which is relevant to, and which increases the hearer's knowledge of, this referent.

Note that topic is defined here in terms of the '**aboutness**' relation (i.e. what the proposition expressed by a sentence is *about*). Moreover, following Strawson (1964), Lambrecht assumes

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[15] When focus is defined in terms of 'sets of alternatives' or contrastiveness, etc., a clause may have multiple foci, since more than one constituent in a clause can evoke a set of alternatives (or be contrastive or salient) (see e.g. Rooth 1992, Jacobs 1988. Kadmon 2001). See Polinsky (1999:575-7) on some of the strengths and weaknesses of Lambrecht's point of view. Polinsky mostly sides with Lambrecht on this point.

[16] Lambrecht's definition of topic is in most respects compatible with Gundel's (1988:210). Interestingly, Lambrecht's discussion of topic does not make use of the typical metaphors one finds in the literature, where, for example, the introduction of an indefinite entity requires the creation of a 'file card', and an existing topic represents an existing file card, which may be accessed for incoming new information, stored, and recalled from memory. See e.g. Reinhart 1982, Heim 1982, Vallduví 1992, Erteschik-Shir 1997, among others.

that, in defining topic in terms of 'aboutness', the topic must be '**a matter of standing interest or concern**' (1994:119, 155-6) or '**contextually relevant**' (p. 150) for the communicators. As a parenthesis, we must underscore that, since information structure concerns *sentence* grammar, topic as defined here applies only to what is formally expressed in sentences. A 'discourse topic', i.e. what a stretch of text 'is about', including its 'theme' or 'macrostructure', is something different.[17] A discourse topic need not be even explicitly expressed in a discourse but only implied. And when expressed, it need not be a propositional topic but may be, or be part of, the focus of assertion.

Both topic and focus are defined above in terms of propositions (involving the mental states of the communicators). And both definitions are relational—they concern relations between elements within a proposition. Neither are properties of referents or denotata[18] alone but of referents and denotata in relation to propositions. The focus is that crucial element of the assertion that makes it informative, and the topic, if a proposition has one (not all do), is a key element of the presupposition. (Later I will take up more issues about topic, bringing in perspectives other than Lambrecht's.)

While presupposition, assertion, topic, and focus concern the abstract propositional world of the communicators, what is of course most important for linguists and grammarians are the **linguistic forms in sentences** that refer to them. There are various linguistic clues for all these categories. Depending on the particular language, these clues may include prosodic stress (and its lack), constituent order, particles, and other morphosyntactic means. But the way these clues pair up with different functions is complex and the expression of the clues is often not iconically related to their functions. For example, we will see that sentence stress (i.e. accents) may indicate not only focus relations but also topic ones. This is why the expression of these categories must be understood more abstractly, that is where, according to Lambrecht, the different clues combine in different ways to form patterns (or 'templates') and all the different patterns must be understood in relation to each other as a grammatical system or paradigm. For these and other reasons, Lambrecht views the formal expression of topic and focus as *grammatical categories of sentence constituents* (pp. 127-8, 213-5; 2000:615).

The formal expression of the grammatical category of topic is called a '**topic expression**'. It is defined as follows (L. 1994:131):

> A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent.

The corresponding formal expression of focus as a grammatical category is called the '**focus domain**' (1994:214; 2000:615). Lambrecht predicts there are three basic '**focus structures**'[19] that all languages make use of, where the three types are distinguished according to the type of focus domain. The focus domain may be (i) the predicate, (ii) a single constituent, or (iii) the whole sentence. His system assumes that focus domains are always phrasal categories, such as 'verb or adjective phrases, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases, and sentences' (1994:215). These are the names he gives the three

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[17] L. 1994:117, Reinhart 1982, Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:69-70. See Dik (1997a:313-5) who views discourse topics as the overarching notion.

[18] Lambrecht (1994:37) generally uses 'referent' to refer to entities and states of affairs, and 'denotatum' (or 'designatum') for attributes and relations (e.g. as designated by prepositions and predicates).

[19] The 'focus structures' are also known as 'information-structure categories' (L. 1994:221) or 'focus-articulations' (L&M p. 496). See also Andrews' (1985:77-80) three 'sentence articulations': 'topic-comment', 'focus-presupposition', and 'presentational'.

focus structures: (i) '**predicate-focus**', (ii) 'argument-focus',[20] and (iii) '**sentence-focus**'. Given the potential ambiguity with the term 'argument', I will call (ii) '**constituent-focus**' (other terms used in the literature for what is more or less the same include 'narrow focus', 'focus-presupposition', and 'identificational focus'). Let's consider again some of the initial examples from §2.1. I include background contexts for each. Brackets […] delimit the focus domain (=FD), the topic expression (=TOP), and the topical open proposition (=TOP'L OP).

(6)   What happened to your car?

   Predicate-focus: [My car / It]$_{TOP}$ [broke DOWN.]$_{FD}$

(7)   I heard your motorcycle broke down.

   Constituent-focus: [My CAR]$_{FD}$ [broke down.]$_{TOP'L OP}$

(8)   What happened?

   Sentence-focus: [My CAR broke down.]$_{FD}$

In (6), which has *predicate-focus* structure, the subject constituent, *my car* (or *it*), is the topic expression. Its referent is 'in the presupposition' (L. 1994:151), which is to say it refers to an entity that holds a topic relation to the pragmatically structured proposition, and the assertion increases the hearer's knowledge 'about' this entity. In this example, the context-question *What happened to your car?* makes the car relevant as a topic for the utterance. The predicate phrase, *broke DOWN,* expresses the focus domain. It refers to that element in the proposition whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from each other, thereby creating information. The formal clue that the predicate phrase *broke DOWN* is the focus domain is that part of it takes the primary sentence accent. In the given context, the minimal form *it* would typically be more natural, but the full lexical NP *my car* is also possible.

The above predicate-focus *form* has '**topic-comment**' *function:* a comment ('broke down') is made 'about' a propositional topic ('the speaker's car'). Lambrecht argues that the predicate-focus structure is unmarked cross-linguistically, and that the topic-comment function is its most typical, or unmarked, function (pp. 131-133, 141). This follows (at least partially) from the fact that the unmarked and statistically most common function of subjects is to express sentence topics (1994:132). Still, as we will see below, depending on language, predicate-focus structures may sometimes have functions other than topic-comment, including thetic function.

The context for the *constituent-focus* example, (7), is different. Here, the hearer mistakenly believes it was the person's motorcycle that broke down, and the speaker wishes to correct this belief by identifying the broken vehicle as his car rather than his motorcycle. The predicate phrase *broke down* evokes a topical element that is 'in the presupposition'. This topical element is a special type of proposition, what is called an **open proposition**, since the proposition is missing an element. It can be paraphrased as '*something* of the speaker's broke down' or 'the speaker's X broke down', where 'X' indicates the 'open' or missing element. This open proposition is topical because it is 'a center of current interest' (L. 2001a:476; 2000:613) as suggested by the context. But given its non-prototypical nature—it refers to neither an entity nor a full proposition[21] (see §2.2.5 on

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[20] Lambrecht (1994:224) uses 'argument' to cover 'any non-predicating expression in a proposition'.

[21] I assume that reference to a concrete entity that is a topic, especially if expressed by grammatical subject, is the prototypical type of topic expression cross-linguistically. A less prototypical topic would be a topical proposition, and still less prototypical than that would be a topical open proposition.

'prototypicality')—I will not call it 'topic' but 'topical'[22] (see L. 1994:74-77, 150-160).[23] The subject constituent, *my CAR,* of which part ('car') takes the primary sentence accent, expresses the focus domain, and 'car' is the focus of assertion since it identifies the missing element of the open proposition.

Although this particular example of constituent-focus serves to correct a misunderstanding of the hearer (it wasn't the speaker's motorcycle but his car that was broken), this correction is not itself part of the meaning of this English constituent-focus structure, but is something the hearer infers from the structure's use in the discourse. It is thus a '**corrective**' **(conversational) implicature**. Moreover, the presence of the corrective implicature suggests a strong feeling of **contrast**—hence such structures are often called instances of '**contrastive focus**', and this contrastive feeling is also an implicature. That these are implicatures and not part of the meaning of this focus structure is clear since constituent-focus may also be used in non-corrective and non-contrastive contexts (see L. 1994:286–291; Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998:84–85; we will see below that topics may also be contrastive).[24] For example, (7) would also be appropriate as a response to *Was it your car or your motorcycle that broke down?* where the answer would not at all be corrective and the contrastive feeling would be typically diminished. And it would also be an appropriate response to *I heard you had something that was broken,* where the answer would be neither contrastive nor corrective. Thus, the basic *function* of this sentence *form,* a constituent-focus structure, by itself is simply to *identify* the missing element in an open proposition;[25] the optional implicatures depend on the greater context; and a contrastive implicature in particular is a matter of degree (i.e. a 'scalar' notion), which may be entirely absent. And finally we note that this construction is neutral to what is called an **exhaustive** reading: although in many contexts it might seem implied that it was *only* the speaker's car that broke down, this implicature may be cancelled, as illustrated by *My CAR broke down, and so did my MOTORCYCLE.*

The final example, (8), which has *sentence-focus* structure, comes as a response to 'What happened?' In §2.1, I suggested it might be used by a tardy employee to explain his late arrival at work. Here, the entire sentence, *My CAR broke down,* is in the focus domain and there is no topic constituent. What is in fact distinctive of the sentence-focus structure is that the subject constituent and the predicate together form the focus domain. (For languages lacking a grammaticalized subject, the 'distinguished argument', which otherwise would be the topic, is marked as focal [L. 1994:144, 350, note 14]; Chinese is an example of such a

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[22] Lambrecht (1994) restricts the term topic to 'discourse referents', and he considers a discourse referent something that can only be expressed by a sentence argument (pp. 74-77, 155). Therefore, he reasons, open propositions and phrases serving as predicates cannot be topic expressions ('Predicates by definition do not denote discourse referents but attributes of, or relations between arguments', p. 75). Still, Lambrecht does assume that, like topics, open propositions are, 'in the presupposition', and that they involve a topicality presupposition since they are 'a center of current interest' (2001a:476-7). It is in this sense that I call open propositions 'topical'.

[23] But see Matić's (2003b:106-9, 129-132) interesting discussion of how open propositions (and some adverbials) are 'indirect topics'. And see my discussion of 'stage' topics in §2.3.4.

[24] Two qualifications must be made. (i) Although it is claimed here that the form *[My CAR]$_{FD}$ [broke down]$_{TOP'L}$ $_{OP}$* is neutral with respect to contrast (and correctiveness), contrastive uses are typically distinguished by a special high pitch stress (Chafe 1994a:61). (ii) The claim that this particular English structure is contrast-neutral does not necessarily apply to other structures in English or other languages. That certain focus structures may conventionally involve contrast is claimed, for example, by Bearth (1992, 1998, 1999) for Toura and other African languages.

[25] See also D. Payne (1992a:212), who notes that the focus marking systems in many languages seem to be insensitive to contrastiveness.

language according to LaPolla [1995:301].) This definition requires that (i) the subject constituent (*my car*) not be interpreted as expressing the sentence topic (as it was in the predicate-focus structure), and that (ii) the predicate (*broke down*) not be interpreted as topical (as it was in constituent-focus example).

It is true that in the present example, the pronoun *my,* which is part of the subject constituent, evokes a topical element in the presupposition (the same was true for (7) where *my CAR* alone made up the focus domain). But what is decisive for sentence-focus structure is that the subject constituent as a unit does not express the propositional topic. This, by the way, illustrates how a focus domain may contain a topical element: by Lambrecht's definitions, so long as the phrase as a whole (whatever its size) bares a focus relation to the proposition, it still counts as a focus domain (1994:145, 216-8, 228; 2000:650-1, 627, 648). This point will be further illustrated later with other types of focus domains.

While the *form* of (8) is called sentence-focus, its *function* will be called **thetic**. Following Lambrecht (1994:144), I take a sentence to have thetic function if it serves to introduce an entity or a state of affairs into the discourse without it being linked 'either to an already established topic or to some presupposed proposition' (we just as well could have called this function 'presentational', e.g. L. 1987). Moreover, if the state of affairs being introduced includes an entity in an event, as is the case in *My CAR broke down,* the two can be viewed as forming a conceptual unity.[26] So the thetic function contrasts with the function of topic-comment sentences and with the function of sentences identifying a missing element in an open proposition, since these do not form a conceptual unity in the way thetics do but instead link the new contribution to some presupposed element. While this characterization of thetic function will serve for now, it will require some qualification later (see especially §2.3.4 on implicit 'stage' topics). I will also have to say more about the term thetic since the definition given here deviates from how others have used it, especially the philosophers Brentano and Marty.

Consider two more sentences that have sentence-focus structure and thetic function.

(9) a. …and then [a BOY came in]$_{FD}$ … [adapted from L. 1994:168]

b. Once [there was a BOY]$_{FD}$ …[27]

(9a) and (9b), which both introduce a new entity 'a boy' into a discourse, would be suitable in different positions in a story, (9a) in its middle and (9b) at its beginning. Both are sentence-focus sentences since both the subject and the predicate are in the focus domain. (The status of the temporals like *then* and *once* is taken up in §2.3.4.)

What may be underscored here is that in the few English sentence-focus structures reviewed so far, (8) and (9a,b), *the subject is always an accented lexical phrase (i.e. never a pronoun), and the predicate is unaccented* (L. 2000:617-8). This structural criterion, which we will assume to be basic, is very useful for distinguishing English sentences from especially predicate-focus sentences. Moreover, by Lambrecht's definitions this is theoretically significant, since it suggests there is a systematic distinction between predicate-

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[26] The phrase 'conceptual unity' is from Chafe (1974:115). That thetics serve to introduce a new state of affairs as a unified whole, including the referents of both subject and verb, has been emphasized by Sasse (1987:519-20, 568-9, 1996:3, 5). See especially Fuchs' (1980) notion of 'integration', which is also discussed by Lambrecht (2000:657 and notes 7 and 12 on pp. 672-3) and Matić (2003b:27-9). One of Fuchs' points is that what we are calling sentence-focus structure is limited to 'conventional' subject-predicate combinations that report events that affect a person from whose perspective (i.e. 'center of orientation') the utterances are made.

[27] Although the issue is not straightforward, *then* in (9a) and *once* in (9b) should probably be taken as topical 'scene-settings', and they so would be outside of the focus domain. See §2.2.6.7 and §2.3.4.

focus and sentence-focus, that is, between topic-comment and thetic sentences, such that the two comprise a basic paradigm of functionally motivated contrasting sentence types (L. 2000:611, 642; see also L. 1994:35, 120, 145 on 'allosentences').

But it must be underscored that this criterion—*that the subject is lexical and accented and the predicate unaccented*—has its limits of application. First, although this criterion probably applies to most instances of English sentence-focus, especially what I will take to be prototypical ones, we will see that some sentences functioning as thetics do not have this form. Second, some instances of constituent-focus also have this same form.

For example, the reader may have noticed that (7) and (8), repeated in (10), are **homophonous** in their accent patterns: in both, the word *car* alone is accented (*My CAR broke down*). At the grammatical level, their focus domains are assumed to differ, the one being 'narrow' and the other 'broad', but this must be inferred by interpreting the sentences in their context. A similar 'ambiguity' obtains in pairs of English sentences like (11) and (12), which involve a predicate with more than one internal constituent. In (11) the focus domain is broad, encompassing the entire predicate, but in (12) it can be said to be narrow.[28] So hearers must resort to discourse interpretation to infer the intended focus domain.

(10)   **Broad focus domain ~ Sentence-focus:**   [My CAR broke down.]$_{FD}$

       Narrow focus domain ~ Constituent-focus: [My CAR]$_{FD}$ broke down.

(11)   What's wrong with you?

       Broad focus domain ~ Predicate-focus: I [lost my KEYS.]$_{FD}$

(12)   What did you lose?

       Narrow focus domain ~ Constituent-focus: I lost [my KEYS.]$_{FD}$

Such homophony I shall henceforth refer to as **underspecification** (following L. 1994:29-32, 306, 296). Underspecification in the domain of information structure (and other linguistic domains)[29] occurs because languages are economical and the number of forms or clues at its disposal is necessarily limited (p. 31). Languages differ in the way and *degree* their individual information structures may be underspecified and specified. In contrast to the form *I lost my KEYS,* the **it-cleft** in English is more specified. This is illustrated by (13), which normally would only be compatible with a contrastive constituent-focus interpretation.[30]

(13)   A: I've been looking all over for your wallet but can't seem to find it.

       B: It was [my KEYS]$_{FD}$ that I lost.

Moreover, the particular instance of underspecification illustrated in (10) is an artifact of some, but not all, English sentence-focus constructions (e.g. we will consider below the use

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[28] Lambrecht (1994) would qualify this. Since the object is part of predicate, strictly speaking *I lost [my KEYS]* still counts as a form of predicate-focus, the narrow construal being inferred (see 1994:296-305). This position seems to be also represented by Lambrecht (2000:615) where he says the focus domain in a predicate-focus structure 'is the predicate phrase (or part of it)', the parentheses being his qualification.

[29] *Underspecification* is related to the notion of 'markedness'. Linguistic elements may be marked or unmarked (i.e. specified or unspecified) for certain aspects of meaning. For example, *lion* is (relatively) unmarked for gender since it can be used to refer to a female lion, but *lioness* is marked. Consider also *cat/tomcat,* where, unlike *lion/lioness,* it is the male form that is marked. Similarly, *SV* order in English may be used not only for declarative sentences but also interrogative ones if given the right intonation (e.g. *He is hungry* vs. *He is hungry?*). But the auxiliary-inversion pattern (e.g. *Is he hungry?*) 'cannot be used in declarative contexts, no matter how the intonation is modified, and […] must therefore be characterized as marked for the feature of "non-declarative" (L. 1994:30).

[30] Some special uses of *it-clefts* do not involve constituent-focus. See Lambrecht (1994:70-71).

of *there+be* as a much clearer means of indicating sentence-focus). Additionally, we should note that, for some languages, the three basic focus types may be more consistently distinguished. Consider the following equivalents in Italian, spoken French, and Japanese (from L. 1994:223). Unlike the English, these languages have distinct forms for all three focus types:

(14) *Predicate-focus structure:*

Context: What happened to your car?

My car/It broke DOWN.

(La mia macchina) si è ROTTA.

(Ma voiture) elle est en PANNE.[31]

(Kuruma wa) KOSHOO-shi-ta.

(15) *Constituent-focus structure:*

Context: I heard your motorcycle broke down.

My CAR broke down.

Si è rotta la mia MACCHINA./ È la mia MACCHINA che si è rotta.

C'est ma VOITURE qui est en panne.

KURUMA ga koshoo-shi-ta.

(16) *Sentence-focus structure:*

Context: What happened?

My CAR broke down.

Mi si è rotta (ROTTA) la MACCHINA.

J'ai ma VOITURE qui est en PANNE.

KURUMA ga KOSHOO-shi-ta.

One of Lambrecht's major claims is that, cross-linguistically, sentence-focus structures distinguish themselves from their respective predicate-focus structures in the way that subject is treated and so homophony between these two structures is systematically avoided. 'Since the distinctive property of SF [=sentence-focus; nab] sentences is the absence of a topic-comment relation between the subject and the predicate, SF marking entails the marking of the subject as a non-topic.' What this means is that sentence-focus subjects tend to be marked by 'those morphosyntactic, prosodic, or behavioral features that are normally associated with the focal objects of constructions' (2000:611; compare 1994:234-5; Lambrecht & Polinsky 1997). In other words, thetic subjects tend to behave like focal objects in predicate-focus constructions (L. 2000).

Sasse (1987) makes a comparable observation[32] in his cross-linguistic study of thetic constructions (Sasse's 'thetic' is more or less equivalent to Lambrecht's sentence-focus). There he notes a variety of ways that grammatical subject is 'deprived' of its typical characteristics as topic (what he called the 'predication base' in that publication but which for all practical purposes is equal to Lambrecht's 'topic'). He describes this process as one of

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[31] Lambrecht apparently has in mind the two spoken forms, *Elle est en PANNE* and *Ma voiture elle est en PANNE* (with left-detached NP; p. 342, note 18). Compare his comments (p. 22) on *Ma voiture est en PANNE.*

[32] Sasse's (1987) claims were similar to Lambrecht's but, although Sasse suggested that this distinction between the thetic and categorical (i.e. topic-comment) constructions was 'universally reflected in sentence structure…' (p. 518), he was reluctant to predict that all languages do this (p. 559).

'desubjectivization' (p. 534). Thus, Sasse's and Lambrecht's characterizations of subjects in sentence-focus/thetic constructions dovetail: *they are marked as non-topic-like.*

So, to return to our above examples, notice that when the subject constituent expresses the topic in (14) above, it may be reduced to a minimal form, such as *it* in English or Ø in the other languages. But in the sentence-focus structures in (16), the subject is necessarily a lexical NP (i.e. a full noun phrase, not a pronoun). Moreover, the sentence-focus subjects are grammatically marked as focal: In the English, it takes the sole sentence accent; in the Italian it is postverbal and accented; in the Japanese it is accented and marked by *ga* rather than *wa* (*wa* is generally associated with topics; see on (40), (60), and (75) below). The spoken French (split or cleft-like) structure is noteworthy because the underlying simple proposition 'my car broke down' is broken up into two clauses (literally, 'I have my car that is in breakdown'). Such a circumlocution is required because there is a strong restriction in spoken French against focal subjects (L. 1995:175). The notional subject *voiture* 'car' is treated as a grammatical object of *avoir* 'have'. Strictly speaking, both clauses have predicate-focus structure (where *je* 'I' and *qui* 'that' express topical subjects), but, as Lambrecht argues, together the two clauses form a *single construction* that has the same function as the comparable sentences in the other languages (1994:234; 1995:179-80; Lambrecht [2000:653] calls this a 'presentational cleft construction').

Other strategies occur in languages for marking sentence-focus structure and in particular for marking the subject as non-topical. The subject may be morphologically incorporated into the verb, and special particles (e.g. 'object' particles on the subject) may occur as well as verb nominalization. See the surveys in Sasse 1987, Lambrecht & Polinsky 1997, and L. 2000.

If we are convinced of the general universal tendency of the sentence-focus versus predicate-focus distinction, it still must be underscored that languages vary in their ability to consistently and unambiguously use sentence-focus structure to mark thetic function.[33] This is clear from the fact that *thetic function does not always coincide with sentence-focus (=SF) structure* (L. 1994:141; Sasse has made similar points; see e.g. 1996:50-51).[34] As Lambrecht (2000:619) states, 'All SF constructions express thetic propositions, but not all thetic propositions are expressed in special SF constructions.' This may be illustrated by one type of thetic sentence often mentioned in the literature—the 'atmospheric' (or 'weather') sentence. Consider (17) through (19), which introduce a new state of affairs into the discourse, that *it's raining.*

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[33] The issue of homophony in English with *My CAR broke down* is not as serious as the matter encountered in (19), *It's raining*. In *My CAR broke down,* at least the subject is marked as non-topical.

[34] Sasse (1996:50-2) concludes that theticity is 'a cross-linguistically comparable phenomenon' but not a 'category', a point echoed by Matić (2003b:60, 72). That it is not a category, Sasse says, is because thetics serve more than one function in discourse and even if their function may be boiled down to introducing something 'of low presuppositionality', this criterion, while necessary, is not sufficient to trigger thetic structure, and languages in fact vary in their ability to use thetic structure to signal thetic function. But if theticity is not a category, then what is it (assuming it is at least 'a cross-linguistically comparable phenomenon' and not epiphenomenal)? Right or wrong, I will assume that the perspectives of Lambrecht and Sasse have more in common than not and that (as I think Lambrecht implies) the marking of theticity fares cross-linguistically at least as well if not better than the marking of many other linguistic phenomena (including other information structure categories). In approaching theticity in terms of prototypicality, I take it to be a category that has fuzzy boarders but that tends to manifest itself under certain conditions.

(17) Idyot   DOSHT (Идёт ДОЖДЬ)
     comes rain

(18) Ame ga hutte   iru.
     rain -   falling is [Japanese, Kuroda 1972:181, see also Kuno 1972:282]

(19) It's RAINING.

(20) It's LEAKING.

(17), (18), and (19) have thetic function but only (17) and (18) have sentence-focus structure (the subjects are lexical and marked as focal, by *ga* in Japanese and by stress and postverbal position in Russian). The English in (19) does not make use of a sentence-focus structure, like the ones illustrated so far with *an accented lexical subject and an unaccented predicate.* Example (19) is in fact a predicate-focus structure. The subject, *it,* is generally viewed as a non-referential dummy subject (some call the construction 'impersonal').[35] But for this reason, neither is (19) a prototypical predicate-focus structure: the subject does not qualify as a topic expression. Contrast (20) (e.g. as a comment about a water pipe) where *it* is referential and the sentence does qualify as topic-comment construction (with predicate-focus structure). Thus, as Lambrecht argues (1994:141), since (19) and (20) have the same morphosyntactic and prosodic structure, they have the same focus structure (predicate-focus), even though they have different functions (thetic vs. topic-comment). Moreover, this illustrates that the English predicate-focus structure is functionally **underspecified**, or 'unmarked' in its function (p. 141), even if it is most typically used for topic-comment assertions. Later in §2.3.3 we will consider other functionally thetic sentences that do not have unambiguous sentence-focus structure. And in §4.8 we will see that although most atmospheric thetics in Koine Greek make use of sentence-focus structures (as in Russian), a few are subjectless predicate-focus structures.

Finally, we must note that, against the norm predicted by Lambrecht and Sasse, a language can have a focus marking system that does not formally distinguish sentence-focus structure from structures with a topical subject (at least for some sentence types). Bearth (1998) makes such a claim for Toura, a Mande language of Ivory Coast, which only uses morphology to indicate focus, never intonation or prosodic accents. Bearth says that (21) is compatible with the following readings: (A) with an *unidentifiable* subject: (i) thetic and (ii) positive truth value assertion; (B) with *identifiable* subject and a 'selectional type' of focus involving either subject or locative: (iii) in response to someone who wants to see an official (prefect or subprefect), (iv) to someone who has come to the subprefect's office and asks 'Where is the subprefect?'.[36]

(21) *kúmáná   ké   zé*
     subprefect truth.value.predicative.marker here

    (i) There is a subprefect here. (ii) There IS a subprefect here.
    (iii) The SUBPREFECT is here. (iv) The subprefect is HERE.

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[35] In contrast, Bolinger (1977:77ff) argued *it* in statements like *It's raining, It's late,* and *It's Tuesday* had a referent, i.e. 'the environment'. So, under his interpretation, 'ambient *it*' would be a topic expression.

[36] Versions (i) and (ii) could be preceded by *Iin* 'yes'. (v) If the sentence is preceded by *ááo*, it could also be used to counter someone's claim that the subprefect was not there: *Yes, the subprefect IS here.* I presume that in sentences lacking a full lexical subject NP, the unidentifiable subject readings, including the thetic one (i), would be impossible (see examples like (8b) and (9b) in Bearth 1992:90). If so, this would illustrate at least one case where thetic and non-thetic sentences are formally distinguished.

2.2.4 **Focus structures as 'grammatical constructions'**

The three focus structures mentioned so far—predicate-focus, constituent-focus, and sentence-focus—are **grammatical constructions** as defined in Construction Grammar and related theories. Lambrecht's theory of information structure is founded on a Construction Grammar perspective of language.

Construction Grammar is a linguistic theory developed by Fillmore, Kay, O'Conner, Lakoff, Goldberg, among others (for a basic bibliography, see my Appendix 'An introduction to Construction Grammar'). The notion of a grammatical construction is intuitively simple and readily incorporated into descriptive grammars (like a traditional Greek grammar). It is a conventionalized form-function unit: a grammatical construction has a form—its phonological and syntactic structure, and it has a function—its meaning and use. Moreover, the construction is considered the basic unit in language: it covers everything from the morpheme and word, continuing on up to clause-level and multi-sentence phenomena.

Goldberg (1995:4) writes: 'A distinct construction is defined to exist if one or more of its properties are not strictly predictable from knowledge of other constructions existing in the grammar'. In other words, every construction involves something arbitrary and unpredictable about it, even if it may resemble other constructions in certain ways. Given the arbitrary nature of a construction, a language learner must learn every one. In a more recent discussion, Goldberg qualifies this definition by adding that, 'In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency' (2006:5).[37]

The constructions that a speaker learns vary in size and complexity. There are words (*gangster*) and compound words (*drive-in*), as well as words with slots (*post-NOUN, VERB-*ing). Still other constructions involve complex syntactic templates of schematic nature, with slots to be filled by other constructions (e.g. a ditransitive clause *Subject–Verb–Object-1–Object-2*). But the language learner also learns how constructions are systematically related to each other. For example, many are learned as sets. To correctly produce a verb form, one must master the paradigm's parameters of person, number, tense, etc.

Our focus structures are also schematic constructions, what Lambrecht describes as 'templates'. They too are learned as sets. To use one template correctly requires understanding the paradigm of templates. Moreover, there are aspects of the forms and meanings of each that are not predictable from their parts. It is theoretically unproblematic that in the templates with a broad focus—predicate-focus and sentence-focus—each constituent is not individually marked as being in the focus domain, for example by an accent on each constituent in English. Instead, what counts is that two templates are significantly distinguished in form from the other, where, for example in English, the one requires an accent on the predicate and the other requires there be an accent only on the subject.

Many assumptions in Construction Grammar are shared with 'functional' and 'cognitive' theories of language. Much like, for example, Functional Grammar (e.g. Simon Dik 1978, 1997a/b) and Cognitive Linguistics (e.g. Croft & Cruse 2004), so Construction Grammar also developed as a response to transformational-generative theories that have viewed syntax as being autonomous from semantics and pragmatics, and where constructions have been typically viewed as grammatically epiphenomenal.

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[37] For some more recent developments in the theory, see Goldberg 2009, an article in *Cognitive Linguistics, volume 20.1,* and the lively reactions to her work in that same volume.

A common assumption in generative theories has been that there is a syntactic component of language that is composed of rules of the most general or schematic nature (e.g. phrase structure rules like S → NP VP), and that there is an equally sophisticated pragmatic component that interacts with the syntactic component to rule out undesirable surface forms (i.e. 'ungrammatical sentences'). Lambrecht does not think that this reflects 'a realistic picture of the relationship between form and function in natural language' (1994:33). He writes (pp. 33-34):

> Even though it is true that a great many syntactic patterns cannot be uniquely paired with specific uses, I believe that the number of "highly marked" and idiosyncratic form-meaning-use correspondences in natural languages is much greater than assumed in most current approaches. With Fillmore and other proponents of Construction Grammar, I take it to be impossible to draw a dividing line on principled grounds between idiosyncratic (or "idiomatic") and general (or "regular") types of constructions. One of the most important tenets of Construction Grammar is the belief that the distinction between "idiomaticity" and "regularity" (syntactic generativity, semantic compositionality) has been overemphasized in generative grammar and that an adequate linguistic theory must be able to account equally well for idiomatic as for regular aspects of a grammar […] [L]inguistic theory can bridge the gap between idiomaticity and regularity by recognizing as the fundamental unit of grammar the GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTION […] [C]omplex grammatical constructions are not viewed as being derived from more general or simpler structures via generative rules of the type familiar from phrase structure grammars, even though in some cases the principles for combination of smaller constructions into more complex ones may be fairly general. Rather they are seen as ready-made templates used as such by the speakers of a language.

For more details, see my Appendix 'An introduction to Construction Grammar'. The notion of a grammatical construction and how constructions may resemble and diverge from each other often plays a role in this study, especially in my analysis of ἰδού.

2.2.5 Prototypes and prototypical uses

Throughout this study, I use the terms **prototype** and **prototypical category** in the sense of Lakoff 1987, Hopper & Thompson 1984, Givón 1984, 2001, (see refinements in Croft & Cruse 2004:87-105), who build on the work of Eleanor H. Rosch in the 1970s. Prototype categories are different from Aristotelian categories. Aristotelian categories are characterized as having clear boundaries where members share a set of common properties (items either do or do not belong to a category). Prototype categories have fuzzy boundaries. Items vary in their membership status for a given category; some items are better examples of the category than others.

I also refer to a **use** of a construction in discourse as **prototypical** if it is *the* most or *one of the* most frequent uses. The assumption is that a construction that is used frequently in a particular way is highly predictable and understood more quickly, thereby becoming entrenched in the grammar (see e.g. discussions in Givón 2001:32-41 and 1984:14, 137-8; see T. Payne 1997:276 on 'the commonest, or most prototypical, functions' of constructions; and see Chapter 11 in Croft & Cruse 2004 on 'usage-based' models of grammar).

I apply the notion of prototypicality to entity types (see §2.3.2) and construction types. In this chapter see, for example, all of §2.3.3 and the end of §2.3.4 on prototypical thetic constructions; see §2.3.5 on their prototypical uses in discourse; §2.3.7 on existential constructions that are not prototypical thetics; §2.4.1 on the prototypical use of deictic thetics as well as related constructions that are ranked in terms of their resemblance to the prototypical use; and see the end of §2.4.4.1 on different degrees of theticity in perception

reports. Different types of topics were briefly mentioned in footnote 21 where a ranking was suggested in terms of prototypicality (entities > propositions > open propositions).

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6 on Greek, I appeal to the notion of prototypicality when analyzing different types of thetic and semi-thetic constructions. Certain structures which are described as non-prototypical thetics may require special treatment by translators (§4.2.4). Prototypical uses of certain constructions are also frequently discussed. Finally, Chapter 6 presents an analysis of a family of related constructions (sentences with ἰδού or ἴδε) where one subtype is taken to be the prototype or 'central' construction.

2.2.6 More on presupposition, topic, and focus

Before discussing and illustrating thetic constructions in greater detail (§2.3 and §2.4), we need to consider several more general information structure issues. Here in §2.2.6 and its subsections, we will first look at different types of pragmatic presupposition. That will lead to a more in depth discussion of topic, topic being one of the most thorny and debated aspects of information structure. Dispersed throughout §2.2.6 will be additional comments on focus and language specific 'emic' constructions. The next section, §2.2.7, then takes up a few more general issues.

Pragmatic presupposition was only briefly introduced in the last section. Lambrecht (2000:613) considers the following four subtypes. Understanding their differences is a key to grasping some of the enigmatic workings of information structure.

> (i) **Knowledge presupposition**: a proposition is knowledge-presupposed if the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes it or is ready to take it for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.
>
> (ii) **Identifiability presupposition**: an entity is presupposed to be identifiable if the speaker assumes that a representation of it is already stored in the hearer's long-term memory at the time of an utterance.
>
> (iii) **Consciousness presupposition**: an entity or proposition is consciousness-presupposed if the speaker assumes its mental representation is activated in the hearer's short-term memory at the time of an utterance.
>
> (iv) **Topicality presupposition**: an entity or proposition is presupposed to be topical if the speaker assumes that the hearer considers it a center of current interest in the discourse and hence a potential locus of predication.

Lambrecht's theory is distinctive in that he does not conflate these four types but recognizes their functional independence, which, he argues, is very often reflected linguistically.[38] I will now discuss each of the four types. Presuppositions of (i) knowledge and of (ii) identifiability (which concern propositions and entities, respectively) are most closely related (elsewhere Lambrecht combines them: 1994:53-6; L&M 1998:496).

2.2.6.1 Presuppositions of identifiability, knowledge, and consciousness

Let's first consider presuppositions of **(ii) identifiability** before treating those of (i) knowledge. Consider (22):

> (22)   I finally met the woman who moved in downstairs. [L. 1994:51]

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[38] Lambrecht is indebted to Chafe for the distinction between 'consciousness' and 'identifiability' presuppositions (the latter for Chafe seems to cover 'knowledge'). But Lambrecht's 'topicality' presupposition finds no place in Chafe's system (although Chafe's [1994a] 'light subject' resembles it in many ways). Other systems (e.g. Ariel's 'accessibility' hierarchy [1991] and Gundel et al.'s 'givenness' hierarchy [1993]) are open to the criticism of conflating parameters that are better kept separate (Chafe 1994a:178-9, Polinsky 1999:570).

This sentence lexicogrammatically evokes the identifiability presuppositions that the hearer can *identify* (a) the female entity referred to by the definite NP and (b) the speaker referred to by the subject pronoun *I*. The restrictive relative clause *who moved in downstairs* supplies a 'sufficiently identifying' description that aids the hearer to pick out the right entity from all the possible entities that could be referred to in this way at the time of speech (Chafe 1994a: 97, 99-100; 1976:39). In other contexts, a sufficiently identifying expression might be simply *the woman*, a pronoun (*her*), or her name if known (e.g. *Jill Jones*). An identifiable entity is basically equivalent to '**hearer-old**' for Prince (1992) and '**uniquely identifiable**' for Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993).

Unidentifiable entities are often (but not always) first introduced by a grammatically indefinite phrase. For example, one might first say *There's a woman who moved in downstairs a while ago.* Once the entity is established in the discourse, it is then sufficiently identifiable for the purposes of the speech event and may subsequently be referred to by a definite phrase (e.g. *the woman* or *she*).

But there are a number of reasons why some entities need not be first introduced as an unidentifiable entity. (a) Something perceived directly from the text-external world may often be treated as identifiable, and this may be even though it had never been noticed before by hearer (e.g. someone might say while pointing, *Do you see that bird over there?*). (b) Nouns with unique reference (e.g. *the sun, the world*), proper names, and some titles (*the president, mom*) may be taken as inherently identifiable. (c) Many things are identifiable given their association to something else that is identifiable. For example, if I tell my dinner guests who just entered my home, *We're going out tonight for dinner; the stove's broken,* they will infer that I mean the stove in my own kitchen. This is so because of what we as members of a common culture consider to be common knowledge: Our homes are typically equipped with a stove (in the kitchen), and if you are invited for dinner your host will typically be making you dinner, etc. And my guests will think of the stove in my home first (rather than the one in theirs or my neighbor's home) because it is relevant in the given context. Another example is illustrated by (23), which is discussed by Chafe (1994a:93, 96; stress is indicated by accents marks).

> (23)   these gáls were in a Vólkswagen, … and uh, … they uh kept hónkin' the horn,

Once the Volkswagen car is introduced, the speaker can refer to *the horn* as if it were identifiable. This is not because the particular horn was known to the hearers, but because they would be expected to know that a typical car has a horn.

Various explanations have been offered for why an entity can be assumed to be identifiable (or, as some call it, 'definite') even though it has not been properly introduced by an unidentifiable (or 'indefinite') expression. Many explanations underscore the ease in which people can *infer* identifiability from text-internal or external contexts.[39] Lambrecht (1994:87-93) suggests that the notion of a **semantic frame** (also 'schema' or 'scenario') may

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[39] See e.g. Prince (1981a:236) on 'inferrable' entities. There are different types of inferencing, some requiring more (i.e. longer) mental processing than others (see e.g. Brown & Yule 1983:256-260 on automatic (scheme related) vs. non-automatic ('bridging') inferences).

See also the contributions in Fretheim & Gundel 1996, several of which consider the Principle of Relevance and other Gricean principles (e.g. Quantity) for referent identification.

Walker & Prince (1996:294) suggest the following useful 'algorithm', while admitting this cannot be the whole story: 'When evoking an entity which you believe the hearer already "knows about" or else already has the requisite knowledge and reasoning capability to infer, mark the NP representing that entity as definite. When evoking an entity which you believe the hearer does not yet "know about" and cannot infer, mark the NP representing that entity as indefinite.'

account for many types of identifiability, including the above-mentioned types (a), (b), and (c). According to Fillmore, a semantic frame is 'any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available' (L. 1994:90 quoting Fillmore 1982:111; see also Chafe 1987:29 on a 'schema'). For example, according to Lambrecht, the frame may be (a) the perceived physical environment of the communicators, which allows them to refer to things directly. Or the frame may be (b) their natural or social universe (*the sun*, *the president, the queen*), or a personal or family domain (*mom, the kids, the car, the stove*), or (c) the frame of a culturally defined object or institution (what makes up a typical car: *the horn, the motor,* etc.; a typical school: *teachers, principle, classrooms, grades, homework,* etc.; a typical kitchen: *stove, sink, refrigerator,* etc.).

In English and other languages, there is a strong correlation between identifiability and marking noun phrases as **grammatically definite** (e.g. by the definite article or other means). But these correlations are probably seldom perfect in individual languages (L. 1994:79ff). We will see in fact that in Koine Greek many identifiable NPs, especially certain types that are focal, lose their definite article (§3.3.4 and §4.10.5). For such reasons, I will avoid using the term 'definite' except when describing a grammatical form (e.g. an article). Instead, I will usually address the identifiability status of entities (referents): they are either 'identifiable' (or 'uniquely identifiable', a phrase used by Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:277) or 'unidentifiable'.

To be sure, identifiability may at times be a matter of degree (L. 1994:84-6). Although this fact will usually not concern us, there is one case worth noting. NPs like *a guy I work with* and *a sister of mine* illustrate what Prince (1981a:236) has called '**anchored**' entities. By themselves, the indefinite phrases a guy and a sister are unidentifiable, but their being related to the speaker, who is identifiable, serves to make them relatively more identifiable. Unidentifiable entities that are anchored, Lambrecht says, are better candidates for topic expressions than unanchored ones (pp. 86, 165-7).

I also assume that a NP with **generic** reference that refers to an entire class or a typical instance in a class may be taken as identifiable (1994:88). Consider the subjects *elephants, the lion,* and *a boy* in (24), (25), and (26). (We will see below that because these are identifiable they are readily interpreted as topics.) Incidentally, assuming these subject entities are equally identifiable, they illustrate the imperfect correlation between the definite article and identifiability.

(24)   Elephants are really amazing creatures.

(25)   The lion is a powerful animal.

(26)   A boy wants to be tall. [L. 1994:167]

Another aspect of identifiability may be illustrated by NPs like *the phone, the drugstore,* and *the post office.* Such nouns are often marked as definite and may have specific reference even though the particular entity is unknown to the audience (e.g. *Where's the phone? Let's go to the drugstore*). It is as if any instance of the class can be taken as identifiable (e.g. any phone or drugstore will typically suffice for their common functions). The precise identity is seldom relevant for the discourse (Chafe 1994a:101-2).[40]

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[40] Compare Lambrecht (1994:90-1) on the mixed properties of 'the doctor' in *Every time I go to the clinic the doctor is someone different.*

So much for identifiability presuppositions. Now let's consider presuppositions of **(i) knowledge**, which, according to Lambrecht, involve *propositions* rather than entities. Consider again (22), repeated here as (27), a sentence that Lambrecht discusses.

(27)   I finally met the woman who moved in downstairs.

This sentence lexicogrammatically evokes the fact that the hearer *knows* (or believes or is ready to take for granted) that someone moved in downstairs from the speaker—this is evoked by the restrictive relative clause ('who moved in downstairs'). Moreover, 'finally' evokes the *knowledge* that one would have expected the speaker to have previously met the woman but didn't.

Information questions ('wh-questions') and their answers, as instances of constituent-focus structure, evoke knowledge presuppositions of a special type, what we called in §2.2.3 and §2.2.6.1 open propositions (L&M 1998:494; L. 1994). For example, both the question and answer in (28) evoke the open proposition that the hearer knows, believes, or is willing to take for granted that 'X ate the cookies'. (The interrogative pronoun *who* and the noun *BILLY* are both instances of constituent-focus.) Notice that, even if the hearer didn't know that someone had eaten the cookies, the question still requires the hearer to accept the open proposition as 'taken for granted'. In such a case, the answer might instead be something like (29), which also presupposes the same open proposition.

(28)   A: Who ate the cookies?
       B: BILLY did.

(29)   I̲ didn't. Maybe BILLY did.

Lambrecht's use of 'knowledge' in his definition of a knowledge presupposition collapses 'knowing' with 'believing' and 'taking for granted'. It is in fact sometimes necessary to distinguish between these as well as add a fourth distinction (Dryer 1996). For example, a full proposition like 'the world is round' may be *known* to someone because it has been either heard or inferred and therefore believed. Or it may be known in the sense that it is 'represented' in someone's mind but not necessarily believed: *Thomas Aquinas said the world is round (but I don't know)*. Someone agnostic about the truth of the proposition might ask *Is the world really round?* The proposition is pragmatically presupposed in the sense that the question requires it to be 'taken for granted' as up for discussion. Similarly, in answers like *Yes it is* and *No it isn't,* the proposition, referred to by *it,* is also taken for granted. The positive answer asserts the truth of the proposition (+*belief*) and the negative answer denies it (–*belief*). We will see later that the *belief* parameter is crucial to analyzing some 'existential' statements, such as *There is a Santa Claus* and *There is no Santa Claus.* These assert the truth (+belief) or falseness (–belief) of presupposed full propositions.

Now to consider **(iii) consciousness** presuppositions. For an entity or proposition to have a consciousness presupposition, it must be activated in the hearer's short-term memory. In other words, the hearer is currently thinking about it (i.e. it is in the center of his attention).

Lambrecht states that consciousness presuppositions may be evoked 'by differences between lexical vs. pronominal (or phonologically null) codings of denotata or by differences in pitch prominence' (p. 54).[41] For example, the use of a pronoun in English (or a Ø form in other languages) nearly always indicates that its referent is fully activated in the mind of the

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[41] Lambrecht (1999 and 2001a on 'cleft constructions') assumes that a consciousness presupposition can entail either full activation or an accessible state.

hearer (i.e. it is consciousness-presupposed).[42] So, if the speaker judges that the hearer is already thinking about 'John' and 'Mary' (because they have just been mentioned in the discourse or because they are sufficiently obvious in the text-external situation), the speaker may refer to them by pronouns, as in (30A). Similarly, once an entire proposition has been activated ('Mary kissed John'), it too can be referred to by a pronoun, as illustrated by *that* in (30B), where speaker B contests speaker A's claim. But note that even though an entity or proposition is fully activated does not guarantee that it will be expressed by a minimal form. Consider (31) where, to avoid ambiguity, the fuller form, *Tom,* is needed in the answer.

(30)   A: She kissed him.

       B: I don't believe that.

(31)   A: Among John, Mary, and Tom, who is the oldest?

       B: TOM is the oldest. [L. 1994:97; Kuno 1972:272]

Chafe (1987:25) mentions three activation states that 'ideas'[43] may be in: **active, semi-active** (or accessible), and **inactive** (Chafe admits that probably more than three states may be relevant; 1994a:55). Only identifiable ideas (including 'known' propositions) can have one of these three activation states. Unidentifiable ideas, such as ones that would need to be first introduced by an indefinite phrase (e.g. *a man*), have no activation state, because they do not yet exist in the hearer's memory. Once activated, if an idea is not continuously talked about or thought about, it will soon drift into a semi-active state, and then into an inactive state, where it remains in long-term memory (if it is not entirely forgotten). At any one moment only a limited number of ideas may be (fully) active, that is, in 'focal consciousness' (i.e. research suggests 'short-term memory can hold only seven plus or minus two items', 1987:22; elsewhere Chafe has compared consciousness to vision: what is attended to is limited and constantly changing; 1994a:53; see also 1974:111).

Building on Chafe, Lambrecht offers three reasons why an idea would be *semi-active*— that is *accessible*. First, it may have been earlier mentioned in a discourse but now drifted into a semi-active state of consciousness. This Lambrecht calls '**textually accessible**' (L. 1994:100). Or it may be '**situationally accessible**' given its presence in the text-external world, that is, the communicative situation (pp. 99-100; compare Chafe 1994a:86-7). Or it may be '**inferentially accessible**' due to its association to another active or accessible idea in either the text-internal or external worlds. (Thus, inference can account for both consciousness accessibility and the identifiability of an idea; see above on inferential identifiability.)[44]

2.2.6.2 The hearer-new/old and discourse-new/old dichotomies

Before moving on to topicality presuppositions, I will mention some comparable categories proposed by other linguists. There is indeed much overlap between Lambrecht's presupposition categories of identifiability, knowledge, and consciousness and other categories proposed in the literature (e.g. 'given/new', 'old/new', 'familiarity', 'sharedness',

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[42] There are some important exceptions. A pronoun may be used for an inactive entity that is highly prominent in a text, such as for a story's main character, or in real life, such as by a parent for a baby (Ariel 1996:207). Pronouns may also be used to refer to entities that are situationally accessible (e.g. in the hearer's visual field), despite their not being activated. And they may be used as a strategy to avoid explicit reference for reasons of politeness, discreteness, or secrecy.

[43] An 'idea' may be a 'referent' (i.e. an entity), 'event', or 'state' (Chafe 1994a:80).

[44] But Chafe (1996:37) says that 'accessibility appears to require a more direct or immediate kind of inference than is necessary for identifiability'.

'ground', 'background', etc.; see e.g. discussions in Prince 1981a and Chafe 1994a). Two particularly useful categories that I will often make use of when discussing Greek are the **hearer-new/old** and **discourse-new/old** dichotomies which Ellen Prince (1992) proposed. I assume that *hearer-new/old* corresponds to +/–identifiable (Lambrecht basically assumes the same, 1999:§4.2.1). The *discourse-new/old* parameter has no direct match in Lambrecht's system: a discourse-new entity is one that has not been mentioned before in the discourse (e.g. 'Mark Twain' in this book) but a discourse-old one has (e.g. 'Ellen Prince').

Now Prince's two dichotomies do not offer the same precision as Lambrecht's categories. In particular, the consciousness-state parameter (active, accessible, inactive) represents a more finely tuned set of distinctions. However, as analysts of written texts, one often encounters referents (i.e. entities or propositions) for which it is very hard to know exactly which activation state the referent would have had in the consciousness of a typical hearer (or reader). So Prince's system is much easier to operationalize. I shall therefore often use her terminology in my discussion of Greek.[45]

Table 1 illustrates the different constellations of identifiability and activation states as proposed by Lambrecht while contrasting them with Prince's categories. There is some ambiguity with how Lambrecht's situationally and inferentially accessible categories match up with Prince's categories.

Table 1. Identifiability and activation: hearer-new/old and discourse-new/old

	Lambrecht (1994:109)	example	Prince (1992)
unidentifiable	unidentifiable (brand new unanchored)	'a boy'	hearer-new, discourse-new
	unidentifiable anchored (brand new anchored)	'a boy in my class'	" " (anchored to a hearer-old entity)
identifiable	inactive (unused)	'John'	hearer-old, discourse-new
	textually accessible	'John'	" discourse-<u>old</u>
	situationally accessible	'that boy over there'	[? *treated as* hearer-old, discourse-old]
	inferentially accessible	'my friend'	[? *treated as* hearer-old, discourse-old][46]
	active (given)	'he' or Ø	hearer-old, discourse-<u>old</u>

2.2.6.3 Topicality presuppositions, ratified and non-ratified topics, topic accents

Now let us turn to **(iv) topicality** presuppositions (also called 'relevance presuppositions', L. 1994:54). The following discussion will lead to mentioning a few different types of topic constructions as well as some more general comments about topic including some defense of Lambrecht's definitions. The extended discussion is important background since the definition of a sentence-focus structure entails that the subject constituent is *not* a topic.

To repeat the quote from Lambrecht above (2000:613), 'an entity or proposition is presupposed to be topical if the speaker assumes the hearer considers it a center of current interest in the discourse and hence a potential locus of predication'. If I have correctly understood Lambrecht, a topicality presupposition is in fact a matter of **degree**. While a

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[45] A common way to try to measure givenness, topicality, and the like is to count the number of clauses since an idea was last mentioned in a discourse and to count the number of clauses an idea continues to be mentioned (i.e. its persistence). See e.g. the method used by Gregory & Michaelis 2001, which builds on Givón 1983a, etc.

[46] Equivalents for situationally accessible and inferentially accessible in Prince's system or not obvious. However, Prince (1992:305) suggests (and Birner [1994:248-251] supplies supporting evidence for the claim) that 'inferrable' entities (i.e. Lambrecht's inferentially accessible entities) are treated in language as hearer-old/discourse-old. This is because their identity depends on another entity, which is discourse-old. (Perhaps the same is true of situationally accessible entities.)

sentence topic is defined in terms of 'aboutness' (i.e. what the sentence is about), its presupposition concerns the degree to which its referent was expected or relevant as 'a center of current interest' in the context (1994:54).

Lambrecht calls a topic with the highest degree of presupposition a '**ratified topic**'; its form is generally indicative of this high degree: 'Ratified topics are expressed in unaccented (or phonologically null) constituents' (2000:614; also L&M 1998:495). Since a ratified topic is expressed by a minimal form, its referent must necessarily also be fully activated and so it simultaneously entails a consciousness presupposition. For example, if someone asks what 'Mary' just did (thereby activating her in the discourse), a speaker could make a comment about her, as in (32), where the unaccented subject pronoun *she* is the (ratified) topic expression.

(32)   She kissed JOHN.

But not all fully activated entities evoke a topicality presupposition. This is because a fully activated entity may express the focus. In (33), which might serve to correct a misunderstanding about who kissed John, the *accented* subject pronouns *SHE* and *I* are cases of (contrastive) constituent-focus and so they indicate not relations of topicality but of focality, and thus they do not entail topicality presuppositions. So a presupposition of consciousness cannot be equated with one of topicality (compare L. 1994:114-5; 54).

(33)   SHE didn't kiss him, I did.

An important fact about language pointed out by Lambrecht and others is that in **spontaneous spoken language** (which functional-typological linguists invariably consider more foundational than written language)[47] subjects are most typically expressed by unaccented pronouns or other minimal forms (1994:132).[48] Moreover, by Lambrecht's definitions, such subjects count as ratified topic expressions. They are not only active but they are 'predictable or expectable' entities about which comments are made (L&M 1998:495).

Of the remaining subjects found in spontaneous language that are not expressed by minimal forms, most still qualify as topic expressions. Their sentences assert comments about their topical subjects but the topic expressions are not minimal forms. This is because these are usually **non-ratified** topic expressions.[49] Most typically, they involve entities that are not active but accessible (textually, situationally, or inferentially). Consider *his WIFE* in (34) (this example and my explanation are based on L&M 1998:500). The wife is discourse-new

[47] Following Chafe (1994a:41-50), Lambrecht (1994:36, 196) and others, I assume that spontaneous spoken language ('conversational language') 'has a special status as the most natural use of language', and so serves as 'a baseline for discussing other uses that diverge from it' including especially written language (Chafe p. 50).

[48] See Chafe (1987) and (1994:82-92) where, in the latter, Chafe says 81% of the subjects in his sample were 'given', of which 98% were pronouns. See also Du Bois 1987 (especially pp. 824-9). More recently, Michaelis & Francis (2007) made counts from a large corpus of English telephone conversations. They found that 9% of the subjects are lexical and 91% pronominal. For objects, 66% are lexical, and 34% pronominal. Michaelis & Francis argue that Lambrecht's approach, which takes into account topic as a pragmatic relation, is more satisfying than approaches that only consider the activation states of entities (which for Lambrecht is only part of the system).

[49] As suggested above, topicality presuppositions apparently concern the degree to which an entity is expected to be a center of current interest in the discourse; thus if a ratified topic entails the highest degree, a non-ratified topic involves a lower degree. This characterization of a topicality presupposition might appear to blur the fact that, in interpreting sentences with ratified and non-ratified topics, both types equally involve a presupposition of topicality between the topic entity and the assertion made about it. What is a matter of degree, therefore, is the expectation that an entity will qualify as a center of current interest, not the fact that there is a topicality presupposition. (For related discussion, see §2.2.6.5 on 'cognitive effort' and 'topic accessibility' (Table 2).)

but inferentially accessible via the marriage frame. The subject *MOE* in the alternative response (B') is different, since 'Moe' has just been activated in utterance A. Still, speaker B does not yet take him 'to be an approved topic of discussion'. So the use of the accented noun in both responses signals a topic relation, something like a processing instruction to the hearer: 'Interpret this entity as the proposition's topic'.[50]

> (34)   A: Remember that guy MOE?
>
>   B: Yeah. His WIFE was a NUT.
>
>   B': MOE was a NUT.

Such accents on topic expressions are called '**topic accents**' by L&M (1998). Recognizing that accents in English may indicate not only focus relations but also topical ones is important. L&M demonstrate this important distinction for 'wh-questions'. Now, 'wh-words' (i.e. information question words) like *what, when, when,* and their answers if a single constituent, are typically taken by linguists as instances of constituent-focus. Thus, *what* and *some shoes* in (35) are instances of constituent-focus.

> (35)   A1: [What]$_{FD}$ did you BUY?
>
>   B: I bought [some SHOES.]$_{FD}$
>
>   A2: But [what]$_{FD}$ did AUDREY buy?

But note that, as typical of many wh-questions, the primary sentence accent is not on the wh-word but elsewhere, in the case of (35.A1) on *BUY,* and in (35.A2) on *AUDREY.* L&M persuasively argue that the function of these accents is to activate, or more precisely, to *ratify,* a topical open proposition. In other words, since the open proposition is topical but not ratified, it requires ratification much as does the non-ratified topical subject *his WIFE* in (34B). Sentence (35.A1) would be appropriate when the entire open proposition was not yet ratified, for example, as the first question in a conversation after someone had announced their return from a shopping expedition.[51] But (35.A2) would be an appropriate follow-up question. Here, the idea of 'buying' is already ratified and so requires no topic accent, but *AUDREY* requires a topic accent since she is not yet ratified.

A similar analysis is relevant to accents in circumstantial adverbial clauses (L&M 1998). Adverbial clauses, especially ones preceding their main clause, are normally knowledge-presupposed in relation to their matrix clause (the main predication). Their propositions are either already known to the hearer (e.g. in long-term memory) or to be cooperatively taken as such. And so they are part of the presupposition against which the main clause makes an assertion. In §2.2.6.7, I will describe such adverbial clauses as functioning as *topical scene-settings* for their main clause. Consider the following examples from L&M (p. 508):

> (36)   a. [Since SOCIETY's to blame] he should be PARDONED.
>
>   b. [When I slipped on the ICE] I decided to SUE.
>
>   c. [If your SHOE's untied] you ought to STOP.

L&M (p. 508-9) call the accents in these adverbial clauses topic accents. They serve to activate (and therefore ratify) their propositions 'in order to establish a topic relation between them and the main clause proposition'.

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[50] Lambrecht (2001b:1074-5) notes that, in German, the third-person personal pronouns *er, sie, es* are used for ratified topic expressions but not the pronouns *der, die, das.*

[51] To illustrate the topical structure of this question, consider this paraphrase (L&M:516) which expresses the topical element in a 'regarding'-phrase: "Regarding the proposition 'You bought x', I want to know what x is".

Now what is interesting in the above adverbial clauses is that the accent patterns correspond to patterns found in typical asserted clauses. L&M chose these three examples in order to illustrate that the accent patterns of adverbial clauses may match the same patterns found in the three basic focus structures (constituent-focus, predicate-focus, and sentence-focus). Consider the matching main clauses, which would make assertions (also from L&M p. 496):

> (37)   a. *SOCIETY's to blame.* ~ **constituent-focus**. (Someone is on trial and his lawyer is arguing that he should be pardoned. The open proposition is 'X is to be blamed (for his crimes)'.)
>
> b. *I slipped on the ICE.* ~ **predicate-focus** (The speaker is a ratified topic.)
>
> c. *Your SHOE's untied.* ~ **sentence-focus** (Neither subject nor predicate are topical.)

So the non-asserted adverbial clauses mimic the corresponding asserted forms. L&M (p. 508-9) explain the function of the adverbial clauses as being twofold: each involves an **external** relation to its main clause as well as having its own **internal** structure. Externally, the adverbials are topical elements (i.e. in the presupposition) in relation to their main clauses (which make assertions); and it is because of this function that L&M characterize their accents as topic accents. But internally, each of the adverbial clauses is **construed** as having its own information structure. For example, *when I slipped on the ICE* in (36b) is construed as an asserted comment about the topic 'I', etc.

We will occasionally consider circumstantial adverbial clauses in Koine Greek that are internally construed thetics (see e.g. §4.10.3.6 and the discussion of Act 16:35). For issues involving internally construed information structures of complement clauses of cognitive verbs, see §4.3.2 on Heb 11:6 and footnote 263.

2.2.6.4 Contrastive topic and contrastive constituent-focus

Non-ratified topics are sometimes felt to be contrastive and so they are often called '**contrastive topics**'. So contrastiveness is not limited to focal constituents. Consider the accented pronouns, *SHE* and *HE,* in (38) (accented proper names would have also been appropriate here). In this example too, even though the entities 'Mary' and 'John' are active, neither is predictable to the point of being taken for granted as the sole sentence topic. That these are topic expressions and not focal ones is intuitively clear, since it is the predicates and not the subjects that are completely unpredictable and which make the assertions informative (i.e. the sentences have predicate-focus structure).[52] Consider also (39), where names are required since the two newly introduced entities are males. Again, the subjects are accented. (The accented subject *AUDREY* in (35.A2) above would also be a contrastive topic expression, albeit as part of a larger topical open proposition.)

> (38)   I saw Mary and John yesterday. (a) SHE says HELLO, (b) but HE's still ANGRY with you. [L. 1994:291]
>
> (39)   I saw Max and Jim yesterday. (a) MAX says HELLO, (b) but JIM's still ANGRY with you.

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[52] As noted in §2.2.3, by Lambrecht's definitions, there are no instances of 'multiple foci' in a single clause. For linguists who define focus in terms of contrastiveness, sets of alternatives, or saliency, our contrastive focus and contrastive topic can both be types of 'focus'. Nevertheless, such linguists sometimes see the need to distinguish the two. For example, Kadmon (2001:380ff) takes into account the difference, but in doing so, she makes use of the terminologically cumbersome tags, 'TOPIC-Focus' for 'contrastive topic' and 'FOCUS-Focus' for 'contrastive focus'.

Now some readers might feel that what is contrastive in these last two examples is only (or primarily only) the second subject, *HE* in (38) and *JIM* in (39), in that it contrasts with the previously mentioned (anaphoric) entity, *SHE* and *MAX*. Thus, the accent on *SHE* in (38) and *MAX* in (39) may serve only to ratify these subjects as topics (consider the fact that dropping the (b) sentences would not affect the accentuation of the (a) sentences). But in both examples, the (a) subjects may occur with a distinct intonation that indicates an **anticipation of contrast** with something to come (e.g. with a low rising tone on the subject).[53] The phenomenon of anticipatory (or cataphoric) contrast is also relevant for Greek (see §4.10.3.5.1, footnote 176 in §3.3.1, and Rule 5 in §5.3.2).

It is necessary here to further underscore the difference between **contrastive topic** and **contrastive focus**. They may seem hard at times to differentiate in English since both types of expressions take stress. (It should be clear by now that English uses stress to mark not only the focus domain but also certain types of topics, such as non-ratified ones, which may also be contrastive.) But some languages have distinct means to mark each. Consider the following examples from Lambrecht (1994:292-3).

(40)   Roommates Hanako and Mary discussing household chores:

   Hanako: 'Mary, YOU do the CLEANING, I̲'ll do the COOKING'
   Mary: *'No, I̲'ll do the cooking;* YOU do something ELSE.'

(41)   *Hanako:* Mary-san,   anata-**wa** osoji   shite kudasai,
   -            Mary-VOC   you-TOP cleaning do   please

   watashi-**wa** oryori   shimasu kara.
   I-TOP   cooking do   CONJ

   Mary: Ie,   watashi-**ga** oryori   shimasu kara;
   -       No, I-NOM   cooking do   CONJ

   anata-**wa** hoka-no koto   shite kudasai
   you-TOP   other   thing do   please

(42)   *Hanako: Mary, TOI   tu   fais les NETTOYAGES,*
   -            Mary YOU-TOP you-SUB do   the cleanings

   MOI je   fais la CUISINE.
   I̲-TOP I-SUB do   the cooking

   Mary: Non, c'est MOI qui   fais la   cuisine.
   -       no   it-is I̲   who do   the cooking

   TOI   tu   peux faire autre CHOSE.
   YOU-TOP you-SUB can   do   other thing

In the English version, (40), all of the subjects are accented and may be described as contrastive, but only *I̲* in Mary's response is a case of constituent-focus (the topical open proposition being 'X will do the cooking'). The other subjects are topics. Still, the fact that *I̲* alone is stressed in Mary's response (there is no accent on the predicate) indicates that it is the focus of assertion. Unlike English, the Japanese and French use more distinctive structures for each. In the Japanese, (41), *wa* indicates contrastive topic, but *ga* on *watashi* 'I' indicates contrastive constituent-focus (Kuno's 'exhaustive listing', 1972). In the French, (42), the contrastive topics are expressed by clause-initial accented forms*,* while the contrastive focal constituents are postverbal.

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[53] See Levinsohn (2000:229).

2.2.6.5 Diagnostic tests and more criteria for (types of) topic and focus

Correctly identifying topic and focus is not always easy. Various **criteria** and '**diagnostic tests**' are suggested in the literature.

One quasi-test I have already used several times is the **context question**. For example, the sentence *[It]$_{TOP}$ [broke DOWN]$_{FD}$* would be appropriate in a context where *What happened to your car?* had just been asked or suggested. So a context question is helpful to tease apart the topical and focal expressions in an utterance. The interrogative word or phrase of the context-question (e.g. *what happened?*) normally corresponds to the focus domain and the named parts of the question (e.g. *your car*) to what is topical.[54]

Certain paraphrases may be used as tests. One such **paraphrase test** is helpful for identifying a sentence with contrastive focus (Chafe 1976:35, L. 1981:67). Contrastive focus sentences can typically be felicitously paraphrased by adding a phrase with *rather than (instead of, not)...* as a complement to the main assertion. Thus, *I'll do the cooking* in (40) above can be appropriately paraphrased as *I'll do the cooking, not you* (see also the discussion of (7), which could be paraphrased as *My CAR broke down, not my motorcycle*).

There are also paraphrase tests for identifying topic. One should (normally) be able to paraphrase a sentence's topic by a phrase like 'as for X' or 'speaking of X' or 'The speaker said about X that X…' (Reinhart 1982:10-11; L. 1994:150-2; Polinsky 1999:572). For example, one could paraphrase the first line of (40) by *As for you (Mary), YOU do the CLEANING, and as for me, I'll do the COOKING*. Putting the topic expression before the main sentence in these phrases guarantees the topic will be taken for granted (i.e. in the presupposition). But such topic paraphrase tests are of limited use. For one, they apply best to instances of topic change (including contrastive topics), but they are less useful for ratified topics.

Besides such tests we can mention certain criteria that may be used to identify topic and focus. One important criterion often mentioned for topics is as follows. Since topics must be 'a matter of standing interest or concern' between the communicators, 'there must EXIST an entity or set of entities which can be designated by the topic expression' (L. 1994:155; see also Strawson 1964, Reinhart 1982:16, Horn 2001:509-515).[55] Lambrecht illustrates this by (43a) and (b), where the subjects are necessarily both topic expressions and presupposed to exist—they entail an '**existential presupposition**'.

(43)   a. John isn't my FRIEND.

          b. My friend isn't JOHN.

Sentence (a) presupposes that a person named 'John' exists (and is identifiable to the hearer and topical). But the focal predicate-nominal *my FRIEND* does not require an existential presupposition. This is clear because the sentence is possible even if John has no friends. But sentence (b), where 'my friend' is the topical subject, normally entails the presupposition that the speaker does have a friend.

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[54] It can be tricky when trying to discover the most appropriate context-question as a means to analyze the focus structure of a given utterance. For example, if the analyst considers a sentence like *She kissed JOHN* in a text, at least two context-questions could be suggested: (i) *Who did she kiss?* (which would demand a constituent-focus structure, *She kissed [JOHN]$_{FD}$*) and (ii) *What did she do?* (which would demand a predicate-focus structure, *She [kissed JOHN]$_{FD}$*). The greater context must be considered to decide which question is more relevant and thus which one reflects the correct interpretation.

[55] This is essentially the same as saying that a topic entity must be referential.

Negated sentences like those in (43) illustrate another aspect about topical subjects. It has been noted by many (L. 1994:153) that if a subject in a negated sentence is the topic, then it is necessarily **outside of the scope of negation** (or modality), which is to say, it is not in the focus domain. This is clear for (43a) and (b) above where the scope of negation involves the predicate. Consider also the following Russian sentences (discussed by Horn 2001:512, originally from Babby 1980)[56] and their English equivalents:

(44)   *Dokumenty   ne   obnaružilis'.*
documents-NOM   NEG   were.found-PL

       'The documents were not found.'

(45)   *Dokumentov   ne   obnaružilos'.*
documents-GEN   NEG   was.found.N.SG

       'No documents were found.' [= 'There weren't documents found', Horn]

In (44), the Russian nominative NP *dokumenty* and the English NP *the documents* are the subjects as well as topics, and they are assumed to exist and to be outside the scope of negation. But in (45), where *dokumentov* is genitive and the English *documents* is preceded by *no* or *weren't*, the NPs are within the negation scope and no entity for the given location is assumed to exist, and so the NPs cannot be sentence topics.

Lambrecht mentions another sort of topic criterion. For a referent to qualify as a topic, it must have some minimal degree of **pragmatic accessibility** (1994:165). Such accessibility requires that it be relevant as a potential center of interest (he uses the term 'relevance' on p. 167; see pp. 103-4, 162). Along these lines Lambrecht presents the following 'topic acceptability scale' (1994:165), which may be used to 'measure the degree of pragmatic well-formedness of a sentence containing a topic expression' (items in […] are my clarifications). To Lambrecht's scale, I have added the parameter of **cognitive effort**.

Table 2. 'The topic acceptability scale'

active	most acceptable	least effort
accessible		
unused [identifiable but discourse-new]	↓	↓
brand-new anchored		
brand-new unanchored [fully unidentifiable]	least acceptable	most effort

Referents (i.e. entities or propositions) that are fully active are most acceptable as topic referents. They involve the least amount of mental processing effort (or 'low cognitive cost'; Chafe's term) since the referent is already active. Referents that are not active require more effort since the hearer must first access that referent (from long-term memory or construct it by inference) before he can process the comment about that topic. Least acceptable as topics are referents that are brand new and unanchored (i.e. fully unidentifiable). According to Lambrecht, a sentence like (46) is hard to process in isolation since it is difficult to imagine a context where it would be informative to assert *tallness* about a fully unidentifiable entity (p. 167).[57] That is to say, it is hard to imagine how this could be a relevant comment about a topic. But the sentence becomes much easier to interpret if the entity is anchored by a phrase like 'in my class', as illustrated by (47) (adapted from Lambrecht, p. 167). This is presumably because *in my class* reduces the number of things the NP may refer to, thus making it relatively more identifiable.

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[56] The negated sentences illustrated here are described by Horn and Babby as thetic. See §2.3.7.3 below.

[57] If 'a boy' can construed as generic (i.e. referring to an identifiable class), it is more easily interpreted as a topic: *A boy wants to be tall; A boy is a boy* (examples from L. 1994:167).

(46)   A boy is tall.

(47)   A boy in my class is tall.

2.2.6.6 Various 'topic promoting' constructions including focal ones

In natural discourse, unidentifiable (i.e. hearer-new) entities like 'a boy' are more typically first introduced in a clause or intonation unit that is separate from the one making a comment about it. 'A boy' might be introduced by a dedicated **thetic** construction, such as the *there+be* clause in (48); the *there+be* clause is then followed by a relative clause that makes a comment about the newly introduced boy, where 'who' is its (ratified) topic expression. Or 'a boy' might be introduced as the **focal object** in a predicate, as in (49).[58]

(48)   There's a BOY in my class who's a GIANT.

(49)   I just saw a BOY outside. He's a GIANT.

In both (48) and (49) 'a boy' is first expressed in a focus domain, and only after being introduced is a comment made about him. Thus, what we will describe below as two different cognitive jobs—(i) activating a new entity and (ii) making a comment about it—are divided between two separate clauses (L. 1994:184-188; this point is similar in many respects to ones made by Du Bois 1987:826—how natural discourse avoids activating more than one inactive or unidentifiable entity as a verb argument per clause—and Chafe's 1987:22-23 'one-new-idea-at-a-time' principle per intonation unit; see also Givón 1975:202, 1984:258-263, and Downing 1995:12-13).[59]

Sentence (50), is a bit different. Here the boy is activated in a **left-detached** (or left-dislocated) phrase, *that boy there*. By itself, the phrase is a predicate-less fragment, but it is uttered in anticipation of the main clause that follows.

(50)   That boy there, he's a GIANT.

This utterance would be appropriate if the speaker could point to a boy who is visible and so situationally accessible—hence the definite demonstrative *that…there* is appropriate even if the hearer has never seen the boy before.[60]

Another example of left-detachment, one discussed by Lambrecht (1994:177, 182-3), is illustrated by the final sentence in (51). Given the intervening description of the sons and mother, the previously mentioned wizard, is reactivated by a left-detached phrase, making him a ratified topic for the description that follows.

(51)   Once there was *a wizard.* He was very wise, rich, and was married to a beautiful witch. They had two sons. The first was…[description of the sons and mother follow; nab]. *Now the wizard, he* lived in Africa.

According to Lambrecht (p. 183), left-detached constructions are typically used to promote an accessible entity (not an unused or brand new one) to active state, so that it may

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[58] Croft (in press, pp. 33-7) lists other 'presentative' English constructions and their frequencies as found in spoken texts (*The Pear Stories,* Chafe 1980). This includes also copular sentences (e.g. *Then the third person that comes in the scene is a little boy; It opens with .. um .. I guess a farm worker, … picking pears,*).

[59] See also Strawson on the fundamental difference between when speakers 'inform the audience of the existence of a particular item' and when they merely assert something about an item that is already presupposed to exist by the audience (1971:89, 92 [=1964]).

[60] In the case that the hearer is seeing the boy for the very first time, this example shows that for an entity to be 'identifiable' does not mean it must have been in the hearer's long-term memory. All that is necessary is that at the speech moment the hearer can pick out the right entity from all possible entities that could be referred to in this way.

become a topic of the main predication that follows.[61] So the entity must be **identifiable** (2001b:1073), as illustrated by *that boy there* in (50) and *the wizard* in (51). Left-detached phrases are **extra-clausal**, that is, they are not syntactically integrated into the main predication that follows. They are typically set off by a pause (as indicated by a comma in these examples), accompanied by a distinct intonation, and then 'resumed' by a minimal form (e.g. unaccented pronoun) in the main predication, which indicates the grammatical role they play, whether this be subject (e.g. *he* in these examples) or a different role (1994:182).

The above three constructions, (i) the thetic introducing an entity, (ii) a focal predicate introducing an entity, and (iii) the left-detached construction, may be called '**topic promoting**' or 'topic announcing' devices (L. 1994:176-7, 188). Dik has called the first mention of an entity via constructions like (i) and (ii) a 'New Topic' (e.g. Dik 1997a:314-8). The terminology of both Lambrecht and Dik is potentially confusing, since in (i) and (ii) the new entity is introduced in a focus domain (they are focal elements), and so the entity does not hold a topical relation with the assertion. Construction (iii) is different because the left-detached fragment does not appear to amount to an assertion and so cannot be classed as a proper focal element—it is not even a clause. Instead, the entity appears to hold, or at least anticipate, a topical relation to the main predication that follows. In the end, Lambrecht considers (iii) a type of topic construction, what he calls 'a detached lexical topic constituent', although he acknowledges there is a difference between such topic expressions that are extra-clausal and the clause-internal type (p. 188).

In §4.5, we will consider a use of left-detached constituents in Greek that is noteworthy because the promoted entities are **unidentifiable** (they are modified by τις 'a certain'). The construction is probably much more common in spoken English than the literature on left-detachment suggests. A few examples occur in *The Pear Stories* (Chafe 1980), as illustrated by (52) (p. 309, speaker 10). Croft (in press, p. 36) describes this example as a 'dislocated' 'independent NP' with 'presentative function'. A descriptive phrase intervenes between the detached NP, *three boys,* and the finite verb clause, *are walking by.* (Some examples in *The Pear Stories* involve a resumptive pronoun.)

> (52) [1.5 [.5] A--nd uh [.6]] **three boys**, probably about the same age, [.85] {creaky onset} are walking by, [the bracketed numbers indicate pause lengths in seconds, nab]

Since the NP is unidentifiable, this construction resembles a typical *there+be* thetic even more than a left-detached NP with an identifiable entity. I will call this a '**fragment thetic**' given its thetic function, even though it is not a full clause. (See also (188) in §2.4.2.)

Another type of topic promoting device is of the just-mentioned **clause-internal** type, where the topic expression is an argument of the predicate but treated in a special way. We already reviewed examples involving accented subject constituents (including pronouns) that serve to ratify non-ratified topics, and which may, to one degree or another, involve contrast. More well-known perhaps are cases where such a topic constituent, subject or otherwise, occurs in an atypical or 'marked' position, especially at the beginning of the clause. Since the constituent is syntactically (and intonationally) part of the main clause, it is not an instance of left-detachment.[62] Consider the marked clause-initial topic expressions, *history* and *math courses* in (53), which are direct and indirect objects (they, together with an element of their respective predicates, would no doubt also be accented; example from E. Prince, discussed in L. 1994:160). In languages where the subject is not normally in initial position, the subject

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[61] Left-detached phrases have other uses too, such as to indicate a contrastive topic or that a new theme or episode about the same entity is commencing, e.g. at a paragraph boundary (L. 1994:183-4).

[62] Clause-internal topicalization is also called 'Y-movement' (Kuno 1971:359, Givón 1990:705, Prince 1981b).

may occur in the clause-initial 'topic position' (see e.g. the Koine Greek example in Act 20:6 discussed in §3.3.1). Presumably such clause-internal marked topics are (or tend to be) used in different contexts than left-detached topics, for example, where the entity is less accessible or will persist less in the discourse (see discussions in Givón 1990:752-760 and Gregory & Michaelis 2001).

(53)   (Context: The speaker has been talking about their time in high school.)
       History I found to be dry. *Math courses* I was never good at…Football was my bag.

2.2.6.7 Multiple topics, scene-settings, 'etics' and 'emics', and hybrid information structures

Example (53) also illustrates clauses that Lambrecht would claim have **multiple topics** (e.g. *history* and *I* in the first clause). To be sure, some linguists assume a clause can only have one topic expression.[63] But in Lambrecht's view, this restriction is unnecessary: A single clause can increase the hearer's knowledge about two (or more) entities simultaneously, both of which are lexicogrammatically evoked (see also Nikolaeva 2001 and Erteschik-Shir 1997:44). For Lambrecht, *I* in both clauses in (53) is a ratified topic and the clause-initial constituents, *history* and *math courses,* are non-ratified topics (as is also *Football*). In terms of the overall discourse, Lambrecht would call the non-ratified topics '**secondary**' topics, and *I* a '**primary**' topic, since *I* has more global discourse relevance (1994:147). The focus domain in the first clause is the predicate minus *history.* Moreover, it seems to me that the different topics involve comments with different scopes. The scope of the comment about *history* includes *I* but not vice versa:[64]

(54)   History   I   [found to be dry.]$_{FD}$
       TOP-2   [COM-2: TOP-1 [COM-1 - - - - -   ]]

Finally, Lambrecht stresses that the two topics involve a relationship of aboutness between themselves (1994:148): 'a sentence containing two (or more) topics, in addition to conveying information about the topic referents, conveys information ABOUT THE RELATION that holds between them as arguments in the proposition.' (See also (57) and (58) below.)

There are other disputed aspects about Lambrecht's use of the term topic. Lambrecht considers topic (defined in terms of aboutness) to also cover '**scene-setting**' expressions (1994:192-3, 118),[65] that is, a phrase which (in the words of Chafe 1976:50) 'sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds', that is, it 'limit[s] the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain.' Scene-setting expressions are essentially equivalent to Dik's 'Theme' (what precedes the main

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[63] E.g. Reinhart (1982:3). This assumption is often made in theories where 'topic' is equated with a unique clause position.

[64] Lambrecht (1994:148-9) discusses another example: *(Q: Whatever became of John?) A: He married Rosa, but he didn't really love her.* The subject and object pronouns *he* and *her* both express ratified topics (I assume Lambrecht would consider *her* to be a topical element *within* the larger focal predicate). The topicality of the object *her* can be (inelegantly) shown by the 'as for X' paraphrase test: *As for Rosa, he didn't really love her.*

Nikolaeva (2001) presents evidence from Northern Ostyak for the grammatical marking of multiple clause-internal topics, where the subject is a primary topic and the object a secondary one. An activated object can be in the focus domain of a predicate-focus construction and marked as either non-topical or topical (by object marking on the verb). But, she notes, only objects with activated referents can be secondary topics. In contrast, it seems to me that, in English at least, a secondary topic expressed by a clause-initial 'topicalized' object (e.g. 'history' in *History I found to be dry*) need not be active, only accessible.

[65] Much like Lambrecht, Matić (2003b:107) considers scene-settings (Matić's 'frame-setting') to be essentially equivalent to (clause-internal) topics (both involve the aboutness relation). But he characterizes them as 'indirect' and 'direct' topics respectively, the latter being 'direct arguments of the predicate' e.g. subjects and objects.

clause and 'specifies the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant', 1978:19; see also Dik 1997a:310-11 and Dik's use of the term 'Orientation' in 1997b:387-401), Clark & Clark's 'Frame' (1977), Dooley's 'setting' (1982:310), Jacobs's 'frame-setting' (2001:656), more or less Halliday's 'Theme' (1970), and what some in Prague School linguistics have called 'point of departure' (see also Beneš's 'basis').

To avoid circularity, one would ideally wish to be able to define a scene-setting expression without reference to sentence position. But it seems most linguists who discuss scene-setting have in mind elements whose sentence position is initial and before the main predication. Consider the italicized sentence-initial phrases in (55), where (a-c) involve **adverbials**.

(55) a. (So how's your car doing?) *Yesterday, on Highway Five,* it conked OUT on me.

b. *If your CAR breaks down,* you should ring up JOE.

c. *When it broke DOWN,* I rung up JOE.

d. *(As for) Volume THREE,* the history of SPAIN just isn't my BAG.

The temporal, locative, and conditional adverbial settings in (55a-c) express situations or circumstances that 'limit' the predication. (55d)[66] is different since the 'setting' is an entity, 'volume three' (this kind of structure without *as for* is actually very common in spoken English, even if unacceptable in writing; see L. 1994:193). But it too has a similar delimiting function, as it sets a 'framework' for the main predication. And it is also like the adverbials in (55a-c) in being **extra-clausal** (i.e. it is not an argument of the verb). From Lambrecht's perspective, all four clauses make assertions that increase the hearer's knowledge not only about (i) the topical subject entities ('it', 'you', 'I', 'the history of Spain', which can be considered primary topics) but also about (ii) the settings.

Many, however, would argue that there is a qualitative difference between scene-settings and topics (e.g. Ziv 1996:704 says that counting scene-settings as topics 'empties [the aboutness criterion] of any empirical validity'; see also Reinhart 1982:3, de Vries 1993 and 1995, Dooley 1997, Jacobs 2001). Two assumptions typically stand behind making this distinction: (i) Topics are assumed to be only entities; they are not settings, which concern the spatial and temporal background or other circumstances (this is implied by Gundel 1988:210; see also de Vries 1995:523). (ii) Topics are syntactic arguments of the predicate (e.g. subject or object) and so clause-internal, but adverbial scene-settings are less clearly integrated into the clause (Dik called the former 'Topic' and the latter 'Theme' or 'Orientation'; see comments by L. 1994:118 on Dik and Chafe).[67]

But to insist on an absolute difference between the two is theoretically problematic, since the two have important similarities. First and foremost, like the topics expressed by the subjects in the above examples, so the scene-settings are to be *taken for granted in relation to the assertion* (i.e. they are 'given' or 'in the presupposition'; assertion and negation tests verify this).

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[66] (55d) is adapted from Dooley (1982:316), who illustrates various types of 'outer' topics (which are extra-clausal) and 'inner' topics (which are arguments of the predicate). Another example he gives of an outer topic is ***As for volume thrée,*** *the chapters are much too LONG.*

[67] The difference between topics and scene-settings is readily described in terms of prototypicality. A prototypical topic expression would be a 'first order entity' (see §2.3.2, i.e. not a proposition), which was a clause-internal argument and the grammatical subject (i.e. A or S in Dixon's terminology; see T. Payne 1997, chapter 7). Prototypical scene-settings would be circumstances (especially temporal and spatial designations) that were expressed as extra-clausal elements.

Second, languages often treat the two in the same way. This is first of all suggested by the fact they prefer positions early in the sentence. This is of course by definition so for scene-settings and it is a well-known cross-linguistic tendency for marked types of clause-internal topics. Third, English examples like (55d) illustrate that even entities may be scene-settings.

More significant perhaps is the fact that some languages with dedicated topic particles use them for both. This is true for Wambon (among other Papuan languages, see de Vries 1995 and van Enk & de Vries 1997:122-6), which uses the same particles (derived from demonstrative pronouns) for (i) clause-internal topical entities and (ii) a wide variety of sentence-initial scene-settings (e.g. temporal phrases, conditional and resultative clauses, 'tail-head' linkage, etc., as well as entity phrases of the left-detached type). Similar observations have been made for other languages with topic markers (see e.g. Gundel 1988:216-7 on Korean).[68]

In (Mandarin) Chinese, a 'topic prominent' language where subject is not grammaticalized, the distinction between topic and scene-setting is especially fuzzy, because scene-settings so frequently refer to entities (i.e. 'individuals'). Chafe's above-mentioned definition (what sets 'a spatial, temporal or individual framework…') is a classic definition for the Chinese style scene-setting phrase. The entity/individual type is very common. Compare the scene-setting NP 'that year' in (56), which functions as a temporal adverb, with the entity NPs, 'those trees' in (57) and 'I' in (58). Chafe (1976:50-51) notes that (57) is not equivalent to an English sentence with a left-detached noun (e.g. 'As for those trees, the trunks are big') since this would normally imply contrast; more correct renderings would be 'The trunks of those trees are big' or 'Those trees have big trunks'.

> (56) *nèi   nián   tā   hěn   jǐnzhāng*
>   that year   3S   very anxious
>
>   'That year s/he was very anxious.' [from Li & Thompson 1981:95]

> (57) *nèi-xie shùmu   shù-shēn   dà*
>   those   tree   tree-trunk big

> (58) *wǒ   dùzi   è   le*
>   1sg   belly   hungry   ASP
>   [TOP] [COM: [TOP] [COM - - - - -]]
>
>   'I'm hungry.' [LaPolla & Poa 2006:280]

Sentences with two initial entity-NPs like (57) and (58) represent a well-known clause type in Chinese, what LaPolla & Poa (2006:279-80) call a 'double topic construction'. The entities usually involve a possessor-possessed or whole-part relationship. LaPolla & Poa describe (58) as a greater topic-comment structure whose comment incorporates another topic-comment structure (as indicated by brackets). In other words, as I understand it, the different topics have different scopes, and the relationships of possessor-possessed and whole-part, rather than being expressed grammatically by case or lexical means, are expressed pragmatically as an information structure relationship of aboutness (recall that Lambrecht claims that multiple topics can have a relation of aboutness between them).

The data illustrated here from Chinese and the facts briefly referred to from Wambon illustrate how languages can have their own **language-specific** ways of expressing topicality.

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[68] See also Haiman (1978) on how conditional sentences, especially ones preceding the main predication, function in many respects like topics. Haiman (p. 577) notes how Turkish and Tagalog can mark a single NP referring to an entity by the word meaning 'if' in order to indicate a left-detached contrastive topic: *Ahmed i –se çok meşgul.* (gloss: *Ahmed be -if very busy*) 'As for Ahmed, he's very busy' or 'If it's Ahmed you're interested in, he's very busy.'

No doubt, many other languages could be cited.[69] As de Vries (1993, 1995), Dik (1997a:335-8), and Bolkestein (1998) have emphasized, topicality and focality can first be viewed as 'etic' relations that all languages make use of (see also D. Payne's 1992a discussion of Dik et al. 1981). This generic etic perspective then contrasts with the specific ways individual languages formally express them—that is, the '**emic**' grammatical constructions that signal them.[70] Therefore, if one compares any two languages, we are likely to find **mismatches** in the number of structures and how they functionally line up with each other. The way these Chinese style topic structures must be restructured in English is one example of a cross-language mismatch. We also saw in §2.2.3 how English uses a predicate-focus structure for a thetic proposition like (19) *It's raining* which other languages express by a sentence-focus structure (e.g. Japanese and Russian).

As far as a basic, non-language specific, definition of *etic* topicality is concerned, I believe Lambrecht's approach has some important merits: topic is defined loosely enough to accommodate multiple topics and topical elements outside of the predication, and multiple topics can be ranked in terms of being primary or secondary (etc.) or as having different scopes or relationships.[71] I will nonetheless alert the reader whenever a topical expression is discussed that is extra-clausal or of the adverbial 'scene-setting' type, since these languages-specific details are important aspects of the *emic* expression of information structure categories.

In a similar vein, it should be pointed out that Lambrecht's system is flexible enough to handle information structure **hybrids**. For example, a sentence-focus structure or constituent-focus structure may fill the comment of a topic-comment structure, as illustrated by (59) and (60) (see L. 1994:236-7, 2000:614).

(59)   *Speaking of Mary,*   *her CAR broke down.*
      [TOPIC   ]   [COM: [SENTENCE-FOCUS]]

(60)   *Ie, oryori-**wa***   *watashi-**ga***   *shimasu*   *kara.*
      no   cooking-TOP   I-NOM.   do   CONJ
      [TOPIC   ] [COM: [FOCUS]   [OPEN PROPOSITION]]

      'No, the COOKING, I̲'ll do' [L. 1994:293]

Many thetic sentences of the type involving relatively semantically empty predicates like *there+be* often involve scene-settings (we take this up in detail in §2.3.4). Consider (61), where the locative scene-setting *in the fridge* holds a topical relationship with the main (thetic) clause, *there's some broccoli.*

(61)   (Are you hungry?)   In the fridge   there's some broccoli.

                     [TOPIC]   COM: [SENTENCE-FOCUS]]

Chinese may again be cited as a language that makes use of such hybrids in emic ways that are foreign to languages like English. The verb 'die' is often used thetically in languages to announce a state of affairs (i.e. when there is no expectation to hear about either the person who has died or their death). Consider the Chinese and English sentences in (62), what I

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[69] Another example would be how locatives may be expressed as grammatical subjects in Chicheŵa (Bresnan 1994).

[70] 'Etic' refers to the language-independent or 'outsider's' perspective of a linguistic or cultural phenomenon, while 'emic' refers to the language-specific or 'insiders' perspective. This terminology, first coined by Kenneth Pike (1954), is illustrated, for example, by the difference between phon*etic* and phon*emic* analysis of a language's sound system.

[71] Lambrecht (1994:118-9) admits to the vagueness of his (and Strawson's) definition of topic.

understand to be functionally equivalent (examples from LaPolla 1995:318). The English has a flat sentence-focus structure where topical *my* is within the focus domain. But the Chinese requires a topic-comment structure where the comment is filled by a thetic sentence-focus structure in which focal 'father' is postverbal.[72] The thetic utterances in (62) may be contrasted with the predicate-focus sentences in (63) where 'my father' would be the sentence topic.

(62) a. *Ta*   *si*   *le*   *fuqin.*

         3S   die   ASP   father

         [TOPIC] [COM: [SENT. FOCUS - -]]

     b. His FATHER died.

(63) a. Ta   de   fuqin   si   le

         3S   GEN   father   die   ASP

         [TOPIC   ] [COMMENT]

     b. His father DIED.

We shall occasionally encounter hybrids in our discussion of Koine Greek (see §4.8.3 with time statements).

2.2.7 Polarity, contrastiveness, emotive emphasis, and salient elements of broad focus domains

There are a few issues about which Lambrecht has little to say but which still require mention here. Some fall outside of the strict domain of information structure as defined by Lambrecht, though they are related in one way or another.

2.2.7.1 Polar focus and truth value

Lambrecht only mentions in passing polarity—what I will call **polar focus**. He notes that 'marking the polarity of a proposition' is another 'communication function' that is expressed via focus structure (besides the three major functions he focuses on—topic-comment, thetic, and identifying a variable in an open proposition; 1994:336, 236). But polar focus features more prominently in the work of other linguists

As defined here, polar focus concerns indicating the **truth value** of a presupposed **complete proposition** (compare Watters 1979, Dik et al. 1981:44, Dik 1997a:331, Sasse 1995:10-11, and Verum-Fokus in Höhle 1992). In a context where a complete proposition is topical (either because it has been fully activated or is to some degree accessible), different communicators may hold different beliefs about its truth. If, for example, someone was wondering if John went to the market, another person might assert that it was or was not true. Consider the different forms in (64).

(64) A: John WENT to the market.

     A': John DID go to the market.

     B: John DIDN'T (did NOT) go to the market.

If the proposition 'John went to the market' was sufficiently activated, minimal forms could be used:

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[72] LaPolla explains about such sentences that 'generally the topic is the possessor of, or is in some way related to, the NP in the [thetic] expression' (1995:318).

(65)   A: He DID. / It's TRUE.

B: He DIDN'T. / It's not SO.

Such assertions may be softened by words like 'maybe' in (66), among other ways.

(66)   MAYBE he went there.

A speaker may use a polar assertion to **correct** a false belief, as when countering something just said. Corrective polar assertions have been called 'counter-presuppositional', among other things (Dik et al. p. 51). Consider (67). The positive form in (67B) involves the addition of *too* and the negated form in (67C) the addition of *either*.[73]

(67)   (A: I don't think John went to the market.)

B: He did TOO!

C: He didn't EITHER!

The English examples (64) to (67) involve a verb, a negative particle (*not*), or another particle that is accented. Some languages involve special morphology, especially verb morphology (e.g. Aghem of Cameroon, Watters 1979).

In §2.3.7.1 below, we will consider how polarity interacts with theticity.

2.2.7.2 Contrastiveness versus information structure

The important role polarity plays in focus marking has been underscored by linguists studying African languages (e.g. Watters 1979, Dik et al. 1981, Bearth 1992, 1998; see especially the references in Bearth 1999). For some of these languages, it has also been argued that **contrast** plays a major role in 'focus marking' systems, so much so that it has been suggested that it can be the most important component (e.g. Bearth).[74] But, as we have noted above (§2.2.3), for Lambrecht contrast is *not* a defining component for his definition of information nor for any of the basic three information structures (predicate-focus, constituent-focus, and sentence-focus). Still, contrast may interact with information structure in significant ways. We saw, for example, that (following Lambrecht) both topic and focus expressions could involve contrast. We will also see later that for Koine Greek certain constructions, especially elements in the preverbal position, tend to involve contrast. But we will see that, as Lambrecht has emphasized, contrast can be a matter of degree (it is a scalar notion).

As far as a research methodology is concerned, it seems wise to follow Lambrecht and treat contrast and information structure as two separate components. But we can underscore here that, from a Construction Grammar perspective, there is no theoretical problem to assume that a language specific construction may combine both components. So, presumably, contrastiveness may indeed be part of the conventional meaning of a construction (as Bearth and others argue for some African constructions) and not just as a matter of implicature (compare Polinsky 1999:576, note 12). And reciprocally, it may well be the case that some information structure categories in some languages (including Lambrecht's three basic focus structures) are less consistently represented (see example (21) in §2.2.3 from Bearth 1998).

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[73] 'Positive counter-asserted Polar Focus is marked by the emphatic particle *wel'* in Dutch (Dik et al. 1981:53). Compare also *doch* in German.

[74] Bearth (1999:145, especially note 42) challenges Lambrecht and others who consider contrastiveness to be 'a pre-theoretical notion' and so only a 'conversational implicature'. Bearth's reasons are 'not only because of the pervasiveness of the expression of contrast in human language, but mainly because it also gives rise to grammaticalisation patterns that are clearly distinguishable from related categories such as focus' (see also Bearth 1998).

2.2.7.3 Emotive emphasis versus information structure

Another phenomenon that can interact with information structure in interesting ways but that also should be considered a distinct element is what I will call **emotive emphasis**.

Now, in traditional grammars of classical languages, 'emphasis' is typically an imprecise tag for a variety of linguistic phenomena, and so the use of this term is often avoided in modern studies of constituent order of classical languages. Still, the term 'emphasis' has not been entirely axed from modern linguistics; it has simply been defined more precisely.

In this study, I use emotive emphasis as a cover term to talk about the expression of the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards a state of affairs, such as anger, joy, excitement, surprise, fear, irony, arrogance, etc. Attitudes and emotion may be expressed by intonation or by another means. For example, it has been shown that in English the expression of emotion is associated with certain particles and words functioning as explicatives (e.g. *wow, man,*[75] *dude, damn, hell,* etc.).[76] It is also associated with certain types of constructions, including exclamative ones (see §6.7.1.). For other languages, it has been claimed that focus morphology may involve an emotive component. When describing 'focus' clitics in Korowai (a Papuan language of Irian Jaya), van Enk & de Vries (1997:126-9) note clitic in particular, *-é,* that is pronounced 'in exclamative fashion' and 'is typically used when the speaker wants to assert or command something emphatically'. (In contrast to *-é,* the clitic *-to* appears to be a more generic non-emphatic focus marker.)

Perhaps most importantly for English, emotive emphasis is associated with certain intonation patterns that involve word stress, including what has been called 'emphatic stress' (e.g. Ladd 1996).[77] So it should be no surprise that the expression of emotive emphasis often coincides with, *and can be confused with,* accent patterns that indicate information structure relations. My assumption is that, in English at least, emphatic stress may coincide with both accented focal expressions and accented topic expression.

Now, as Lambrecht notes (much in harmony with Ladd and Selkirk), the information structure component in English is *indicated by the location of accents,* but emotion—his 'expressive component'—is indicated by various intonational patterns, degree of loudness, pitch range, etc. (1994:239). Moreover, this emotive/expressive component falls outside of the proper domain of information structure as Lambrecht defines it, since it is essentially

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[75] See e.g. McCready (2005) on the use of English *man* (and other words) as an 'intensifier' which, depending on context, is used by a speaker to express either 'good' or 'bad' emotion about a proposition or situation.

[76] I speculate that this was one of the psychological effects of repeating, for example, God's name in the Hebrew of Genesis 1 and in Psalm 29, and the use of redundant topic pronouns one finds in Hebrew and other languages in the context of oaths, pledges, and other emotive utterances. See Bailey (2004:275, note 44) which briefly comments on Muraoka's (1985) use of 'emphasis' for Biblical Hebrew.

[77] What might seem confusing is that Ladd (1996:200-202) mentions the use of 'emphasis stress' to help indicate narrow focus, e.g. how a speaker might distinguish a broader focus domain, *[five FRANCS]* from a narrower one *[FIVE] francs.* But note that making this distinction does not necessarily involve emotive emphasis, only stress placement.

non-propositional (or 'paralinguistic',[78] Ladd 1996:33ff, 200ff),[79] in contrast to information structure which is propositional (L. 1994:239, 254).[80]

Let's consider (68) to (70). The reader can no doubt imagine these sentences uttered with either an unemotional intonation or a marked emphasis on the stressed words that would be characteristic of an angry or frustrated speaker. The latter two sentences, (69) and (70), which could have thetic interpretation, could also coincide with an intonation pattern suggesting fear, surprise, or shock. Finally, consider that emotive emphasis may be a matter of degree, and that this may be iconically reflected by the intensity or pitch of the intonation (Ladd 1996:39).

(68)   He DIDN'T. [Ladd 1996:39]

(69)   My CAR broke down.

(70)   His FATHER died.

What is of particular relevance to us is the fact that certain sentence positions in Greek and other languages, notably preverbal ones, are sometimes associated with emotive emphasis (see §3.3.2). There is in principle no reason why this cannot be so. And it would be methodologically unsound to assume that constituent order only indicates pure information structure categories (e.g. topic, focus, activation).[81] So if we accept as a theoretical possibility that constituent order can indicate emotive emphasis, as I think we must, there are certain difficult questions that the analyst of a given language still must answer: (i) In what ways do information structure and emphasis interact? (ii) Is the cooccurrence of the position and emphasis coincidental, or can the position ever be truly called a dedicated emphatic position? (ii) If a position can function to indicate emphasis, is it for only focal elements or also topical ones?

The interaction between emotive emphasis and information structure will also come up in Chapter 6 where the particle ἰδού 'behold, look!' is discussed (see §6.1.1 and §6.5).

The next section also touches on emotive emphasis, as a 'salient element of a broad focus' can presumably be emotively emphatic.

2.2.7.4 Discrete versus scalar notions of focality; salient elements of a broad focus domain

It has been suggested here that both contrast and emotive emphasis may be a matter of degree, that is, they are gradient or scalar notions. Lambrecht's definition of information

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[78] For some, a term like 'paralinguistic' may imply a bias that emotive and expressive elements of language are not truly linguistic or worth a linguist's attention, since they are considered elements that do not submit to truth conditional semantics.

[79] Of course, some of the inferences the audience can derive from hearing emphatic stress can be expressed propositionally, e.g. 'the speaker is mad', but this is a different matter.

[80] Other comparable distinctions have been made in the literature. K. Callow (1974), for example, distinguishes between 'focus' ('that type of prominence which acts as a spotlight'; p. 60) and 'emphasis' (involving 'the speaker-hearer relationship in some way', e.g. because the information 'will be surprising to the hearer, or else… the emotions of the speaker are quite strongly involved'; p. 52). See §3.3.2 where I mention Levinsohn (2000:7) who takes focus and emphasis as two distinct reasons for preverbal focal constituents in Koine Greek.

[81] It is well known that constituent order in English determines syntactic relations as well differences between statements and questions, etc. Constituent order is also sensitive to contrast, as will be shown later for Greek. As noted in various places in this introduction, Bearth shows that the 'focus' marking systems in some African languages do not primarily concern pure information structure categories, but rather contrastiveness, correctiveness (polarity), and related categories.

structure, as I understand it, is *not* scalar. Presupposition and assertion are discrete notions, and the act of informing is not relative. Either a clause makes an assertion or it doesn't (recall §2.2.6.1 and §2.2.6.3 where certain types of subordinate clauses were mentioned that are in the presupposition and so non-asserted).[82]

Lambrecht's perspective thus contrasts with the position implied by Dik's definition of focus as 'characterizing the most important or salient parts of what we say about the topical things' (1997a:310), and Dik's position echoes the Prague School notions of 'rheme' and 'communicative dynamism', which are relative notions.[83] Others have promoted similar notions of focality (see §3.3.2 on Levinsohn's use of a 'dominant focal element' and Floor 2004 on 'focus peaking'). Definitions of focality based on the notion of contrast or sets of semantic alternatives are also potentially scalar.

What Lambrecht's framework implies is that we should not (normally) claim that in a broad focus construction, such as in a predicate-focus sentence, one element of the focus domain is more informative or 'salient' than another. For example, in (71), we should not claim that the referent of the object is more informative than that of the verb (this is barring a constituent-focus interpretation, in which case only *the office* would be in the focus domain). This is because it is the two together and in relation to the presupposition that creates information. Moreover, the fact the speaker will *leave for* somewhere may be just as unpredictable as the destination, *the office.*

> (71)   (A: So then what happened?) B: I [left for the OFFICE.]$_{FD}$

That *office* and not *left* is stressed is, according to Lambrecht and others (L. 1994:247-257), simply a default accentuation rule: the accent in most English constructions comes on the last element of the syntactic phrase expressing the pragmatic relation. When there is only a verb in a focal predicate, it takes the accent:

> (72)   (So then what happened?) I [LEFT.]$_{FD}$

Nevertheless, I do not want to deny that words that are the locus of a focus accent, like *office* in (71), may appear to be more salient under certain circumstances. Such a feeling of salience becomes more pronounced if *office* is spoken with emphatic stress. Moreover, certain types of words that suggest a semantic extreme may also somehow feel more salient, as illustrated by the italicized words in (73). Such words are common hosts for emphatic stress and other special intonation patterns and tend to attract stress.[84]

> (73)   a. [There was a *terrible* earthquake.]$_{FD}$
>
>   b. Last night I [had the most *incredible* dream.]$_{FD}$

Note that, even if the adjectives *terrible* and *incredible* are stressed more than their respective head nouns (*earthquake* and *dream*)*, it does not follow that the adjectives alone are alone

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[82] This is not to say that some utterances might seem more informative than others (because of the way they are used in a discourse), or that some activate more ideas than another. Moreover, some utterances may repeat a previously uttered assertion: e.g. *As I have already said several times, I'm never going to talk to you again!*

[83] See e.g. Firbas 1992 and see Chafe's brief critique thereof (1994b:352). Much in harmony with the point I make here, Chafe critically asks: 'I wonder why one would think that in *President Kennedy has been assassinated* (in the context of *What has happened?*) the person carries a higher degree of communicative dynamism than the action'?

[84] For a somewhat similar discussion, see Givón (1990:711-6) on how certain words (e.g. adverbials, optional case-roles, quantifiers) in certain constructions tend to 'attract' 'the focus of assertion' or 'contrastive focus'. In contrast to Givón, my point is that one word in a broad focus domain may 'attract stress' or be emphatic.

'focused' or 'in the focus domain' (i.e. narrow focus). Rather, the entire NP together with the predicates (*there was* and *had*) are in the focus domain and serve to create information.

When the context suggests a contrast, the feeling of salience may also be increased and one or another element may attract special emphasis. For example, in (74a) that both a 'bass' and 'shark' are sighted, where only the latter is potentially dangerous, suggests a contrast, and it would be natural if *shark* were accompanied by a special intonation. Consider also (74b), where Jack's hard work is contrasted with Jill's relaxing activity. If the verb *slaved* were uttered with special stress, this might seem to emphasize both the contrast and a semantic extreme.

(74) a. Q: Did you enjoy your swim? A: I sure did. I [saw a bass and a *shark!*]$_{FD}$

b. After school, Jill [went fishing at the river]$_{FD}$ and Jack [*slaved* over his homework.]$_{FD}$

Again, the fact that a word feels more salient or is the host for emphatic stress does not mean that it is more informative or that it alone comprises the focus domain. Rather, for the given minimal contexts, I assume that the entire predicates in (74a-b) are in the focus domain.

Although my discussion here has been brief, it is clear that a language like English may use intonation to treat one or more elements of a broad focus domain in a special way. I will call these ***salient* elements of a broad focus domain**. We will later consider the possibility that Koine Greek may use constituent order to mark a word that is (in some sense) a **salient** part of a larger focus domain.

2.3 More on theticity and thetic constructions

This section, §2.3, and its subsections are dedicated to filling in more detail about the nature and function of thetic constructions. We will consider the typical properties of different subtypes as well those properties that render a construction not a thetic or a less prototypical subtype (see §2.2.5 on prototypes). Examples from English and other languages will be used to illustrate several subtypes. These examples from living languages together with the extensive general discussion will help prepare us to identify and to understand thetics in Koine Greek, a language that, unfortunately, we no longer have direct access to via living speakers.

The present section, §2.3, is of more general nature and concentrates on non-deictic thetics. §2.4 treats in detail deictic thetics and perception reports, both of which involve direct perception, typically sight.

A note about my use of **thetic** is necessary here. Henceforth, I will use the phrase '(dedicated) thetic construction', or simply 'thetic', to refer to a sentence with sentence-focus structure that has thetic function as outlined in the last section, §2.2.3. I will also call the subject of such a construction a **thetic subject**. If a construction lacks sentence-focus structure but serves to introduce an entity or state of affairs into the discourse, I will describe it as being **thetic-like** or as having **thetic function** (but not structure).

Moreover, my use of the term thetic, both as a construction and a function, diverges in certain respects from how others have used it. It will be seen in the next subsection that my use represents a narrower use.

2.3.1 Some history on the term 'thetic' and some subsequent refinements

As stated in §2.2.3, we will follow Lambrecht who defines a thetic sentence as one that has 'presentational' function, that is, it introduces an entity or a state of affairs into the discourse without it being linked 'either to an already established topic or to some

presupposed proposition.' But by following Lambrecht, we diverge from the term's original definition. The following quote from Lambrecht (1994:139-40) summarizes the original use of 'thetic', where it stood in distinction to 'categorical'.

> The distinction between thetic and categorical sentences was first proposed by the nineteenth-century philosopher Brentano and further developed by Brentano's student Marty as a cognitive distinction between two types of human JUDGMENT. Reacting against the generally accepted Aristotelian view that all judgment is categorical in nature, i.e. consists in predicating (or denying) some property of some entity, Brentano and Marty claimed that sentences can express two distinct types of judgment. The CATEGORICAL judgment, which is expressed in the traditional SUBJECT-PREDICATE sentence type, involves both the act of recognition of a subject and the act of affirming or denying what is expressed by the predicate about the subject. Since it involves these two independent cognitive acts, it is called a "double judgment" (*Doppelurteil*) by Marty (1918, passim). The logical structure of the categorical judgment can be represented as "A is B" or "A is not B." As illustrations of sentences expressing categorical judgments Marty cites such examples as the following:
>
> a.   Diese Blume ist blau. "This flower is blue."
>
> b.   Ich bin wohl. "I am (feeling) well."
>
> c.   Mein Bruder ist abgereist. "My brother left on a trip."
>
> In contrast, the THETIC judgment involves only the recognition or rejection of some judgment material, without predicating this judgment of some independently recognized subject. Its basic logical structure is "A is" or "A is not." It is therefore also called a "simple judgment" (*einfaches Urteil*).

Lambrecht cites the following sentences from Marty, which are said to express thetic judgments. They are thetic judgments because 'they do not predicate a property of some entity but they simply assert or "pose" (hence "thetic") a fact or state of affairs' (p. 140; thus 'thetic' derives from τίθημι 'put, lay out, pose'; see Sasse 1996:7).

>   a.   Es regnet. / Pluit. "It is raining."
>
>   b.   Gott ist. "God exists."
>
>   Es gibt gelbe Blumen. "There are yellow flowers."
>
>   Es findet ein Markt statt. "A market is being held."

Now, some of the linguists who wished to employ the thetic/categorical distinction as defined by these philosophers have still felt inclined to snip away at the definition. For example, Kuroda (1972), who is credited with introducing the distinction into modern linguists, offered a notable correction. On the one hand, he concluded that Japanese grammar supported the thetic/categorical dichotomy as a linguistically significant distinction: in thetics the subject was usually marked by *ga* but in categoricals by *wa* (i.e. recall that in §2.2.3 and §2.2.6.4 *ga* and *wa* were called focal and topic markers, respectively).[85] On the other hand, Japanese data suggested that 'universal judgments', originally proposed to be thetic, were in fact not really thetic. The philosophers reasoned that a universal judgment, like 'All A are B', was thetic because it was paraphrasable by what was considered to be a negative thetic judgment: 'There is no A which is not B'. But, as Kuroda showed, Japanese subjects in universal judgments require *wa,* not *ga*. Such universal judgments are in fact a type of

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[85] *Ga* is also used in some subordinate clauses and sentences with subject constituent-focus (Kuroda 1972:171). See also Kuno (1972:270-1).

generic statement, and, as a rule, subjects of generic statements take *wa*. This is illustrated by (75) where 'dogs' refers to the whole class, as well as by (76) where Fido is a specific dog but what is predicated of him is habitual and therefore generic (Kuroda, pp. 160, 169). By a generic statement, Kuroda had in mind sentences making 'a statement about a general, habitual, or constant state of affairs' in contrast to a 'specific statement' that 'refers to a particular occurrence of an event or state of affairs'; so the subject of a generic statement need not be itself generic.

(75)   a. Inu wa   neko-o oikakeru.
         - dog TOP cat   chase

         b. Dogs chase cats.

(76)   a. Fido wa neko-o oikakeru.

         b. Fido chases cats.

From our perspective, it is intuitively clear why the generic statements in (75), (76) and in sentences like 'all A are B' cannot be thetic in the Lambrechtian sense. It is hard to construe a generic statement as functioning to introduce something in the discourse. Instead, a generic statement most typically serves to describe something that is identifiable and accessible, and thus easily construed as a topic (compare Sasse 1987:515). One semi-exception has been noted by Sasse (1987:524): a sentence with a *generic subject* may be thetic if it can be construed as introducing an **event**, such as a 'disappearance' as in (77)—but since it is an event, it is not a generic *statement* according to Kuroda's definitions. To Sasse's example, we can add (78).

(77)   Teacher: What happened in the Cretaceous period?
         Pupil: The DINOSAUR became extinct.

(78)   Teacher: What else happened at that time?
         Pupil: ANTS appeared.

Sasse (1987:556-7), for his part, further whittled away at the philosopher's definition. Some of their chief examples, '**existential**' sentences, are not always clearly thetic. Thus, as suggested by their grammatical structure, sentences in (79), including the Japanese *wa* sentence, are not thetic, but sentences in (80) are, or at least can be (Kuroda gave no corresponding sentence but implied the subject would take *ga*). In our terms, the subject 'God' in (79) is the topic about which an assertion is made.

(79)   God exists.

        Gott existiert.

        O θeós ipárxi (the god exists) [Modern Greek]

        Kami wa sonzai suru. [Kuroda p. 180; Sasse p. 557]

(80)   There is a god.

        Es gibt einen Gott.

        Ipárxi θeós. [exists god; Modern Greek]

But Sasse (1995b:156) seems to suggest, and I would affirm, that even sentences in (80) can be problematic. For example, if *There is a god* is uttered in a context where the existence of a particular god (or *the* God) was disputed, then it seems wrong to consider the utterance to be a real thetic. True, the sentence's structure may give the impression that the subject is unidentifiable and the judgment 'simple'. But the verb will likely be accented (*There IS a god*) and the purpose of the assertion is not to introduce a new entity but to affirm the truth of

a presupposed proposition (Sasse 1995b:157 states that in such a context, this would be expressed in Modern Greek by *O theos IPARXI*). See §2.3.7.1 for more discussion on existence.

Kuroda's (1972) proposal for the thetic/categorical distinction was to a large degree eclipsed by a simultaneous development in linguistics that explained the same types of sentence contrasts in (more or less) information-structure terms (Sasse 1987:515-6). What Kuroda called a thetic sentence, Kuno (1972) called a 'neutral description'. For the latter, Kuno said 'the entire sentence conveys new information' (1972:273), that is, nothing is pragmatically presupposed: 'These sentences are not sentences about something. They are theme-less sentences' (p. 284)—that is, what we would call topic-less sentences. Other names besides 'neutral description' have been suggested for such sentences, including 'news sentences' (Schmerling 1976), 'all-new utterance' (Allerton & Cruttenden 1979; Fuchs 1980), and for some types 'presentative' (Bolinger 1977:93).

In his seminal 1987 cross-linguistic study, Sasse suggested the thetic/categorical distinction was very likely universal, although he did not present a single definitive characterization of the meaning of the distinction. On the one hand, he described its function using terminology that is compatible with information-structure-based definitions: 'categorical sentences contain a predication base *about which* some state of affairs is predicated, while thetic sentences are simple nonpredicative assertions of states of affairs' (p. 511, italics are mine). Sasse's 'predication base' seems equivalent to Lambrecht's 'topic' (like many linguists at the time, Sasse avoided the term 'topic', but one of his main criterion—'aboutness'—indicates he meant much the same as Lambrecht's use of 'topic'; see p. 571). On the other hand, Sasse characterized the distinction as a difference in 'communication perspective', something which 'differs fundamentally from information structure' (p. 518). But his use of 'information structure' was more limited than Lambrecht's (basically equal to what we have called the activation and identifiability parameters, §2.2.6.1) and his use of 'communication perspective' is in many respects like Lambrecht's use of 'information'.

Since then, Sasse (1995a:5) has endorsed Lambrecht's 1987 contribution to the discussion of theticity (which is largely repeated in L. 1994), dubbing it 'a major breakthrough'. As has been already hinted, Lambrecht recast the problem in terms of sentence-focus structure. Unambiguous instances of thetics (i.e. roughly, sentences with 'presentational' function that are to be processed as a single piece of information) have sentence-focus structure, in which (as stated before) the subject is marked as non-topical and the focus domain contains both the subject and predicate.

2.3.2 Entity-central vs. event-central thetics, and types of entities (first order, second order, etc.)

One distinction suggested by several linguists that is particularly important for classifying thetics concerns the nature of what is being introduced: Is it an entity (e.g. a concrete thing, like a person or a rock) or an event/state of affairs, or does it combine the two? Or is it none of the above? Such distinctions may not be necessarily reflected in the grammar of a language, but they can be very helpful as a **heuristic** when conducting an initial **etic** analysis. In considering such distinctions here, I will introduce a four-way taxonomy of entity and thetic types. But before presenting this, let's first look at the distinctions that Sasse and Lambrecht make.

Sasse (1987:526-7) introduces a two-way **conceptual distinction**, namely '**entity-central**' versus '**event-central**' thetics, what he has elsewhere characterized as '**static**'

versus '**dynamic**' (1995b:156). This two-way distinction has been echoed by Lambrecht (1987, 1994, 2000) in terms of the difference between '**presentationals**' on the one hand, and 'event-reportings' (1994) or '**eventive**' thetics (2000) on the other.

(81) **Entity-central / Static   / Presentational** *Once there was a WIZARD.* [L. 1994:177]

(82) **Event-central / Dynamic / Eventive**   *It's raining.* [Sasse 1987:526]

Example (81) is entity-central because it introduces an entity but not an event, and the state of affairs, if it can be called one (see below), is static. But (82) introduces a dynamic 'event' (where 'event' is used in broad terms; the 'event' in (82) is a progressive state of affairs). Moreover, since *It's raining* is an 'impersonal' construction, contains no referential nominal (Sasse, p. 527; I take *it* to be a dummy subject). This is not to say that the event does not involve a (physical) entity, namely 'rain'. It is just that the sentence *It's raining* lacks a nominal referring to 'rain' (unlike its equivalent in other languages—recall examples (17) and (18)).

But other event-central thetics do involve an entity expressed by a referential nominal. Consider (83) and (84) with the subjects *my grandfather* and *my car*.

(83)   My GRANDFATHER died. [Sasse 1987:527]

(84)   My CAR broke down.

It is assumed by Lambrecht (and others) that what is introduced by such thetics is a unified piece of information, which is an event that 'necessarily involves an entity' (L. 1994:144), and I assume Sasse would agree. But Sasse also makes use of the entity-central versus event-central distinction to characterize the different **grammatical structures** that languages may use to encode such statements. For example, (83) may be grammatically realized by a structure like (i) 'there exists my grandfather dying/who died' or (ii) 'there exists dying of my grandfather', where only (ii) is treated as an event-central structure (given the nominalization, 'dying of my grandfather').

The entity-central versus event-central distinction may also be applied to the **discourse function** of thetics. An entity-central thetic, like *Once there was a WIZARD,* would almost always be followed up by something like *who lived in a castle.* In other words, an entity-central thetic typically serves to introduce an entity into the discourse 'with the purpose of making it available for predication in subsequent discourse' (L. 1994:177), that is, so it will become a (sentence) topic in what follows. Event-central thetics are used less frequently in this way. Very often nothing else is said about the event introduced or the entity if one accompanies it. For example, if an employee explained his tardiness to his boss by saying *My CAR broke down,* that could be the end of the discussion—nothing more might be said about the car or the mishap.[86] (The discourse functions of thetics will be further discussed in §2.3.5.)

A similar distinction to the entity-central versus event-central one was introduced by Hannay (1985) in relation to English *there+be* 'existential' constructions (to be sure, not all of the constructions he treats are thetics in our terms). Hannay showed that, from the perspective of English syntactic structure, it was necessary to distinguish between '**entity-existentials**' and '**state-of-affairs-existentials**' (=SOA-existential). This distinction was then taken up by Dik who reinterpreted Hannay's findings by defining them in terms of different

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[86] This is not to say that *My CAR broke down* cannot lead to assertions either about the car or the mishap. The employee might add *It's the second time this week* where *it* refers to the event (or the boss might retort *Don't let it ever happen again!*). Or the employee might add *and it just wouldn't start again,* where *it* refers to the car.

entity types, to be now explained. Dik (1997a:216) gives these two examples, which are thetics by our definitions:

(85)   **Entity-Existential (order 1 entity):** There's a man outside.

(86)   **SOA-Existential (order 2 entity):** There's a man being beaten up outside.

To understand the distinction that Dik makes for these two different types of 'existential' structures, we must first define different types of entities. Building on Lyons (1977:442-7), both Hengeveld (1992) and Dik (1997a) distinguish four types. This four-way distinction has many practical applications beyond analyzing thetic ('existential') constructions (e.g. they are important to syntax and word formation). I quote Hengeveld (1992:109), who defines the four types (the fourth is Hengeveld's innovation; bolding and brackets […] are mine):[87]

> **First order** entities can be located in space. They have colour, size, and weight, can be touched, and are typically evaluated in terms of their existence. **Second order** entities can be located in space and time, can be witnessed and regretted, and are typically evaluated in terms of their reality. **Third order** entities [i.e. 'propositions'] can be located in neither space and time, can be forgotten, asserted and denied, and are typically evaluated in terms of their truth. **Fourth order** entities locate themselves in space and time, can be uttered and understood, and are typically evaluated in terms of their felicity.
>
> [And from footnote 17:] An individual exists if it is located somewhere. A state of affairs is real if it occurred someplace, sometime.

Hengeveld illustrates the four types with the following examples. In each 'B' utterance, anaphoric *that* refers to a different entity type. My bracketed explanations […] summarize his comments.[88]

(87)   A: Come here, please!

       B: Is that an order? [**Fourth order entity:** *That* refers to the speech act as a whole.]

(88)   A: He's a liar.

       B: That is not true! [**Third order entity:** *That* refers to the propositional content in the preceding speech act 'that he is a liar'.]

(89)   A: John won't come.

       B: That is a pity! [**Second order entity:** *That* refers to the state of affairs in the preceding speech act.]

(90)   A: Yesterday I saw a boy with a scar on his face.

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[87] Compare Givón (1979:314-6), who speaks of three types of nouns or entities, ranked on an implicational scale of abstraction: [i] *exist in space* > [ii] *exist in time* > [iii] *exist*. Examples would be (i) concrete (time stable) nouns (e.g. *chair*), (ii) actions, events, time periods, (iii) abstract nouns (*idea, love, freedom*).

Schmid (2000) presents a helpful discussion of second and third order English nouns (defined in terms of prototypicality). His approach diverges somewhat from mine (Hengeveld's fourth order nouns is subsumed under his third order).

[88] As Dik (1997a) notes, a first order entity is located (or 'exists', p. 55) in space (whether imagined or real), but a second order entity occurs in time—i.e. it is 'located in time and space' (p. 51; it can 'have a certain duration'; 'it can be seen, heard, or otherwise perceived'). Consider the following three examples, the second of which is infelicitous (1997a:215):

The table was in room 14. (first order entity)

*The table was at five o'clock.

The meeting was at five o'clock. (second order entity)

>   B: That must have been my brother. [**First order entity:** *That* refers to one of the participants in the preceding speech act.]

Hengeveld (p. 8, following Lyons 1977) also classifies nouns in terms of entity type. A typical **first order noun** is one that refers to a concrete object like *man, John, dog, rock.* Nouns like *departure, mistake,* and *visit,* which refer to second order entities (i.e. events and states of affairs), may be called **second order nouns** (Hengeveld, p. 8). Such nouns are often syntactically derived from verbs (Lyons 1968:347; Lyons 1977:446; Kahn 1973/2003:76-9). But some derived nouns may refer to first order entities because the primary reference is to a person (e.g. *murderer, runner, ruler;* Kahn p. 77). **Third order nouns** include *idea* and *reason* according to Hengeveld, and *proposition* and *theorem* according to Lyons (see below for more examples from Schmid 2000). Finally, examples of **fourth order nouns** (a class Schmid does not mention) would be *command* and *question.*

Besides nouns, various types of nominalizations (words, phrases, clauses) may of course be used to refer to second and third order entities (Lyons 1977:445; Schmid 2000).

Some entities are **more prototypical** instances of their type while others are **less prototypical** (compare Lyons 1977:442; see Hopper & Thompson 1984, in particular pp. 705-8, on the differences between prototypical nouns and verbs, defined especially in terms of discourse use). For example, physical objects like a 'person', 'dog', 'chair', and 'rock' are prototypical first order entities because they have distinct and visible boundaries and are relatively 'time stable' (Givón's term, 1979:314-6). Liquids, like 'rain' and 'lake',[89] are less prototypical because they are less time stable. (Things that are not time stable are more event like, i.e. more like second order entities.) Places, like 'San Francisco' and 'the library', are less prototypical because their boundaries are less distinct (or visible), as is also true of a large object/location like 'Mt. Whitney'. I will nonetheless follow Dik (1997a:55) and Kahn (1973/2003:93) and consider places to be a type of first order entity.

Nouns indicating the dimensions of 'space' and 'time' are also non-prototypical. I assume that empty 'space' is basically of the first order variety (or at least a first order attribute), as illustrated in (91), and that 'time' in (92) is basically second order (or at least a second order attribute). Time statements are sometimes cited as thetic in the literature. Besides such *there+be* time statements, one finds English examples involving *it+be,* which can refer to a large period, as in (93a), or a short one, (93b). Such statements typically function as background[90] to other events or states of affairs, as when, for example, they set the stage in a narrative (Sasse 1987:566, 574). Some more peculiarities of time entities are taken up in §4.8.2.

>   (91)   There's SPACE in the bucket for a few more APPLES.

>   (92)   There's TIME in my schedule for us to go to the MOVIES.

>   (93)   a. It was WINTER.
>
>   b. It was MIDNIGHT. [compare examples in Sasse 1995b:158]

Deciding if a noun or other expression refers to a second or third order entity is not always straightforward. Schmid (2000) has made a study of 'abstract' nouns and

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[89] Hopper & Thompson (1984:705) give an example (from E. Sapir) of a Paiute verb with incorporated subject: *pā-ɣariri* 'water sitting', which corresponds to English 'lake'. I do not know if this is the only expression for 'lake'.

[90] On the *foreground/background* distinction, see footnote 106.

nominalizations in English.[91] He assumes that second order expressions typically refer to **observable** physical events. *Departure* and *shooting* are straightforward examples. *Campaign, trick,* and *mistake* also typically refer to observable things even though, as Schmid notes, what they refer to can be complex, such as a range of activities and events or a series of them (p. 64). In contrast, third order entities are **propositional** in nature. For third order entities, he suggests three basic categories: 'facts, ideas, and utterances'. Typical nouns include *fact, idea, possibility, plan, aim, message, news,* among others. But despite these rule-of-thumb portrayals, Schmid admits that some nouns may be construed as either second or third order entities, depending on context. This is illustrated by the two uses of the noun *proposal* in (94) (see comparable examples from Schmid, p. 69). Such facts make it at times hard to operationalize the distinction between second and third order entities.

(94)   a. John made a proposal.   **second order**   *Refers primarily to an event.*

b. John's proposal is brilliant.   **third order**   *Refers primarily to the propositional content of an idea.*

When I began my research on Greek, I attempted to tag Greek thetics as conceptually either 'presentational' (entity-central) or 'eventive' (event-central), but I soon found thetics that mixed properties of both. Moreover, I found a few thetics that introduced third order entities. So I then adopted the following **four-way** system. This system, while building on Dik's two-way system of first order versus second order existentials (and attempting to reflect Sasse and Lambrecht's two-way distinctions), divides second order thetics into two types: (a) those where the subject refers to a first order entity, and (b) those where the subject refers to a second order entity or where there is no referential subject. The fourth type in my system is the third order thetic. (Thetics introducing fourth order entities are I suppose theoretically possible, but since none occur in my data, no more will be said of them.)

1. First order thetic (introduces a first order entity into the discourse and typically involves an explicit location): e.g. *There once was a WIZARD. There's a MAN outside.*

2.a. Second order thetic with *first* order entity: *There's a man being beaten up outside. The PHONE's ringing. The KETTLE's boiling. The STOVE's broken. The PRESIDENT died. JOHN called. JILL arrived. Here comes the CAT.*

2.b. Second order thetic with *second* order entity: *There's been an EXPLOSION (at school yesterday). There's a DOGFIGHT. WINTER's coming. It's RAINING.*

3. Third order thetic: *There's an IDEA that I wanted to TELL you. There's a SECRET the ancient GREEKS had.*

According to my four-way division, *There's been an explosion* is a second order thetic (type 2.b). In contrast, Hannay (1985:66) in his two-way system cited this as an 'entity-existential' rather than a 'SOA-existential'.[92] As the above examples show, English *there+be* is in fact compatible with all four types. But other languages may require different verbs, something that, as we will see later, is at least partly true for Greek (εἰμί 'be' versus γίνομαι 'occur'). Although *there+be* is underspecified, the verbs 'happen' and 'occur' in English are not (compare Hannay 1985:79). 'Happen' and 'occur' may refer to second but not first or third order entities. Consider the following test:[93] Upon hearing either type of (past tense) second order thetic in (95) and (96), someone might felicitously ask *'When did that happen?'*

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[91] Schmid (pp. 63-6) uses 'event' as a superordinate label for various types of second order entities ('activities, processes, and states') and 'abstract relation' for third order entities ('facts, ideas, and utterances').

[92] I am not saying Hannay is mistaken. He appears concerned with syntactic rather than conceptual criteria.

[93] Schmid (2000:67) mentions a similar test (_____*occurred at 10 o'clock*), crediting this to Vendler.

But this test-question would not be appropriate in response to (97), a first order thetic (my type 1).

(95)   There's been an EXPLOSION.

(96)   There's been a MP killed on Westminster Bridge. [Hannay 1985:66]

(97)   # There was a MAN outside.

Nor is this question felicitous in response to type 3 thetics, that is, ones introducing third order entities, such as 'an idea' or 'a plan' in (98a-b). But note that—and this is important— these introductions may be packaged as events, as in (99a-b), in which case *'When did that happen?'* would be (relatively more) felicitous. So the addition of *occurred* and *made* make these behave like type 2.b thetics.

(98)   a. # There was an IDEA that I wanted to TELL you about.

        b. # There was a PLAN to blow up the BRIDGE.

(99)   a. There's an IDEA that OCCURRED to me.

        b. A PLAN was made to blow up the BRIDGE.

While useful for distinguishing many second order entities, this test is not especially useful for certain non-prototypical ones, such as some time entities, and complex entities denoted by nouns like 'custom' and 'tradition', which typically refer to a series of activities that people perform habitually. Thus, it is not really felicitous to ask 'When did that happen?' after hearing either (100) or (101).

(100)   #? There was time to go shopping.

(101)   #? There was a custom among the ancient Egyptians that a younger man would yield the way to an older man.

Most instances of 2.a. thetics probably fit Lambrecht's description of 'eventive' thetics. But some, like (102) through (104), with verbs of appearance and arrival, fit his description of 'presentationals'. Even though these involve states of affairs occurring in time (about which someone might ask 'When did that happen?'), such thetics most typically are used in discourse to set up the first order entities (the individuals) as topics to be talked about in the ensuing discourse.

(102)   JOHN's arrived, and he's waiting for you in the living room [adapted from L. 1994:143]

(103)   Here comes the CAT, without a worry in the world. [adapted from L. 1994:39]

(104)   Then appeared out of nowhere an old MAN who says to me…

My fourth type, the *third order thetic* introduces a third order entity. Since third order entities are propositional, they may be fleshed out in the discourse via propositions, a fact to be illustrated in §2.3.6.

Table 3 compares the Sasse-Lambrecht entity-central versus event-central distinction with my four types. Their distinction does not readily account for third order thetics (hence no solid connecting line). In terms of grammatical structure (but not conceptual structure or discourse use), third order thetics probably pattern like entity-central thetics (hence dashed connecting line).

Table 3

Two-way distinction (Sasse-Lambrecht)	Four-way etic typology (Bailey)
entity-central thetic	1. first order thetic
	2.a. second order thetic with *first* order entity
event-central thetic	2.b. second order thetic with *second* order entity
	3. third order thetic

2.3.3 Typical structures, preferred verbs, and more on underspecification

Many have noted that dedicated thetics (i.e. with sentence-focus structure) tend to be limited to certain predicate types. In this section, we will mention some of the most relevant types, while also noting that 'the class of predicates found in [thetic sentence-focus, nab] constructions is much larger than has been assumed by most linguists who have dealt with the focus structure of such sentences' (L. 2000:623). It will be noted that certain predicate types, especially ones like *there+be,* tend to occur only with unidentifiable subjects. This discussion will also lead to underscoring again how languages differ in what they may express by dedicated thetics and how certain English constructions are underspecified when used thetically. The discussion will thus underscore that there is a tension between what might be described as a **prototypical** thetic construction and less prototypical varieties (see §2.2.5 on prototypes).

Lambrecht states that 'the most common and grammatically most clearly marked presentational clause type', that is, the entity-central thetic, 'is characterized across languages by the presence of a limited set of predicates whose arguments have a highly non-agentive and often locative case-role' (1994:180; see also pp. 39, 143 and 2000:617). Examples in languages include predicates like 'BE', 'BE AT', 'HAVE', 'LIVE', 'STAY', 'REMAIN' as well as positional predicates like 'STAND', 'SIT', and 'LIE'. These are presumably used more typically, but not necessarily exclusively, for **static** introductions, including especially first order thetics (recall the discussion of static and dynamic in §2.3.2). Other verbs belonging to this general category are of the **dynamic** intransitive type and indicate especially the arrival, appearance, or disappearance of first or second order entities. English examples with the verbs 'arrive', 'come' and 'appear' were just illustrated in (102), (103), and (104). (The reader might wonder how 'arrive' and 'come' are 'non-agentive' predicates. This will be clarified shortly when we discuss 'unaccusative' verbs.)

The so-called 'existential' *there+be+subject* construction, with the 'semantically bleached' verb 'be', is one of the most important constructions used for English thetics. As we just saw in §2.3.2, it may be used to introduce any kind of entity (first, second, or third order). What is noteworthy is that, in its prototypical thetic use, it is restricted to introducing unidentifiable (alias hearer-new) entities (L. 1994:143, Lakoff 1987:546, Dik 1997a:212). This restriction has been called the 'definiteness restriction' or 'definiteness effect' (but see §2.3.7.5 for uses of *there+be* with identifiable/hearer-old entities). Such a restriction, whether absolute or as a tendency, has been noted for 'BE' or 'BE AT' in other languages (L. 1994:143, Givón 1990:741-6). Thus, (105) is bizarre if intended to introduce an entity into a new discourse. One does nevertheless find cases like (106), which is the first line of J. R. R. Tolkien's *Ainulindalë* in *The Silmarillion,* a mythical divine history written in an archaic, semi-poetic style. We will also consider in §4.3.3 a comparable sentence from the NT (Jhn 1:1a). But such sentences seem to do more than just introduce an entity: in contrast to prototypical thetics, they primarily concern existence (see §2.3.7.1).

(105)   *Once there was <u>the</u> dragon who lived in a cave.

(106)   There was Eru, the One, who in Arda is called Ilúvatar; and he made first the Ainur, the Holy Ones…

It is also worth noting in passing that such semantically bleached predicates like *there+be* cross-linguistically tend to lack the full range of verbal properties and may not require agreement with its subject (Givón 1990:743-4, T. Payne 1997:123-4).[94] This is illustrated by the acceptability in colloquial English of a singular verb *is* in (107) even though the subject is plural (see footnote 129 in §2.4.1 on what is the grammatical subject of *there+be*). Lambrecht takes such facts as evidence that the thetic subject is behaving more like an object than a subject (2000:640-644). However, we will see in §4.2.1 that the subjects of Greek εἰμί 'be' thetics do agree with their verb according to normal verb agreement patterns.

(107)   There's three women in the room. [L. 2000:34]

But other predicates (i.e. verbs) when used thetically are not restricted to introducing unidentifiable entities. English verbs of arrival and appearance are compatible with both:

(108)   a. *A MAN/JOHN arrived.*

        b. Here comes the/a CAT.

As we have already seen, *eventive* (i.e. event-central) thetics are also compatible with identifiable subjects, as illustrated by sentences in (109) repeated from above as well as those in (110). Thetics with passive predicates are illustrated in (111). All of these could be appropriately used to announce a new (and typically unexpected) event involving an identifiable entity whose presence is not expected (and so not a topic) at that moment in the situation and/or discourse (only 'gold' in (111a) is unidentifiable).

(109)   The PHONE's ringing. The PRESIDENT died. The KETTLE's boiling.

(110)   a. The BUTTER melted. The SKY is falling. [Chafe 1974:115]

        b. (Why are you so happy?) My CACTUS flowered. [Sasse 1987:526]

        c. (What's that smell?) The CHICKEN burnt. [Sasse 1987:529]

        d. (What's the matter?) My NECK hurts. [L. 1987:366]

(111)   a. Guess what! GOLD's been discovered. [adapted from Sæbø 2006]

        b. Be careful. The WALL was painted. [adapted from Rosengren 1997:467]

Moreover, eventives are also compatible with a larger variety of verbs, as these examples illustrate. But the class of verbs has still been felt by many linguists to be quite restricted. For such reasons, some have described theticity (or related concepts, e.g. Verb-Subject order in certain European languages) in terms of preferred verb type. Thetics typically involve '**unaccusative**' verbs, that is, intransitive verbs with a (**relatively**)[95] **non-agentive** subject (e.g. *arrive, disappear, die, fall, break*), rather than '**unergative**'[96] verbs, that is, intransitive ones with agentive subjects (e.g. *run, talk, get up*); and transitive verbs are the least likely candidates.[97] But, as Lambrecht states (1995:168), 'while certain unaccusative predicates (like *arrive, disappear, die* etc.) crosslinguistically favor sentence-focus construal by their

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[94] Lack of agreement has also been noted for thetic constructions with other verbs (e.g. Sasse 1996:15).

[95] I write here 'relatively' non-agentive, because, viewed objectively, many unaccusative verbs (e.g. 'arrive', 'come', 'walk in') typically involve volitional agents. Faber (1987:346-7), who discusses such motion-appearance verbs, makes a similar point to Lambrecht's: Although they may indicate agentive (i.e. 'intentional') 'actions', their primary *function* in thetic sentences is to signify appearance.

[96] The unaccusative/unergative distinction is a complex matter. See Krifka's discussion (2001 lecture notes).

[97] See references in Lambrecht (2000:623).

lexical meaning, the criterion determining which predicates are permissible in sentence-focus constructions is not primarily lexical but PRAGMATIC' that is if they can 'be used in a PRESENTATIONAL function' (i.e. thetically). Thus, even events that involve a highly agentive subject may be thetic, as illustrated by (112). (The Italian equivalents [from L. 1995:165 and 2000:634, 648] illustrate postverbal thetic subjects.)

(112)   a. (What happened?) JOHN called. / Ha telefonato GIOVANNI.

         b. (Why is Mary so upset?) Her HUSBAND left her. / L'ha lasciata il MARITO.

Lambrecht further explains this as a kind of 'constructional accommodation' (or 'inheritance', 1995:169; see also my appendix) whereby what would not normally qualify as thetic states of affairs (because 'call' and 'leave' require agents) are 'coerced' (2002:194-5) into thetics. Given the meaning of the thetic construction, the subject is 'not conceptualized as an agent but as an entity whose presence in the discourse is manifested via the activity in which it is involved' (L. 2000:673, note 15). In other words, Lambrecht is claiming that the objectively agentive nature of such states of affairs is downplayed or secondary to the thetic-introductory function (which is inherent to the meaning of the construction). Moreover, the subjects of these sentences are, as subjects go, atypical because, although agentive, they are not topics.

It has also been noted that thetics usually do not involve predicates ascribing *permanent, time-stable properties* (e.g. that a person is 'tall', 'intelligent', 'a lawyer', 'altruistic'). Such have been called '**individual level**' predicates and contrast with '**stage level**' predicates, which indicate *non-permanent conditions*—(e.g. people being 'sick', 'drunk', 'available', a door being 'open', besides verbs illustrated above like 'ring', 'melt', 'hurt' etc.; see Ladusaw 1994, Drubig 2003:11, Drubig 1992:167-170 and references therein). That thetics usually cannot ascribe permanent properties fits Kuroda's earlier mentioned observation about Japanese, that thetic *ga*-marked subjects are incompatible with generic statements (i.e. 'general, habitual, or constant state of affairs').

So, taken as rule of thumb, it makes sense that, when describing, for example, the permanent color of someone's eyes, a thetic would not be possible but a predicate-focus structure would, as in (113a), but that if describing the temporary condition of someone's eyes, a thetic would be possible (assuming the eyes are not an established topic), as in (113b).

(113)   a. Anna's eyes are BLUE.

         b. Hey, look, Anna's EYES are red.

Nevertheless, given the right context, an assertion involving a permanent property may still be coerced into a thetic structure. Consider the English examples in (114) and (115) along with their Japanese equivalents (from Tokizaki 2000, who says *wa* would be bad):

(114)   (Adam, upon first seeing Eve) Your EYES are blue! I LOVE blue![98]

         Me-ga/*wa aoi! Boku-wa ao-ga suki!
         eyes   blue I-TOP   blue   love

(115)   I love CALIFORNIA because its CLIMATE is so nice.

         California-ga suki, kikoo-ga/*wa totemo ii-kara
         California   love climate   so   nice-because

Matić (2003b:56, 467) cites the following thetics that involve permanent properties (i.e. individual level predicates) in English and German:

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[98] Example (114) is originally from Gussenhoven (1983:396).

(116)   A: What's the matter with you? B: PETER's dead. / PETER ist tot.

A: Why don't you like Cologne? B: The STREETS are ugly. / Die STRAßEN sind häßlich. [*sic*]

A: What's wrong with my looks? B: Your HEAD's big. [also in Serbo-Croat]

Lambrecht (2002) also illustrates some noteworthy examples. He explains that (117) was said in a context where 'different speakers were describing to a long-absent addressee the changes that had taken place in a mutually known family, a couple with two sons. After one speaker had described the wife and the husband, another speaker made this sudden (and loud) comment concerning one of the sons, whose name was Sasha':

(117)   Ya   Sacha qui   est grand!
        there.is Sacha who   is   tall

        'Sasha is tall!' [L. 2002:195]

Lambrecht calls this spoken French bi-clausal cleft structure a 'presentational relative construction' (a structure we already met in example (16)).

Since languages differ in their grammatical resources, they also differ in what they can express in unambiguous thetic structures (i.e. via unambiguous sentence-focus constructions; this point has also been underscored by Sasse 1996). The French bi-clausal thetic structure illustrated in (117) is in fact able to express more complex structures, and therefore has a wider distribution, than comparable English thetic structures (L. 2002:192). To illustrate how English thetic structures are more limited, consider the following French and English equivalents.

(118)   Ya   un éléphant qui a   frappé mon ami.
        there.is a elephant that has   hit   my friend.

        An ELEPHANT hit my FRIEND. [L. 2000:655]

Both the French and English versions function as thetics and would be appropriate to announce an unexpected event. But in contrast to the French, the English is, by Lambrecht's definitions, not an unambiguous thetic sentence-focus structure. What is problematic here is that not only the subject (*elephant*), but also part of the predicate (*friend*), is accented. And an accented predicate is, according to Lambrecht, a defining feature of a predicate-focus structure in English. Still, given the subject is **unidentifiable** and therefore a poor candidate as a topic (recall 'the topic acceptability scale', §2.2.6.5) and given the nature of the event, a thetic interpretation is natural. (That the NPs *an elephant* and *my friend* are accented follows from the fact their entities are inactive and unpredictable in the given situations. In contrast, *An ELEPHANT hit me,* where the object was sufficiently activated and so a pronoun, would count as sentence-focus.)

Even more problematic are double accented sentences like (119) where the subject is **identifiable**.

(119)   The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL.

As Lambrecht explains (1994:124), this sentence could have thetic function: it could be uttered out of the blue or in response to a neutral question like 'What happened?' where there was no expectation to hear anything about the children. But this same double accented form could also be uttered in response to 'What did the children and the parents do?' In this latter context, 'the children' would be a (contrastive) topic expression. Consider the following fuller response.

(120)   The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL and the PARENTS went to BED. [L. 1994:124]

So the **double accented** English structure, where both the subject and an element of the predicate, especially a nominal, are stressed, is **underspecified** for its information structure. This illustrates an important point for us to keep in mind when looking at Greek. Moreover, as thetics, both (118) and (119) are atypical since they activate more than one new entity per clause. Although such clauses are probably rare in spontaneous spoken language (I deduce this from Chafe's claims), they are no doubt common enough in written English, and, we will see, in written Koine Greek. I will characterize such sentences are **informationally heavy** thetics.

There is another English construction worth mentioning here, since, although it is often used as a thetic, it need not be, and so it is also underspecified, albeit in a different way. The construction in mind is often called '**inversion**', since the 'subject appears in postverbal position while some other, canonically postverbal, constituent appears in clause-initial position' (Birner 1994:235). We already encountered an inverted structure in *Here comes the CAT,* which is a special type, a deictic thetic, that will be treated in detail in §2.4.1.[99] Consider also the following examples, all of which have thetic function (the postverbal subjects are <u>double-underlined</u>). That all of the subjects are postverbal and necessarily accented indicates their non-topical function, so this construction stands in paradigmatic contrast to the prototypical predicate-focus clause where the subject is preverbal and topical.

(121)   a. <u>In a little white house</u> lived <u><u>two rabbits</u></u>. [Birner 1994:239-240]

        b. <u>In a hole in the ground</u> <u>there</u> lived <u><u>a hobbit</u></u>. [the first line in Tolkien's *The Hobbit*]

(122)   They had not been riding very long when <u>up</u> came <u><u>Gandalf</u></u> very splendid on a white horse. [Tolkien, *The Hobbit,* p. 42]

(123)   George, can you do me a favor? <u>Up in my room, on the night stand</u> is <u><u>a pinkish-reddish envelope that has to go out immediately</u></u>. [Birner p. 234]

(124)   You can drive as fast as you like in the outside lane on a West German highway and may feel like the king of the road—until you look in the rear mirror. <u>Zooming in on you like a guided missile</u> comes <u><u>a rival contender</u></u>, bullying you to get out of the way. [Birner p. 234]

Example (122) introduces back into the discourse an identifiable (discourse-old) entity, 'Gandalf', who had been off stage for a period; the other examples introduce unidentifiable entities. Examples (121a, b) and (123) have clause-initial locatives, which can be characterized as topical settings (see L. 2000:637-8), a matter we will return to in §2.3.4. But (122) and (124) have other types of initial elements—'up' and 'zooming in…'—which would have to be postverbal in analogous non-inverted structures. Sentence (121b) is special because it also contains 'existential there'.[100]

But not all instances of inversion are thetic (Birner [1994:237-8], who uses the term 'presentational' instead of thetic, makes a similar point). Consider the example of postverbal subject-constituent-focus in (125), which identifies one of those killed, where the open

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[99] With the exception of deictic thetic, the inversion constructions illustrated here are generally confined to more formal or literary language in English (see L. 2000:638).

[100] The *there+be+subject* construction is also a type of inversion, although, as Birner & Ward (1993) point out, its discourse functional properties do not entirely match those of other types of inversion. Birner & Ward 1993 and Birner 1994 characterize the pragmatic status of the preverbal and postverbal constituents in inversion in terms of relative familiarity: the postverbal is always less familiar within the discourse. The postverbal subject of *there+be,* in contrast, is characterized as new to the hearer, not just to the discourse. From a Lambrechtian perspective, the subject in both would normally be focal.

proposition 'the people killed were X' is relevant in the discourse. Example (126) (adapted from Bresnan 1994:86) illustrates a case of postverbal subject-constituent-focus that is also contrastive and corrective (the relevant open proposition concerns the identity of what hung on the wall).

(125) Official sources said yesterday that at least 22 people were killed in rebel attacks during …elections… <u>One of the people killed</u> was <u>Filimon Delgadillo</u>… [Birner 1994:252]

(126) <u>On the wall</u> hung <u>canvasses</u>, not paintings.

And consider (127), which is functionally very different. By my reading, primary stress must be placed on *down* in each clause rather than on the subjects. In fact, I would take the subjects to be topic expressions, and *down* in each to be focal and even compatible with emphatic intonation.

(127) As the skipping rope hit the pavement, so did the ball. As the rope curved over the head of the jumping child, the child with the ball caught the ball. <u>Down</u> came <u>the ropes</u>. <u>Down</u> came <u>the balls</u>. [Birner, 238; originally from Madeleine L'Engle's *A Wrinkle in Time.*]

So these examples show that inversion can have information structures besides thetic. Thus, although the order *X–verb–subject* is often used thetically, it is still underspecified. The examples shown here also illustrate that thetic subjects in inverted structures may be +/– identifiable. We will encounter more examples of English inversion when considering translations of Koine Greek sentences.

2.3.4 Topic expressions in thetics (scene-settings, 'stage' topics, experiencers, possessors)

We must now turn to a question that has so far been put off, whether or not thetics may involve topics and topic expressions. The discussion will require grappling with the notion of a 'stage' (or 'situational') topic. By answering this question with 'Yes', we will acknowledge a weakness in the notion of 'theticity' as a cross-linguistic category.

That a dedicated thetic construction may optionally involve a topical expression is assumed by Lambrecht's (2000:617) definition of sentence-focus (italics are mine, nab):

> **Sentence-focus construction:** Sentence construction formally marked as expressing a pragmatically structured proposition in which both the subject and the predicate are in focus. The focus domain is the sentence, *minus any topical non-subject arguments.*

And indeed, several of the thetic constructions we have cited so far have involved topical expressions. This was first pointed out for *My CAR broke down,* where *my* holds a topical relation to the assertion. We also noted how this utterance was expressed in Chinese, as illustrated by (62), repeated here, where 'his' is topical. Unlike the flat sentence-focus structure in English, the Chinese uses a topic-comment structure whose comment embeds a thetic element.

(62) a. *Ta   si   le   fuqin.*
        3S   die ASP father
        TOP [COM: [SENT. FOCUS - -]]

    b. His FATHER died.

And shortly before we cited a few inversion sentences, repeated here in part, which contain locative scene-setting phrases that I assume are topical:

(121b) <u>In a hole in the ground</u> <u>there</u> lived <u>a hobbit</u>. [the first line of *The Hobbit*]

(123)   <u>Up in my room, on the night stand</u> is <u>a pinkish-reddish envelope</u>… [Birner p. 234]

We also considered examples like (112.b) and (128) (based on (118)) which involve topical objects in the focus domain.

(112)   b. (Why is Mary so upset?) Her HUSBAND left her. / L'ha lasciata il MARITO.

(128)   An ELEPHANT hit me.

But many thetics were cited that contained no topical expression, such as *The KETTLE's boiling, The PHONE's ringing, The PRESIDENT died,* and *Some GUESTS have arrived.*

Now it may be claimed that every thetic utterance presupposes some background situation or setting. This need not be explicitly referred to, but often at least part of it may be. If it is referred to explicitly, it typically specifies more precisely the time, location, or other circumstance of the setting in which the assertion is to be understood. *Up in my room...* in (123) and *in a hole in the ground* in (121b) specify such locations, the one rather specific (in a known room inside the communicators' home) and the other more general (in some unknown hole somewhere in the ground). Moreover, the latter, as the first line of Tolkien's *The Hobbit,* presumably requires one to instantly conjure up a specific (imaginary) world as its setting. Similarly, in (129), *yesterday* specifies more precisely the setting's time for *an earthquake,* while the setting's location is left implicit. If someone in California told this to me (who live far away), I would (barring further specification) naturally assume it occurred in California. (See also temporal expressions like *then* and *once* in (9a) and (9b) in §2.2.3.)

(129)   Yesterday, there was an earthquake.

So we may assume that thetics lacking an explicit setting/situation expression (e.g. *The KETTLE's boiling,* etc.) still assume a specific situation, whether this be the here-and-now or a different time and place and accompanying circumstances. For some types of thetics, an aspect of the situation may be implied by the predicate type. For example, verbs of arrival (e.g. *then a BOY came in*) imply movement to a location, and verbs of disappearance (e.g. *The COLONEL's run away,* an example from Faber 1987:348) imply movement away from, or out of, a location.

Others have also assumed that thetic sentences presuppose a setting. Erteschik-Shir (1997:26-9), for example, calls this a '**stage topic**', what she defines as the here-and-now time and place of a 'theatrical stage'. She also claims that only 'stage level' predicates, not individual level predicates, have stage topics. (Although potentially confusing, for mnemonic reasons she has united two different uses of the word 'stage', the one theatrical and the other in the sense of a step in a series of events.)

More recently, Matić (2003b) insightfully builds on this same basic idea of a stage topic in order to explain the function of thetic-like constructions in three Balkan languages (Croatian, Albanian, and Modern Greek). As background, he assumes two types of topics: (i) A 'direct' topic is expressed as a direct argument of a predicate (e.g. subject or object) and (ii) an 'indirect' topic is any other type (p. 107). Indirect topics may refer to entities (e.g. persons), times/places, and other circumstances. I understand Matić to say that indirect topics may be of two types: **locational** and **situational** (but since a situation often involves a location, these can overlap). It is in particular thetic-like sentences, those with 'broad focus' and *verb–SUBJECT* order (with an accented subject), which evoke locational and situational topics—topics that need not be explicitly expressed (pp. 73-4, 437-469).

We can apply the idea of a stage or situational topic to a couple of English examples. Sentence (130a) is discussed by Matić (2003b:54, 131). Its stage topic—a situational topic in Matić's terms—is the here-and-now situation of the utterance. The assertion that it is raining

is 'about' the present situation (this applies equally to the predicate-focus English form *It's raining*). In (130b), the stage topic is more complex, given the left-detached phrase: it would be the here-and-now situation as it relates to Mary. It could be paraphrased 'As for the present situation and its relation to Mary, her HUSBAND is sick.'

(130) a. Idyot DOSHT (lit., 'comes RAIN', Russian)

b. Speaking of Mary, her HUSBAND is sick. [L. 2000:614]

Now, there is an important difference between the approach of Matić and that of Erteschik-Shir and others who make use of notions like a stage topic (e.g. Kratzer 1995, Drubig 2003, Rosengren 1997). As Matić explains, he uses this as a **conceptual** notion (i.e. an 'extralinguistic entity'), one that is needed for interpreting thetic utterances (2003b:466). For the others, the significance of the 'stage topic' (or the like) is primarily **syntactic**, something needed to explain the stage level versus individual level difference: only stage level predicates involve a stage topic, that is, a covert spatio-temporal argument, which is (according to this view) the real topic of a thetic sentence. For some, this suggests that the thetic/topic-comment (or sentence-focus/predicate-focus) distinction is not needed, or is not a matter of information structure (e.g. Rosengren 1997 argues that thetic sentences are really a type of 'all-focus and all-comment' sentence, and that the thetic/categorical distinction is only a matter of how events are perceived; Junghanns 2002 makes a similar conclusion, arguing that the thetic/categorical distinction is not a linguistic primitive).

But as illustrated by examples (113) to (116) from Matić, Lambrecht, and Tokizaki, thetics may, given the right context, still have individual level predicates. So theticity cannot be reduced to the stage/individual level distinction. (In following Lambrecht, I am of course assuming it is at heart a matter of information structure.)

I think Matić's approach is generally compatible with Lambrecht's, since Lambrecht assumes that scene-setting phrases are topics (§2.2.6.7; as far as I know, Lambrecht does not directly address the notion of a stage topic). But there are two provisos: First, for Lambrecht it is clear that it is only what is lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence that plays an explicit role in information structure. So, presumably, if the stage topic is not explicitly referred to in a sentence, it plays no overt role in its information structure, even though (as Matić would seem to say and I would agree) it is conceptually implied. Second, despite the similarities between stage topics and other topics, stage topics do seem to be different, at least when viewed in terms of prototypicality. Not only does there seem to be a basic difference in the kinds of entities these usually refer to (places are not prototypical first order entities and times are, at best, marginal second order entities), but the relationship that each of these types of topics holds with what is asserted seems different. As the prototypical topic expression, the subject holds a predicative relation with the verb phrase, but stage topics usually do not.[101]

The question of thetics with topics leads to another question, one that was first pointed out to me in 2001 by Stephen Levinsohn and Paul Tucker. It is well known that languages vary considerably in how they treat **experiencers** and **possessors**, which are two semantic roles of non-agentive (i.e. non-volitional) nature. For example, depending on language, an experiencer of a particular verb may be expressed (optionally or obligatorily, depending on language and verb) by the subject (the otherwise universally prototypical topic expression) or by some other constituent, such as by a dative (in which case it is typically a topic expression,

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[101] Exceptions would include languages that can make a locative a subject (e.g. Chicheŵa, Bresnan 1994), or sentences in English where the subject itself refers to the scene or environment (e.g. *Today marks the beginning of Spring.*)

even if not a prototypical one).[102] Thus, where English requires an experiencer or possessor to be expressed by the subject, another language might require it to be a non-subject constituent. The following examples contrast English with a 'Language X' (a hypothetical language with English vocabulary).[103]

(131) *English:*   I fell asleep.   I was afraid.   I had a dog.

       Language X: Over me came sleep. On me came fear.   To me was a dog.

       English: I broke the cup.   I saw an angel.

       Language X: For me the cup broke. To me an angel appeared.

So, when these sentences are used thetically in languages that differ from English, they will have sentence-focus structure, in contrast to their English equivalents, which will have predicate-focus structure.[104] What this means is that for languages using constructions like English, theticity is only a matter of construal, not structure. For example, we interpret *I had a dog* as being **functionally thetic-like** because it functions like the dedicated thetic form *To me was a dog:* both serve to introduce a new entity into the discourse. Finally, note that what is a focal subject in languages like Language X (e.g. the subjects *sleep, fear, a dog*) is also focal in languages like English (e.g. predicate elements *asleep, afraid, a dog*).

With all these facts in mind, we must review the original definition of *thetic function* given in §2.2.3 where I wrote:

> Following Lambrecht (1994:144), I take a sentence to have thetic function if it serves to introduce an entity or a state of affairs into the discourse without it being linked 'either to an already established topic or to some presupposed proposition.'

What does it mean 'without it being linked either to an already established topic…'? Obviously, the explicitly expressed experiencers, possessors, locatives, and other situational expressions are some kind of link. One way forward would be to view theticity as another name for a clause that introduces an entity or state of affairs into the discourse and to forget about the 'linking' part. But this would open up thetic function to a much larger set of sentences in languages (since focal predicates often introduce new things).

In the end, a strategy for moving forward that I think is implied by Lambrecht and Sasse can be formulated as follows:

- We should concentrate on those sentences in a language that are true instances of sentence-focus structure while also functioning to introduce either an entity or state of

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[102] Matić (2003b:396-405, 459-469) has an interesting discussion about sentences with 'broad focus' and *verb–SUBJECT* order, that is, what is a more or less dedicated thetic structure. (Note that in the three Balkan languages studied by Matić, this structure *verb–SUBJECT* is also used for sentences where the subject is construed as an instance of constituent-focus, i.e. 'narrow focus'.) He characterizes these as usually having 'untypical topics' and 'untypical subjects'. 'Untypical topics' are locational or situational, more typically non-human than human, and have a non-agentive semantic role. They thus are low in 'topic worthiness'. 'Untypical subjects' are non-agentive, nonhuman, and not discourse referents, that is, non-topical.

[103] See also Lambrecht's (1995) discussion of predicates meaning 'hurt' and his comparison of English, Italian and French equivalents (see especially pp. 175-7). English uses a subject-accented clause (with 'prosodic inversion'), *My FOOT hurts.* Italian uses subject-verb inversion, *Mi fa MALE il PIEDE.* French, which resists focal subjects, has two constructions at its disposal: *J'ai mal au PIED* (a single predicate-focus clause, a 'lexical solution') and *J'ai mon PIED qui me fait MAL* (bi-clausal predicate-focus; a 'construction solution'). The French predicates, *avoir mal* 'have pain' and *faire mal* 'do pain', differ from each other and from English *hurt* in the way semantic roles are mapped to syntactic roles.

[104] Levinsohn has pointed out to me structural mismatches between English and Inga (Quechuan, Columbia). Matić (2003b:456-8) notes that Albanian expresses many 'internal' (i.e. psychological, emotional) states of affairs with dative experiencers, in contrast to Serbo Croat and Modern Greek, which do this much less so.

affairs into the discourse. This means that a sentence is a dedicated thetic-sentence-focus construction only if both the subject and verb are in the focus domain and together serve 'to introduce an entity or state of affairs', regardless of whether or not some other element (an entity expressed by a dative, an adverbial setting, etc.) is a topical link.

This solution recognizes that languages differ in their grammatical and lexical resources and so in their ability to express theticity unambiguously via dedicated thetic structures. But it assumes that there will usually be a set of core or **prototypical** examples of thetic constructions (see §2.2.5 on prototypes). This solution of course leaves open several interesting questions, such as why some languages have more productive sentence-focus structures.

The above solution has guided me in my study of theticity in Koine Greek. My discussion and chief conclusions major on such prototypical instances of theticity, carefully distinguishing non-prototypical types when discussed.

2.3.5 More on the discourse functions of thetics

To summarize thus far, I take the basic function of dedicated thetic constructions to be 'presentational', that is, to introduce an entity or a state of affairs into the discourse. We shall now consider in more detail the discourse function of thetics, incorporating ideas from Lambrecht, Chafe, and especially Sasse.

As is implied by Lambrecht, I assume this basic function of dedicated thetics is to a large degree motivated by the complementary role they play in relation to the prototypical function of predicate-focus sentences (see Lambrecht [2000:624, 668] on paradigmatic contrast). This simple division is presumably motivated by certain cognitive needs and restrictions in the production and processing of spontaneous language. Using Chafe's terminology, speakers are generally limited to expressing **one new idea per clause** (or per 'intonation unit', Chafe 1987:22-23, 1994a:108-119; see also Givón 1975:202, 1984:258-263, Du Bois 1987:826). The new idea of a prototypical Lambrechtian predicate-focus sentence is an informative assertion about the presupposed topical referent expressed by the subject (and for a constituent-focus sentence, the new idea is the assertion about the topical open proposition). But the new idea of a thetic is the introduction itself (into the background situation—alias 'stage' topic).

Lambrecht has developed an explanation that applies to many thetics, especially of the first order type, and that is very similar to the above one-new-idea-per-clause concept. He calls this '**the principle of the separation of reference and role**' (1994:184-191, 2002:174-5). The basic idea is 'Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause' (1994:185). This principle attempts to explain why in natural language speakers are much more likely to use a construction like (132a) than (132b) (1994:178).

(132)   a. Once there was a wizard, who was very wise and rich. [p. 180]

       b. A wizard once was very wise, rich, and married to a beautiful witch. [p. 178]

Although the first complete clause of (132b), 'A wizard once was very wise', is syntactically well formed, it is **informationally heavy**—a kind of pragmatic abbreviation—because it attempts two jobs (recall the discussion of (118) and (119) in §2.3.3). Such heavy sentences are unacceptable in some languages (Givón 1979:27), even if allowed in English. No doubt, they are characteristic of written or planned oral speech (Chafe 1992a:27; 1992b, especially

pp. 292-3). Such heavy sentences will be touched on in my analysis of Koine Greek. Some Koine authors appear to avoid them more than others (§4.2.4).[105]

Now, different types of thetics have different typical functions in discourse. The function of a first order thetic like *Once there was a wizard* is invariably to establish a new entity in the discourse so that it may become a sentence topic in the subsequent discourse, such as the topic of a predicate-focus structure. So the new entity **persists** in the discourse. Second order thetics may be used the same way, especially if they involve a first order entity and an appearance verb (e.g. *then a BOY walked in*); the discourse often goes on to talk about the new entity. But entities introduced by second order thetics **tend not to persist** when (i) the entity is second order (e.g. *an earthquake*) or (ii) the thetic does not involve an appearance verb (e.g. *My CAR broke down*). In these latter types, the new element simply becomes part of the background situation: it is a new building block in the stage. At this point, the discourse could move on to other things, which may build on the modified stage, or the discourse might cease if the introduction was an end in itself.

Entities, especially of the first order type, that will persist in the discourse are often given special treatment in language. Such special treatment may be lexical-morphological or it may involve constituent order (compare T. Payne 1997:266).

Lexical/morphological: It has been noted by several linguists that such entities when introduced as a thetic subject in a dedicated thetic or thetic-like construction (i.e. as a focal object) tend to take more morphological marking than those that are not destined to persist. For example, Hopper & Thompson (1984:719, also cited by Levinsohn 2007:121) discuss examples from Modern Hebrew (originally from Givón 1981). Consider (133). When 'book' is destined to persist in the discourse, it is marked by *exad* 'one', but otherwise it lacks the modifier. While both are objectively referential (i.e. they refer to real entities), the latter is what Givón called 'pragmatically non-referential' (it is treated grammatically as non-referential).

(133)   a.   …I sat there and read a book (*sefer-exad*), and it was an excellent book.

        b.   …I read a book (*sefer*), and a couple of newspapers, and then went home.

What is perhaps more noteworthy is when a language mixes both identifiable and unidentifiable morphology to introduce a brand new entity that will persist. Comrie (1983:128-9) mentions examples from Persian (and Turkish; see also L. 1994:85 on Turkish) where the particle *rā*, which occurs obligatorily with definite, individuated (specific) direct objects, may optionally combine with the indefinite particles (*yek* or *–i*).

(134a)   a.   *Hasan yek ketāb did-Ø*
         -    Hasan one book   saw-3S

         'Hasan saw one/a book.'

         b.   *Hasan yek ketāb -rā   did-Ø*
         -    Hasan one book   DIRECT.OBJ   saw-3S

         'Hasan saw one/a certain book.'

The Persian construction is evidently limited to objects (John Roberts, p.c.). But some languages use such constructions for thetic subjects. As is well known, in colloquial English, demonstrative *this* (and certain other definite forms) may modify a thetic subject that

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[105] A bit later (§2.3.6, footnote 112), I mention tokens from spontaneous speech which are sentences that do succeed in introducing more than one new idea. One common strategy involves a prepositional phrase that functions as a subsequent predication (e.g. *A man comes along / with a goat*). It may be, however, that intonationally such tokens tend to divide into two separate units and thus are not as difficult to process.

introduces an unidentifiable entity that is destined to persist (see Givón 1990:741-2). *This* in (135) is not definite (except perhaps in a cataphoric sense).

(135)   There was this man sitting across from me on the train and he…

De Vries (1995:519, 1993:6) mentions examples of thetic-like subjects from Urim (East Sepik, Papua New Guinea) where entities that will feature as 'New Topics' (in Dik's terminology) in the discourse are marked by *pa* 'that' and *ur* 'indefiniteness marker'. The example in (136) is informationally heavy. This use of *pa* 'that' is interesting because *pa* is commonly used as a marker for various types of given topics (see my comments on the Wambon in §2.2.6.7). Such constructions illustrate again the language specific emics of information structure constructions.

(136)   Kin   ur   pa   ekg   naren   ampen   tukgwan
        woman   INDEF   that two   gather breadfruit   ripe

        'Two women were gathering ripe breadfruits.'

In §4.4, we will discuss Koine Greek τις 'a certain'. Τις may be used to introduce both unidentifiable entities as well as uniquely identifiable ones (e.g. ones expressed by proper names) in thetic and thetic-like constructions. Although thetic subjects that are destined to persist need not be modified by τις, the presence of τις virtually guarantees their persistence.

Besides such lexical/morphological special treatment, it has been shown that **constituent order** may relate to whether or not an entity will persist. Doris Payne (1987, 1992c; T. Payne 1997:266) found that in Papago (='O'odham, an Uto-Aztec language of USA and Mexico) entities being introduced into the discourse, whether expressed by the subject or object, appear before the verb if they are destined to persist or be important in the subsequent discourse, but they come after the verb when they are 'destined to be unimportant or ancillary' (1992c:145). Later, I will point out that for some Koine Greek constructions the relative position of the subject and verb may be similarly explained. This will be taken up in relation to constituent order in complement clauses of perception reports (§5.3.2), in ἰδού sentences (§6.7.3.2), and (following Callow) in εἰμί copular clauses (§3.3.2.2).

The discourse function of thetics may be further elucidated if we look at the kinds of contexts they are used in and the way they build a discourse. Along these lines, Sasse has outlined five general **discourse functions** (1995a:13-19, 1995b:163-168, 1996:30-43; see also Matić 2003b). Note that some of these functions may overlap and that some thetics belong to more than one. Still, some of these functions may be treated distinctively in a language, as Sasse has argued.

1. Introductive: Introduces a new referent (I assume Sasse has in mind primarily first order entities). They are common discourse-initially. E.g. *Once upon a time there was a king.*

2. Descriptive: Sets a narrative scene or environment, referring to weather, landscape, etc. Sasse (1995b:168) says this function is accomplished by 'static or dynamic existential statements' where 'existential' is understood very broadly (covering e.g. *The SUN was shining*). People (first order entities) may also be introduced in this way if their introduction describes the scene.

3. Interruptive: Introduces a sudden or unexpected (dynamic) event that interrupts the narrative (e.g. a phone or doorbell ringing, a door opening, a sudden appearance of a person, noises, voices). Most of Sasse's examples report events occurring in narrative sequence—that

is, they are on the **event line**[106] (not flashbacks or out of sequence). But some may interrupt a relatively static narrative scene and temporary overlap with it (e.g. something suddenly happens while people are sitting and thinking or listening to ocean; Matić 2003b:451). Both types are interruptive because the new state of affairs (which may involve a first order entity) disturbs 'the flow of topical continuity' (Sasse 1995b:165).

4. Annuntiative: Announces a previously unknown state of affairs (e.g. *JOHN called,* newspaper headlines, etc.), including (dis)appearances. Although they typically come as out-of-the-blue statements, they presuppose some situation (usually in the here-and-now) that is relevant to the audience (see Matić 2003b:448).

5. Explanatory (explanative, elaborative): Similar to annuntiative thetics, but the purpose is to explain a situation. They may come in response to a question ('What's the matter?' 'What happened?' 'Why did you do that?'), or they may explain a situation developed in the preceding discourse or in the extra-linguistic situation (A: Why are you late for work? B: *My CAR broke down.*)

I will on occasion make use of the above categories when discussing Greek. The **explanatory** type will feature prominently (§4.10.3.5.2). What sets it off from the others is that it occurs in extra-linguistic situations or text contexts where there is a strong expectation for the speaker to identify something (Sasse 1995a:18, 1996:36, Matić 2003b:455). Thus, explanatory statements function similarly to constituent-focus sentences: they can be interpreted as identifying a variable against an open proposition, explaining the 'why' or 'what' of a situation. So they are a type of information structure hybrid. Consider the following structure. The focus domain of a constituent-focus structure is not a single constituent but a sentence-focus clause:

(137)   [The reason I'm late for work is]$_{\text{TOP'L OP}}$ [SENT.FOC: my CAR broke down.]$_{\text{FD}}$

Finally, I note that **surprise** may often be associated with thetics, especially of the event-central types. But surprise is not known for being an inherent part of the meaning of thetic constructions, not even of the functionally interruptive or annuntiative types. Instead, it seems to be an optional emotive element; and it may also coincide with emotively emphatic stress or certain lexical elements that explicitly indicate it (e.g. *suddenly*). Having said that, it remains an open question if a thetic subtype could conventionally involve surprise (see §6.1, §6.2, and §6.3.4.1 on ἰδού thetics).

To sum up, while all thetics serve to introduce an element into the discourse, a handful of more specific discourse functions have been proposed. It should be noted, however, that most of the functions mentioned above are not restricted to thetics. For example, entities may be introduced in predicate-focus constructions (e.g. in object position), annuntiative and interruptive statements are often expressed by predicate-focus structure with a topical subjects (Sasse 1996:32, 37), and surprise is not restricted to thetics.

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[106] The **event line** (story line, narrative line, main line) refers to the events in a narrative that occur in contingent temporal succession and form its conceptual backbone. Events that occur on the event line are part of the **foreground** structure of the discourse, as opposed to what happens off the event line (or that are not events), which are part of the **background** structure. In the context of narrative, Sasse's 'descriptive' function (2) involves background states of affairs. In discourse genres that are not sequentially oriented, what is foreground may well be static states of affairs (see e.g. Longacre [1983:17, etc.] where on p. 236 he notes that 'existential' sentences may be 'on the main-line', i.e. foreground, in expository and descriptive genres). In non-narrative and other non-sequentially oriented discourses, the foregrounded statements that build the main structure may be called the **theme line**. Depending on genre (expository, descriptive, hortatory, etc.), the theme line is built up by utterances that are related logically or thematically. See Grimes 1975; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Longacre 1983; Dooley & Levinsohn 2001.

2.3.6 Subsequent predications: what follows a thetic

In the last section I said that what is introduced by a thetic may either persist in the discourse, especially if a first order entity, or not be mentioned again at all, in which case what is introduced presumably becomes part of the background stage. In this section, I will briefly survey some of the ways a new idea may or may not persist. We will in particular look at a variety of types of clauses and phrases that follow thetics in which the new idea may persist. Analyzing such persistence is one way to evaluate the discourse function of a thetic. This discussion anticipates my analysis of εἰμί and γίνομαι in thetic and non-thetic constructions.

One common way a new entity persists is in a relative clause that follows the thetic (my discussion and examples are based especially on Lambrecht 1988 and 2002). But before illustrating such relative clauses, I must first get out of the way two types of relative clauses that will not concern us because by themselves they do not make assertions.

(i) The first is the **restrictive relative clause**. Consider again the NP plus modifying relative clause *the woman who moved in downstairs* in (27), discussed in §2.2.6.1.

> (27)   I finally met the woman *who moved in downstairs.*

As a restrictive modifier, this relative clause aids the hearer to access from memory the intended woman. Now, let's assume that *I* in (27) is the sentence topic and that the entire predicate forms the focus domain. Under this reading, the relative clause does not by itself create the assertion, it is only part of the focal predicate. In fact, as stated in §2.2.6.1, the relative clause evokes a *knowledge* presupposition (the hearer is assumed to know that the woman moved in downstairs). So the relative clause is not informative.

(ii) Nor is the relative clause *who lived in the old castle* in (138) informative. In fact, as typical of **it-clefts**, this relative clause is part of a (presupposed) topical open proposition and so it is not even in the focus domain.

> (138)   It was the WIZARD *who lived in the old castle,* (not the witch).

In contrast to these non-informative relative clauses, consider the one in (139), which follows a first order thetic clause.

> (139)   Once there was a wizard *who was very wise and Ø lived in an old castle.*

Following Lambrecht, both *who was very wise* and *lived in an old castle* are **informative**—they make new assertions and are not presupposed (L. 1988:325; 1994:23, 180; 2002:174, 178; Diessel & Tomasello 2000:137; Fox & Thompson 1990:301-2, 306). Their assertions have topic-comment function and these assertions are in addition to that made by the *there+be* clause, which is the thetic introduction.[107] Once introduced, 'the wizard' then becomes the topic of the compound relative clause, where it is expressed first by *who* and then by the null form (Ø, ellipsis). That the relative clauses are asserted is also suggested by the fact that they can be paraphrased by an independent sentence:

> (140)   Once there was a wizard. *He was very wise and Ø lived in an old castle.*

Both the syntactically subordinate *who*-relative clause and the independent *He was...* are what I will call '**subsequent predications**' since they *predicate* something about the new

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[107] That the thetic and the relative clause make two separate assertions seems implied by Lambrecht 2000 and 2002. (But Lambrecht [1988:330-331] gives the impression that they form a single assertion). Another way of looking at the matter is to say that each clause accomplishes a different information structure job, that of introducing an entity and that of commenting on it.

topic. Moreover, in both types, the new topic **persists** as the subject argument (*who* and *he*). There is of course a difference between the two types. The relative clause type in (139), which Lambrecht has extensively discussed, is syntactically integrated into the preceding thetic clause via subordination (L. 1994:180). It forms a tight-knit bi-clausal structure that is expressed under a single intonation pattern (see also Givón 1990:746). But *He was...* in (140), which is a separate clause, is not so integrated.[108]

Lambrecht has also called this tight-knit integrated structure a 'presentational relative construction' (2002). Two functions are combined in one construction, each clause having a different function: the first is presentational and the second predicative. Lambrecht (1999, 2002) dubs the first 'a primary predication' and the second 'a secondary predication'. My term 'subsequent predication' is meant to cover more than his 'secondary predication' since I do not wish to limit my discussion only to the tight-knit integrated type. Any predication, whether integrated or not, in which the new entity persists as a topical element (regardless of grammatical role) counts as a subsequent predication (henceforth **SP**).

Such integrated constructions may involve modifiers other than relative clauses. Consider the non-finite participial clauses illustrated below (examples from L. 1994:180). These SPs differ from the relative clause type in lacking an explicit topic expression (e.g. a relative pronoun).

(141)   a. There was a dog *running down the street.*

b. There was a man *arrested by the police.*

Along somewhat similar lines, Givón (1990:746) briefly discusses how sentences with presentational function typically involve an additional predication. He discusses specifically presentational uses of *there+be*, what he characterizes as a 'semantically bleached' predicate.[109] He says *there+be* nearly always coincides with some other element that is the true contentful predicate. Besides relative and participial clauses, he cites examples involving prepositional phrases and other modifiers. Consider the following examples ('|' are my additions; they separate off the SPs):

(142)   There was a large park | *with gardens* | *and shade trees.* [Givón 1990:746]

(143)   a. Once there was a boy | *named Bill.*

b. There's a man | *from City Hall* | *standing at the door.*

c. There once was a wizard, | *wise* | *and handsome* | *but proud* | *and defiant.*

All of these various types of modifiers—participial clauses, prepositional phrases, genitive phrase, adjectives, etc.—function as SPs and all of them could be paraphrased as separate

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[108] There are two special types of relative clauses worth mentioning here, both of which make assertions, but neither of which are syntactically and intonationally integrated into a thetic (see L. 1988 and 2002:175). The **'appositive' relative clause** is illustrated in (i). Although of parenthetical nature, it makes an informative assertion, a new comment about the wizard. Example (ii) illustrates a **'continuative' relative clause**. As Lambrecht (2002:176) states about a similar clause, it 'denotes an episode which is temporally subsequent to that described in the matrix clause and which is assumed to be new to the hearer'. Both types may also be paraphrased by independent clauses.

(i)   *Appositive:* The wizard, *who was by the way very odd,* made all his neighbors nervous.

Paraphrase: The wizard made all his neighbors nervous. He was (by the way) very odd.

(ii)   *Continuative:* The wizard gave the potion to the princess, *who fed it to her toad.*

Paraphrase: The wizard gave the potion to the princess. She then fed it to her toad.

[109] Abbott (1993:40) also states that *there+be* sentences may have an optional 'secondary predication'.

independent clauses. To be sure, they do not all relate syntactically to their thetic noun in the same way.[110] Although I will not attempt to tackle this question here, I note that, while most appear to be subordinated modifiers that come in the same sentential intonation unit as the head noun, some do not.[111] *Wise and handsome...* in (143c) would be set off by a pause.

SPs often follow thetics with verbs other than *there+be*, that is, with semantically rich verbs:[112]

> (144)   Then a boy **ran in** | *(who was) laughing his head off.*

> (122)   They had not been riding very long when **up came** Gandalf | *very splendid on a white horse.* [Tolkien, *The Hobbit,* p. 42]

Consider now SPs following thetics introducing *second* order entities in (145) and *third* order entities in (146).

> (145)   a. Back when I lived in Washington state, there was an earthquake | *that made our entire house roll & rock for what seemed minutes.*[113]
>
> b. Indeed, a time will come | *when consumers will expect more...*[114]
>
> c. Now there was a voice—*a very low voice |—Injun Joe's: | "Damn her, maybe she's got company—there's lights, late as it is."* [The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Mark Twain]

> (146)   a. There's a secret | *that I want to tell you: | Jill's expecting.*
>
> b. Here's an idea: | *Let's have a picnic today!*

In (145a, b), the new entities 'an earthquake' and 'a time' persist in relative clauses (*that...*, *when...*; for more on 'time' entities see on (92), (93), and (100) in §2.3.2 and §4.8). In (145c), 'the voice' is described as first *very low* and then as belonging to *Injun Joe*. Of special interest is the third element, the quote *"Damn her..."*, since, viewed narrowly, this is not a true subsequent predication: it does not *predicate* something about the voice, as the voice cannot be construed as an argument of the quote. Rather the quote expresses the **propositional content** of what the voice said. It is only indirectly that it increases our knowledge about the voice. Given our definition of third order entities (propositions, which are located in neither space nor time), we might consider this type of persistence to be

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[110] I am skirting one type here, especially common in writing, illustrated by the adjectives preceding *worm* in *There was a most specially greedy, strong and wicked worm / called Smaug* (Tolkien, *The Hobbit,* p. 35). These modifiers also function as SPs (what Givón would call the real predicates). But they occur before the subject and are clearly integrated into the thetic NP.

[111] According to Chafe's findings (see §2.3.5 on the notion of 'one new idea per clause or intonation unit') we might expect such SPs, when produced in natural spontaneous speech, to occur in separate intonation units typically set off by pauses. The data presented in *The Pear Stories* does not always support this, at least as far as the use of pauses is concerned (the data presented does not indicate intonation). See footnote 112.

[112] There are several examples in *The Pear Stories* (Chafe 1980; different people recount a movie they just saw) where the SP also introduces a new entity (as in 'a white horse' in (122)). Speaker 2 (p. 303) introduces a man and a goat by saying *...And a man comes along with a goat,...* Although part of the same sentence, the prepositional phrase *with a goat* functions as a SP. For the same introductions, Speaker 1 (p. 302) uses *...anyway, a guy comes by leading a goat...* where *leading* is a more obvious predicator. Some speakers, when they tell their version, cannot manage to spit out *goat* in the same intonation unit: Speaker 5: *...a man goes by with a...tsk goat...* Speaker 10: *...somebody comes by with a...walks by with a goat or something...*

[113] From an Internet blog (by 'LadyVisine', February 27, 2008). Retrieved October 20, 2008 at http://chandramoon.efx2blogs.com/35802/Earthquake.html

[114] From an Internet archive (by Stephanie N. Mehta, 'Why The Biggest Baby Bell Is Wild About Broadband SBC Communications', *Fortune Magazine,* June 12, 2000). Retrieved October 20, 2008 at http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/2000/06/12/281974/index.htm

characteristic of third order entities. Still, it is common for second order entities like 'voice' to persist as propositions.

Typical third order entities, 'a secret' and 'an idea', are introduced in (146a, b), and they do indeed persist in the form of propositions: *Jill is expecting* and *Let's have a picnic today.* Still, the relative clause *that I want to tell you* in (146a) is a proper SP, since 'secret' would count as an object argument in the relative clause (coreferential with 'that').

Even a first order entity may on occasion persist propositionally. Consider (147). *Carved in wood* describes the concrete object, a prototypical first order entity, but *"Do not disturb!"* expresses its propositional message, which reflects its use to report a third order entity.

(147)   On his door hung a sign | *carved in wood:* | *"Do not disturb!"*.

Locatives and temporals present a special problem. If locatives and temporals typically indicate part of a thetic's setting (and so are topical as stage topics), then does this exclude them from being SPs (whose predicates are necessarily focal)? This question is not easy to answer, and I will only make some provisional observations here. Compare the following sentences:

(148)   a. On Sunday in Louisiana there was a hurricane.

          b. On Sunday there was a hurricane in Louisiana.

          c. On Sunday there was a hurricane here.

          d. There was a hurricane here yesterday.

Presumably, all the sentence-initial scene-setting phrases in the above are topical and so neither in the focus domain nor making additional informative assertions. They are integral elements of the thetics' presupposition. This must be also true for the final deictic forms, *here* and *yesterday.* But it is not clear to me if it is true of clause-final *in Louisiana.* Consider also:

(149)   a. There's a man at the door. He's from City Hall and wants to see you.

          b. There's a man (who's) standing at the door.

          c. There's a man from City Hall asking for you at the door.

In (149a) *at the door* is part of the first clause. It might be taken as in the presupposition for the thetic clause. But it might also be viewed as a paraphrase for (149b), in which case it could be a subsequent predication.

This issue is further complicated by the fact that locatives play a special role in *there+be* sentences. Many linguists consider *there+be* to involve a locative argument in its predicate structure even if this argument need not be expressed (Hengeveld 1992:1, 94-101, S. Dik 1997a:210-212; Freeze 2001). For some, this suggests that *at the door* in (149a) is the true predicate of *there+be.* But I am not sure if this precludes all such locatives from being SPs, at least from an information-structure point of view (see §2.3.7.2 on mental space as an abstract location). In any case, in (149c), where *from City Hall asking for you* comes before *at the door,* the latter may be easier to construe as a subsequent predication, the third in fact, or else as a modifier of 'asking for you'.

To summarize, there are various ways a new entity (first, second, or third order) may persist in a discourse. This may be in an independent clause or in a phrase that immediately follows the thetic and is integrated syntactically into it, whether this be in a relative or participial clause or some other modifying phrase. The new entity may be an argument (subject, object, etc.) in the subsequent predication, or, as is especially typical for third order entities, it may persist indirectly if it is fleshed out propositionally, by a quote or the like. And

finally, the new entity may simply not persist at all, in which case it presumably becomes a background element of the setting/stage. While this discussion leaves many syntactic details unexplained (e.g. the relationship between the thetic subject and the modifiers), it should suffice for now.

2.3.7 Constructions resembling thetics to varying degrees (especially with *there+be*)

We will now consider several constructions that can be called **existential in a broad sense** but that to one degree or another are unlike prototypical thetics. The discussion will focus on certain *there+be* constructions that entail special types of presuppositions.

2.3.7.1 *There+be,* existence, and polarity

In the literature, *there+be* sentences have traditionally been called 'existential', but various linguists have correctly pointed out that they are better characterized as 'presentational': they usually serve to present something into the discourse or bring it into the hearer's awareness (see e.g. Bolinger 1977:92, Hannay 1985:7-9, and L. 1994:178-9).

The traditional characterization that *there+be* clauses assert (or deny) the existence of an entity is misleading in several respects. First, note that not only *there+be* clauses but any clause used to introduce an unidentifiable entity could be described in some sense as existential. All three sentences in (150) can be said to conjure into existence for the discourse a dragon.[115]

(150) a. Once there was a dragon.

b. And then, much to my surprise, in walked a dragon.

c. Yesterday I saw a dragon.

Second, as Lambrecht points out, it is seldom really the existence of an entity that is being asserted by a *there+be* clause, but rather its presence in a specific location or scene. Regarding the sentence *There are cockroaches,* Lambrecht says:

> It is difficult (though not impossible) to conjure up a situation in which a statement like "There are cockroaches" would be made with the unique purpose of stating the existence of such creatures. Such a statement would be most naturally used in situations where the purpose of the speech act is to introduce the NP referent into the discourse world of the interlocutors by asserting its PRESENCE in a given location ("Don't go into the kitchen. There are cockroaches"). [L. 1994:179]

Similarly, without a specific scene or location in mind (whether or not explicitly evoked), sentences like those in (151), whose subjects are members of non-controversial classes of entities, are odd. It is hard to imagine why someone would assert that a boy exists or that linguists exist, as if these were revelations. Instead, such sentences are most typically used when a speaker will go on to say something about a particular boy or group of linguists.

(151) a. # There is a boy.

b. # There are linguists.

But when what I will characterize as **true existence** is at stake, whether this concerns all reality, or an imaginary world, or a certain period of history, etc., *there+be+subject* is not odd by itself, as the sentences in (152) illustrate. This is because the primary point of the utterance

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[115] In contrast to sentences (150a-c), in *The dragon said 'Hello'* the identifiable topical subject entails what in §2.2.6.5 was called an 'existential presupposition'.

is not to introduce a new entity and go on to talk about it but to affirm (or deny) the existence of an entity that is already accepted as something people can talk about, even if the communicators do not agree that the entity exists.

(152)   a. There's a God.

b. There is no Santa Claus.

c. There were fairies back then.

In other words, such sentences are usually used when questions like 'Is there a God?' or 'Is Santa Claus real?' are relevant to the audience or when the audience already has an opinion about the existence of such entities. In such contexts, a speaker may attempt to affirm or correct the audience's belief. With these facts in mind, it is reasonable to conclude that such sentences function to make assertions about the **truth value** of a presupposition (see §2.2.7.1).[116] In other words, the entire proposition minus its truth value is presupposed as a topic of discussion. Consider the following paraphrases of the sentences in (152) where 'Speaking of…' represents the topical presupposition and the predicate 'is/isn't true' represents the focus of assertion:

(152")   a. Speaking of there being a God, it is true.

b. Speaking of there being a Santa Claus, it isn't true.

c. Speaking of there being fairies back then, it is true.

Moreover, if the entity has been recently mentioned or if a statement about the entity's existence has just been made or implied, then either the verb or another non-subject element is often accented in such statements about existence. Such accentuation is normally an indication of **polar focus** as described in §2.2.7.1. Consider the examples in (153). Additionally, the lack of stress on the subject entity (e.g. God, fairies, etc.), or its ellipsis, is an indication that these ideas are sufficiently active (and topical), which is further evidence that these are *not* thetic subjects (recall that thetic subjects must be marked as focal, which in English means they must lexical and accented). Such utterances may be used (sometimes with additional elements, e.g. *too, did*) to correct or counter something already stated.

(153)   a. I didn't KNOW there were dragons.

b. There WERE fairies.[117]

c. There WERE not. / There were NOT.

d. There were TOO.

Many true existentials may be paraphrased by English sentences with *exist*, where what would be the postverbal subject of *there+be* is expressed in canonical preverbal position.

(154)   a. Santa EXISTS.

b. He DOESn't exist.

c. Fairies only exist in fairytales.

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[116] This is the position that Sasse (1995b:157, 165) seems to take. He describes Modern Greek sentences like *o theos IPARXI* ('God exists') and *ta UFOs IPARXUN* ('UFOs really exist'), with preverbal subjects, as having 'narrow scope of assertion' and 'made of definite subjects on the basis of a presupposition that denies the existence of the referent' (p. 165).

[117] Compare the use of italics to mark verb emphasis in a line from *A Little Princess* (Frances Hodgson Burnett, 1905): "'There *were* diamond mines,' she said stoutly; 'there *were!*'" The existence of the said diamond mines in a specific location (back in India) had been doubted by others.

Finally, it should be pointed out that polar questions like *Is there a God?* or *Is there anything to eat?* also require the entire proposition to be taken for granted. What is the focus of assertion is presumably the truth value, which is being questioned.[118]

2.3.7.2 Thetics, 'true existence', and mental space

I follow Lakoff 1987 who characterizes all types of *there+be* sentences (what I'm calling both true existentials and thetics) as referring to a special type of location, one not in the real world but which is an abstract area of consciousness. Lakoff (who builds on Bolinger 1977 and Fauconnier 1985) calls this '**mental space**'. I will also follow Lakoff in calling this *there* the '**existential *there***' even though what I have in mind are both thetic and true existential uses. Existential *there,* which is necessarily unstressed, contrasts with the deictic adverbs, *there* and *here,* which are more typically stressed (many years ago Jespersen [1924:154-5] discussed the semantic and phonological differences between the two *there*'s; see also Bolinger [1977:91], Breivik [1981:7-8], and Lakoff [1987:468ff]; other differences between the two *there*'s and the types of thetics they occur in are taken up in §2.4.1). The deictic adverbs prototypically refer to locations in the real world that are relative to the speaker. They may occur in thetics like the following, where they are normally stressed:

(103)   HERE comes the CAT.

(155)   THERE's a ten-dollar BILL on the ground!

In contrast to the deictic *there* and *here,* Lakoff states that 'existential *there* designates a mental space in which a conceptual entity is to be located' (1987:542).[119] A mental space is not a true location but 'a medium in which thoughts occur and in which conceptual entities are located' (p. 542) and which itself may host one or more spaces.[120] The nature of a mental space may be specified by a locative, as illustrated by *my dream* in (156a), or *his poem* in (156b), or it may correspond to something in real life, such as *the yard* in (156c). These examples would normally be used as thetics.

(156)   a. In my dream there was a rabbit. [a, b, and c are from Lakoff 1987:543]

b. In his poem there is a rabbit.

c. In the yard there is a rabbit.

But Lakoff is vaguer on the nature of the mental space when no location is specified or implied, although he seems to say that it corresponds to reality itself (p. 543). And, indeed, the position I will take is that true statements about existence are primarily **about reality** (i.e. truth) where reality is perceived as a **metaphorical location** in mental space. In other words, reality itself is the stage topic. Thus, in unqualified statements about existence, as illustrated in (157a) and (157b), the entities (e.g. 'God' and 'the boogey man') are either affirmed or denied to be in the realm of reality. That the stage topic in such statements is reality itself explains the suitability of a metaphorical locative like 'in reality' in (157c) (also 'in truth').

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[118] It is noteworthy that, in Japanese, marking such subjects with *ga* (which in §2.2.3 was characterized as a focus particle) can be odd if there is no other topical element in the sentence. The facts are complex. See Kuno (1972:286-7) for discussion.

[119] As Lakoff recognizes (1987:542), his account of the two *there's* and mental space echoes Bolinger's (1977:91-3), who took existential *there* to be an abstract location that refers to 'awareness'. Lyons (1977:723) also makes a brief comment of similar import: 'It can be argued, in fact, that existence is but the limiting case of location in an abstract, deictically neutral, space'.

[120] Fauconnier (1997:38-9) writes: 'At any given stage of the discourse, one of the spaces is a *base* for the system, and one of the spaces (possibly the same one) is in *focus*' (italics are his). For a useful summary on mental space, see Croft & Cruse (2004:32-39).

(157)   a. I just discovered something: There IS a God.

        b. There's NO such thing as the boogey man.

        c. In reality, there ARE no unicorns.

Sentences with locatives and temporals referring to specific locations and times may also be used as true existentials. The stage of reality is restricted to a smaller world.

(158)   a. In our yard, there ARE no rabbits and there never HAVE been.

        b. Today, there are no more DODOS, there're just PICTURES of them in BOOKS.

2.3.7.3 Can theticity involve negation?

Another difficult question that I can only briefly touch on is whether or not a dedicated thetic sentence as defined in this study—a sentence that introduces an entity or state of affairs and has sentence-focus structure—may involve negation, and if so, how do such sentences resemble and differ from prototypical thetics.

From the last two sections, it should be clear that true existential statements differ significantly from prototypical thetics. True existentials are primarily about reality and involve a presupposition where an entity's existence (whether for the universe at large or some smaller domain) is in dispute. Moreover, such sentences may have polar focus marking: the verb or some element of the verb phrase is accented instead of the subject. If so, they are excluded from the formal category of thetic construction defined here because they do not have sentence-focus structure (the subject is unaccented or may be a null form). This formal criterion by itself would exclude many negated sentences.

As theticity is defined for Marty and Kuroda, focus structure is not criterial, only the notional structure of the clause, namely a thetic affirms or denies (rejects) a simple judgment (§2.3.1). So negation is presumably possible. But do negated sentences really meet the definitions of theticity according to Marty or Kuroda? I think it is debatable. This is because negated sentences generally entail the presupposition that the hearer believes, expects, or entertains the possibility that the converse is true (but affirmative sentences do not entail a comparable negated presupposition; see Givón 1975:187 and 1984:324;[121] Horn 2001:190ff and passim; L. 1994:64). Such a presupposition seems especially strong for sentences that concern existence, as in *There is no God.* So how can a statement be a 'simple judgment' when it requires such a prominent presupposition?

While most linguists (for whatever reason) have tended to ignore negated sentences when talking about theticity, some, like Kuroda, have indeed assumed negated sentences may be thetic. Others appear to just happen to mention a case or two.

Let's consider a few examples here of thetic-like sentences that are negated. Consider (159) with the indefinite subject 'documents' (this example is inspired by the comparable negated Russian existential, (44), which I cited in §2.2.6.5 and which Horn [201:510-14], following Babby [1980], calls thetic).

(159)   The thugs entered the apartment and searched it, *but there were no documents.*

To be sure, the *there+be* clause succeeds in introducing a state of affairs, which involves the **absence** (or non-existence) of documents in a specific location. Since 'the thugs' were hoping

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[121] Givón (1984:324) puts it thus: 'The AFF[irmative]-declarative speech-act is used to inform the hearer of P against the background of the hearer's *ignorance* or P. The NEG[ative]-declarative speech-act is used to *deny* P against the background of the hearer's presumed inclination to *believe* in P, believe in the likelihood of P or be *familiar* with P.' (Italics are Givón's, […] are mine.)

or expecting to find documents, the negated clause entails the presupposition that the converse situation might be true. Note also that, unlike a prototypical entity-central thetic, the word *documents* has nonspecific reference (it's a nonreferring expression) and so it cannot persist in the discourse as a new entity. If anything were to persist in the discourse, it would be the state of affairs as a whole. For example, the discourse could continue with *That's too bad for the thugs (that there were no documents there),* where *that* refers to the state of affairs. So its persistence type shows that it is of the event-central type.

Consider also two examples of a cliché construction. This construction exploits the conventional meaning of the fairytale opening, 'once upon a time', in that, against the norm, it does not introduce an entity with specific reference but a negative state of affairs. Example (160) begins an Internet article, which has much less to do with iPods and the like than with how much cheaper PCs (personal computers) had become. And (161) begins a serious article on the evolution of flowers.

(160)   Once upon a time there were no iPods, iPhones, Xboxes, Blackberrys, or Tivos. Really, I'm not kidding. There were PCs, though. And they were really expensive.[122]

(161)   Once upon a time there were no flowers at all. A little while ago—about one hundred million years, as the geologist estimates in the history of our four-billion-year-old planet—flowers were not to be found anywhere on the five continents.[123]

Both succeed in introducing a state of affairs where certain classes of entities (flowers, iPods, etc.) are absent from the stage, states of affairs that are purported to be abnormal. Both concern the missing existence of entities (referred to generically) for a specific time and place.

Lambrecht (1994:153) happens to mention a negated sentence, (162), which he says has thetic function; still, since the subject and predicate are accented, it does not have sentence-focus structure. Moreover, this is, as Lambrecht notes, of the 'event-reporting' (i.e. event-central) type—my second order thetic (with a first order subject entity), since it is reports a happening (in which the specific entity 'the children' play a role). Oddly enough, what happened didn't happen—the children didn't go to school, what presumably contrasts with the expectation that they would have.

(162)   (What happened?) The CHILDREN didn't go to SCHOOL.

Rosengren (1997:455) mentions (163), for which I suggest (b) as a comparable English sentence. Since the subject alone is accented, this meets the English sentence-focus structure criteria. This utterance seems to me to be conceptually less marked than (162), since it could be paraphrased by positive sentences like *The SINK's clogged.*

(163)   a. Das SPÜLWASSER läuft   nicht ab.
            the   rinse.water   drains   not   —

          b. The SINK isn't draining.

To sum up, the picture I have tried to portray here is that negation renders a potential thetic utterance as not prototypical. In all cases, it involves an extra presuppositional element that renders the sentence less typically thetic than its positive equivalent. Moreover, a negated

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[122] From an Internet article (by Steve Tobak, 'The secret history of the sub-$1,000 computer', November 12, 2007). Retrieved October 20, 2008 at http://news.cnet.com/8301-13555_3-9814699-34.html?tag=mncol;txt

[123] From an Internet archive (by Loren Eiseley, 'How flowers changed the world', *National Wildlife,* April-May 1996). Retrieved October 20, 2008 at
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1169/is_/ai_18545025?tag=artBody;col1

there+be clause cannot succeed in introducing a specific entity, but is limited to the second order type. Later in §2.4.1, we will see that negation is incompatible with prototypical uses of deictic thetics.

In defining the scope of my study of Koine Greek thetics, I made the decision to ignore negated sentences, viewing these as at best a special subtype. This decision was also influenced by the fact that I intended to investigate Greek constituent order, which is notoriously complex, and negation would further complicate matters. So, apart from a few exceptions, my study treats only positive clauses.

2.3.7.4 Contrastiveness and addition with thetics

In §2.3.4, we discussed how thetics are presumably always uttered against the presupposition of a stage topic (place, time, and other relevant circumstances), whether or not this be explicitly evoked. Some thetics evoke an '**addition**'-like presupposition. This occurs when multiple items are being added one by one to the stage. This effect may be explicitly evoked in English by using words like *else* and *another* in (164a, b), as well as by ellipsis and *not to mention* in (164c) (and *also* in (165a)). As will be pointed out in §4.3.1, such thetics may be felt to resemble constituent-focus. But otherwise they are typical thetics since they succeed in introducing an unidentifiable entity.

(164)   a. There's something I want to say, '…' There's something *else* I want to say, '…'

b. Suddenly, a boy ran in. A few seconds latter there followed *another*.

c. *Wife:* Hey, waiter! There's a fly in my soup!
Husband: Not to mention a bee in my beer!

At times the effect may feel like a **list** is being created, as one item after another is placed on the stage. Some instances may also feel contrastive. The latter may be characterized as **contrastive thetics**. This contrastive effect is similar to that accompanying a contrastive topic, with the important difference that the thetics involve new, focal elements.[124] Compare the following:

(165)   a. **Contrastive thetic:** Once there was king who lived happily in his castle with his wife and daughter… But there was *also* a terrible old witch who lived nearby…

b. **Contrastive topic:** The king was very fair and kind, but the witch was greedy and cruel.

I will present evidence that in Koine Greek both particles and constituent order may achieve the effects of addition and contrastiveness in thetics.

2.3.7.5 Identifiable subjects in *there+be*: constituent-focus, reminders, lists

We noted in §2.3.3 that, in its prototypical thetic use, *there+be* is restricted to introducing unidentifiable (alias hearer-new) entities (L. 1994:143, Lakoff 1987:546, Dik 1997a:212), what has been called the 'definiteness restriction' or 'definiteness effect'. Now a significant number of publications note cases of *there+be* with *identifiable* subjects (Bolinger 1977, Rando & Napoli 1978, Hannay 1985, Lakoff 1987, Abbott 1993, Birner & Ward 1993, Ward & Birner 1995, L. 2001, etc.).

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[124] But such contrastive thetics are probably never true instances of 'contrastive focus', since the former would not be used to correct a misunderstanding (see discussion of (7) in §2.2.3). In contrast, sentence like *There was a BOY who came out of the house, (not a girl)* and *There were TWO robbers (not three)* would serve to correct misunderstandings. Although their skeleton structure is that of *there+be* thetics, they function as cases of constituent-focus, i.e. they identify *which* entity came out of a house or *how many* entities there were.

There are various characterizations of the kinds of identifiable subjects that may occur. Two that are common and relevant to us are the '**reminder**' and '**list**' types, and these may coincide. We will later encounter an occasional εἰμί and ἰδού sentence that resemble these types.

Sentences (166) to (168) are examples of reminders, some of which also involve lists. Pronouns are possible in such sentences (Rando & Napoli 1978, L. 1994:344, note 7) as illustrated by (167). Sentences (167) and (168) have the noteworthy quality of being **self-reminders**: the speaker is, at least partly, bringing something to his own attention, or at least speaking as if he were (see Fillmore [1976:92] on monologic utterances). Reminders tend to sting since they are often used to rouse a forgetful memory.

(166)   *Child:* Can I play? *Parent:* Aren't you forgetting something? There's the cat to feed, the dog to walk… [adapted from Lakoff 1987:561]

(167)   Besides this lot, there are a lot more folk we'd like to meet. There's them, and oh! There's YOU! How could I forget about YOU![125]

(168)   Whenever I try to park my car in the garage there's that damn boat of yours completely blocking the driveway. [Hannay 1985:111]

Consider the following examples of the listing type, which are not reminders. They often have a special intonation. Lists may be long, as in (169), or short, consisting of only one item, (170), or two items, (171).

(169)   A: Who was at the party last night?

        B: There was John, Mary, Fred, Susan, Hilda, Xavier, and Ethel. [Ward & Birner 1995:735]

(170)   A: Waiter: What's wrong?

        B: There's the fly in my soup, for starters. [Hannay 1985:111]

(171)   A: Were there many of your friends at the party?

        B: No. There was only Fred and Harry, that's all. [Hannay 1985:111]

Several people have attempted to explain the use of identifiable subject referents by appealing to information structure criteria, where, in one sense or another, the items are considered 'new'. For example, Rando & Napoli (1978:309) say the subject must be 'nonanaphoric', and Hannay (1985:116, 123, 130) that it represents 'new information' and 'Focus', and so cannot be the (sentence) topic in the given setting. Ward & Birner state that the subject, even though technically speaking hearer-old, is nonetheless construed as hearer-new. From a Lambrechtian framework, this is equivalent to calling the subjects focal. But simply calling these subjects focal or the like does not explain why *there+be* is used as opposed to *it+be* or some other focus construction.

Lambrecht (1999 and 2001a) takes such sentences as instances of 'argument-focus'—my constituent-focus. A variable (X) is **identified** against a presupposed open proposition (e.g. 'X problems exist', 'X was at the party', etc.). But this type of constituent-focus is special, according to Lambrecht (1999:21), in that what is identified 'belongs to a set whose existence is pragmatically presupposed in the discourse but whose members are not yet determined at utterance time'. (Others have made similar observations; see e.g. Hannay pp. 117-123.) Lambrecht 1999 makes this comment for the listing type but it also applies to reminders.

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[125]   From an Internet blog (apparently dated early 2008). Retrieved October 20, 2008 at http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendID=77309179

Equally, it seems to me, the open proposition for both types may be characterized as a location where things *are*. The location may be like a list, where items can be located in an open-ended way, or, in the case of reminders, a mental space in memory[126] where the items *should* be found.[127] In contrast, an *it+be* construction does not suggest location but *equivalence*. This latter point is suggested by Lambrecht 2001a (as well as Hannay). Consider the two sentences in (172) about which Lambrecht writes the following (p. 505, 'FP'=focus phrase): 'The use of the "existential" subject *there* instead of *it* conveys the notion that among the things capable of specifying the value of the variable there "exists" the one denoted by the FP. While in IT-clefts the FP denotatum is equated with the value of the variable, in *there*-clefts it is merely "located" within a set of possible values.'

(172)   a. It's the use of CLEFTS he wants to explain.

         b. There's the use of CLEFTS he wants to explain.

Besides reminders and lists, there are other varieties of *there+be* with identifiable subjects. I will only mention one. The '**type**' reading is illustrated by (173a, b). As Ward & Birner explain (1995:731), nominals like *the same standard fittings* and *the perfect man* refer to hearer-new instances of hearer-old types. They are also of course focal and informative in our framework.

(173)   a. There were the same standard fittings in every room. [Hannay 1985:109]

         b. There is the perfect man for Mary in my 210 class. [Ward & Birner 1995:732]

There are other circumstances where identifiable subjects may occur (see e.g. Ward & Birner, pp. 735-8). But it is important to set aside tokens like (174), what Ward & Birner call a 'false definite'. This use of *this* is of course what we described as an indicator of a new entity that is 'destined to persist' (see (135) in §2.3.5); the clause is thetic and *this huge sheet of ice* is unidentifiable but would normally have to feature in the subsequent discourse.

(174)   One day last year on a cold, clear, crisp afternoon, there was this huge sheet of ice in the street. [Ward & Birner, p. 738]

2.4 Deictic thetics and perception reports

This section, §2.4, looks at a few special types of thetics and thetic-like constructions, many of which involve visual perception.

In §2.4.1, deictic thetics, which were only briefly mentioned before, are treated in detail. They are contrasted with the non-deictic type.

§2.4.2 looks at how bare NPs may be used as functionally thetic utterances, and then it considers how the perception verb 'look' is used in English as a semi-deictic particle.

§2.4.3 briefly considers some deictic thetic constructions in other languages, especially in French and Italian.

§2.4.4 treats thetics embedded in perception reports. This involves various perspectives, that of the audience, that of a narrative internal character, etc.

From here on, I will use the terms hearer-new/hearer-old more frequently. As stated before, they are synonyms for unidentifiable/identifiable.

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[126] Reminders are odd as negated statements or questions. This suggests a conceptual similarity to deictic thetics (to be discussed shortly) in that they serve to (metaphorically) point to memory.

[127] See also Bolinger (1977:113-120) who, as mentioned before, takes *there+be* as a pointer to abstract awareness.

2.4.1 Deictic vs. non-deictic thetics, and things in between

I shall now contrast deictic thetics with non-deictic thetics where the latter employ existential *there.* A number of semantic and syntactic differences will be underscored, all of which appear to follow from their different basic functions (according to Lakoff 1987). This section will also present various subtypes of deictic and non-deictic thetics, including construction types that blend elements of both.

In §2.3.7.2, I contrasted existential *there,* which refers to mental space, with the deictic adverbs *there* and *here,* which may refer directly to things in the communicators' physical surroundings. I also cited there (103) and (155), repeated here, as examples of deictic thetics. Sentences (175) and (176), with existential *there,* are non-deictic thetics.

(103)   HERE comes the CAT.

(155)   THERE's a ten-dollar BILL on the ground!

(175)   Once upon a time there was a DRAGON.

(176)   On the table in the kitchen there is (was/will be) a ten dollar BILL.

These two types of thetics differ in their orientations. The deictic type is oriented to the **text-*ex*ternal world** and the non-deictic type to the **text-*in*ternal world** (see §2.2.1.2 and L. 1994:179).

In the deictic or text-*externally* oriented type, the speaker directs the hearer's attention to the location of an entity, thereby introducing that entity into *the hearer's awareness of the external world*. The deictic adverbs *here* and *there* in (103) and (155) are used to point to the location of the entity or the path it is on. In (103), the speaker points out the physical arrival of a hearer-old (i.e. identifiable) cat that is entering the speech participants' physical space. In (155), the static presence of a nearby ten-dollar bill is pointed out. Lambrecht (1994:39, 179) calls such clauses deictic 'presentationals'; I will use the shorter term deictic thetic.

In the non-deictic or text-*internally* oriented variety, the speaker makes the hearer aware of the presence of an entity *in a text world*, that is, in a mental world of linguistic expressions and their meanings (compare L. 1994:37).[128] Note that, even when used with the present tense, (176) is oriented toward the internal mental world (*On the table in the kitchen there **is** a ten dollar BILL*). It is true that, with the present tense, the world it introduces an entity into is simultaneous with the real world. But this sentence does not **point** to the real world in the same way that the deictic thetic does. Changing the tense to *was* or *will be* in (176) reveals that the construction's basic orientation is to an internal mental world. In contrast, deictic thetics are prototypically limited to situations in the present here-and-now (*hic et nunc*), as we will show below. This follows from their text-external orientation.

Since the illocutionary force of a deictic thetic is to 'direct the hearer's attention to something present' (Lakoff 1987:474), it follows that deictic thetics are typically accompanied by the speaker simultaneously physically pointing to or looking at the object being introduced. English deictic thetics are in fact marked for near and far deixis:

(177)   a. HERE's your PIZZA.

            b. THERE'S your PIZZA.

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[128] As Lambrecht puts it (1994:179), the deictic construction 'points to a referent in the text-EXTERNAL world, whereas existential *there* introduces a referent into the INTERNAL world of the text'.

Unlike the deictic adverbs, *there* and *here,* which are clearly *referential,* existential *there* refers to the abstract location of mental space. So existential *there* is (comparatively) *non-referential* in that it cannot be physically pointed to. Nor can it be replaced by *here*. And unlike the deictic adverbs, it is not normally prosodically stressed. If pointing were appropriate when uttering a non-deictic thetic, as in (176) above with the present tense, or (178) below, then it would be because the speaker happens to be in the same scene that the text-internal mental world represents. But in fact existential *there* is more typically used when what is being introduced is, to paraphrase Bolinger (1977:95), out of sight and unlikely to be accompanied with a pointing gesture (see also Breivik 1981:11-15 on what he calls the 'visual impact constraint' and see Hannay 1985:25).

(178)   Watch out, there's a BEAR (hiding) over there / in the room.

Existential *there* is, syntactically speaking, not an adverb. Instead, it functions in some respects as a grammatical subject; but the adverbs *here* and *there* in deictic thetics are clearly not the subject (Lakoff 1987:468-9; Breivik 1981:5-7; L. 2000:637-8, 661ff).[129]

The two types also differ from each other in that existential *there* is limited in its true thetic use to introducing hearer-new (i.e. unidentifiable) entities, as stated in §2.3.3. But the deictic type is not so restricted, as illustrated by earlier examples in this section and (179) below (see Lakoff 1987 and Hannay 1985:13). (It is of course the unpredictable presence of the entity in the given situation—whether or not it is hearer-new—that makes the assertion informative.)

(179)   a. Here's (There's) a man with a red hat on.

         b. Here's (There's) Harry with a red hat on.

         c. Here comes a train.

         d. Here comes your train.

Deictic thetics only occur as declarative clauses and so can be neither questioned nor negated, as illustrated by the bad sentences in (180). But constructions with existential *there* can be both questioned and negated, as illustrated by (181) (see Lakoff p. 469 for discussion).[130]

(180)   a. *HERE'S your PIZZA?

         b. *HERE'S not your PIZZA.

         c. *THERE isn't HARRY with his red hat on. [Lakoff p. 469]

(181)   a. Are there cockroaches in the kitchen?

         b. There are no cockroaches in the kitchen, thank goodness!

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[129] As Lakoff (1987:468-9) shows, existential *there* behaves like a subject in tag-questions, but deictic-*there* doesn't (tag-questions require that a pronoun corresponding to the subject be in the tag): *He's a dragon, isn't he?* **There***'s a dragon here, isn't* **there***? *There's Harry with his red hat on, isn't there?* Similarly, existential *there* behaves like a subject in raising constructions, but deictic-*there* doesn't (only subjects can occur in raising constructions): *John is (believed to be) sick.* **There** *was (believed to have been) a thief here last night. *There is believed to be Harry with his red hat on.*

Although existential *there* behaves like a subject in some respects (e.g. the tag-question test), others note that the presented NP itself also has subject characteristics (Fox & Thompson 1990:310, L. 2000:661ff). For example, the NP may trigger auxiliary agreement. Given Lambrecht's predictions about sentence-focus constructions (see §2.2.3 and L. 2000), it is not surprising that the presented NP does not behaves as a prototypical subject.

[130] Note that deictic *there* (and *look!*) can be combined with a non-deictic existence predication that is negated (with intervening pause): (Said by a magician who just made a rabbit disappear) *There! (There's) no rabbit.* See example with Italian *ecco* (footnote 149).

Deictic thetics, at least of the prototypical variety (see below for special subtypes), are also limited to the true present time, (182a).[131] They are not compatible with the generic or habitual present, as in (182b), (Lakoff p. 471). Nor are they compatible with assertions about the distant future, (182c), or distant past, (182d).

(182)   a. Here comes your bus. (true present)

b. *Here comes Harry from time to time. (habitual present)

c. *Someday, here will come a cat.

d. *Yesterday, here/there was your pizza.

Nor can deictic thetics be syntactically embedded, but existential *there* constructions can be (Lakoff p. 469):

(183)   a. If there's anyone in the room with a red hat on, I'll be surprised.

b. *If there's Harry in the room with a red hat on, I'll be surprised.

(184)   a. I doubt that there's anyone in the kitchen.

b. *I doubt that there's Harry in the kitchen.

All these various restrictions on the use of the prototypical deictic thetic follow from the basic function of the construction, which is to intentionally (and not incidentally) point out to the hearer an entity or state of affairs that can be **presently perceived** (see §6.7.2 on ἰδού). I will characterize these situations as being in the **here-and-now**.

Now, in the next set of examples (from Lakoff pp. 481-2), note that an equative[132] clause with a demonstrative pronoun, as in (185b), can be used in much the same way as the deictic thetic, (185a). Still, there are important even if subtle differences. In the deictic thetic, '*there* directs attention to a location that has an entity located there, while *that* directs attention to the entity in that location' (Lakoff p. 481). And again, the equative clause can be used in many ways (negated, questioned, embedded freely, with different tenses) that the deictic thetic cannot. So the deictic thetic is a specialized construction.

(185)   a. There's Sadie. (deictic thetic)

b. That's Sadie. (equative with demonstrative pronoun)

c. That isn't Sadie.

d. Is that Sadie?

e. I doubt that that's Sadie.

f. I'm leaving if that's Sadie.

Now, there are important variations of the prototypical deictic thetic that diverge from what Lakoff considers to be its prototype. To the extent the variations diverge from the prototype in non-predictable ways—that is they have distinct syntax, meaning, and/or constraints on use—such variations count as separate constructions as defined in Construction Grammar (§2.2.4 and the appendix). But to the extent they resemble the prototype in syntax, meaning, and/or use, they are related to the prototype and 'inherit' its properties.

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[131] The past tense can be used if it refers to something visually departing, e.g. *There went your bus*. See Table 4 below for different tenses being allowed in non-central constructions.

[132] See footnote 196 on 'equative' clauses.

Table 4. The family of English deictic there/here *(thetic) constructions*

Central Construction: Only present tense, involves real physical space, simultaneous pointing is possible.	There's Harry (with the red jacket on). Here comes Harry (with our pizza).
Perceptual: Non-visual perceptual space and motion are metaphorically understood as physical space and motion.[133] *Go* and *there* refer to the present or recent past, *come* and *here* to the immediate future.	There goes (the pain in) my knee. Here comes the beep.
Discourse: here and *there* refer to something in the discourse. Discourse space is metaphorically understood as physical space. **Go* is not allowed, *come* refers to future.	There's a nice point to bring up in class. Here comes the best part.
Existence: Existence is metaphorically understood as location here, nonexistence as location away from here.	There goes our last hope. Here comes another outburst.
Activity Start: Activities are metaphorically understood in terms of motion along a path, and the locative adverb as the beginning. *Go* is allowed, but not **come.*	There goes Harry, meditating again.
Delivery: Used when something is being brought to the hearer or is in a nearby location ready to be received. **Go* is not allowed. Allows exaggerated vowel length in *here* and *there.*	He(eee)re's your pizza, piping hot. The(eee)re's your car, all washed and waxed.
Paragon: Involves special intonation and stress. Used to express awe about an exceptionally good specimen in a class.	Now THERE was a real ballplayer! Now HERE is a great cup of coffee!
Exasperation: Involves special intonation (e.g. sigh, throat constriction, nasalization, special intonation etc.). Used to express exasperation. Coincides with *Activity Start* and its constraints.	There goes Harry again making a fool of himself.
New Enterprise (Enthusiastic Beginning): Involves special rising intonation. Coincides with *Activity Start* and its constraints.	Here we go, off to Africa.
Narrative Focus: Functions to create a vivid picture of an imagined scene. *Here* and *there* refer to locations in the imagined scene. Allows both past and present tense.	*Past tense narrative:* There I was in the middle of the jungle… There came the bus at last—and just as you might expect, it was full. *Present tense narrative:* Here come the killer bees, blackening the sky…
Presentational Deictic: Syntactically marked: allows a locative or other element before verb; *there/here* is optional if another locative (designating a location relative to the speaker) occurs preverbally; the verb can contain a full auxiliary; permissible verbs allow a locative. Uses: in *narrative* it indicates discovery, (re)introducing a significant entity into discourse; in *announcements* it indicates something significant.	*Narrative:* (There) in the alley had gathered a large crowd of roughnecks. *Announcement:* (Here) on this hill will be built by the alumni…a ping pong facility second to none.

Lakoff argues for the existence of the (sub)constructions summarized in Table 4 above. I list the characteristic features for each plus one or more examples. According to Lakoff, all of the subtypes are 'based on' the prototype, or 'central construction'. He considers the first one to be the 'central' construction for several reasons (pp. 489-91, 494, 505-6, 513, 537-8): It is, first of all, more basic to human experience than the others and it is used to accomplish a very basic task needed in life.[134] It is cognitively and grammatically simple. Children begin to learn it at a very young age, at the two-word stage. It involves sight and the here-and-now

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[133] The conceptual relationship between the central construction and the perceptual deictic is described as involving 'a metaphorical mapping of physical space into perceptual space' (Lakoff p. 509). Crucially, there are also syntactic differences between the two constructions (for details see pp. 509-514).

[134] Lakoff & Johnson (1980) claim that much of language depends on basic metaphors that reflect our everyday physical experience. They do not mean that 'physical experience is in any way more basic than other kinds experience, whether emotional, mental, cultural…Rather we typically conceptualize the nonphysical *in terms of* the physical—that is, we conceptualize the less clearly delineated in terms of the more clearly delineated' (1980:59).

true present tense, rather than more abstract types of perception and tenses other than the true present. It is easier and more economical to predict the other constructions from it, than it from any of the others.

Lakoff's final two subtypes, the 'narrative focus' and 'presentational deictic' (in bold), merit special comment (they resemble certain ἰδού constructions to be discussed in §6.3.4.) The 'narrative focus' subtype (p. 531) is unlike the prototype because it describes a state of affairs in the past that cannot be physically seen. But it resembles it in that the imagined world of the narrative is treated as if it were real, a kind of here-and-now stage. It is used to invite the hearer to vividly imagine the events, as if the hearer was in the story and sharing the online perspective of the story internal participants.[135] Although Lakoff does not explicitly state it, the same applies to the 'narrative' subtype of his 'presentational deictic' (pp. 520-1). In my chapter on ἰδού, I will note how using a deictic ἰδού thetic is one way of making a narrative more vivid in Koine Greek (other ways include the historical present, direct speech, perception reports, etc.; see §2.4.4.4).

One more subtype can be mentioned that is relevant to my chapter on ἰδού. This is where the deictic adverb stands as a clause by itself, without a subject. It may occur entirely alone, as in (186), or syntactically disconnected from what follows, as in (187).

(186)   Here! (said while handing something to someone)

(187)   'You kissed me when I was an old woman: there! I kiss you when I am a young princess,' murmured Daylight. [from the end of George MacDonald's fairytale *Little Daylight*]

Now, what is the relationship between the deictic *there/here* constructions and the existential *there* constructions? Lakoff proposes that there is, in the end, only one basic conceptual difference between them (pp. 552-3), namely (as suggested above) while the deictic construction normally directs the hearer's attention to something present in the here-and-now, the existential *there* construction directs the hearer's attention to mental space. From this we may conclude that the existential *there* construction is conceptually more abstract, since it is oriented towards mental space. So it would follow that deictic thetics—not just in English but universally—are conceptually more basic (on the primacy and of deictic reference and how it is acquired earlier in language acquisition, see also the literature cited in Levinson 1983:60; and see Lyons 1977:718 on the primacy of spatial over temporal and other non-spatial expressions).

Lakoff also proposes different (sub)constructions for the existential *there* construction, as illustrated in Table 5. The examples are from Lakoff (pp. 558-74, especially p. 562).

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[135] Lakoff does not seem to call this a metaphorical use but it occurs to me that understanding an imagined world in a mental space as physical space is comparable to a metaphorical extension. Of course, much of our imagination process is conceptualized as physical space. Perhaps this is why he does not mention it.

Table 5. The family of English existential there *constructions*

Central Construction*: there* designates a mental space; +/- negation, +/- question, takes many but not all tenses. When the NP is hearer-old, it is used as a 'reminder' [etc. nab]	There's a masked man outside. There's no lid to this jar. Reminder: But there's the dog!
Strange: there's = there has. Introduces an especially 'strange' event. [This subtype is not in my idiolect, nab]	There's a man been shot. There's a man been shot, hasn't there?
Ontological: Asserts whether or not an entity exists; the verb may be 'be' or 'exist'; the verb, or part of it, is stressed; the NP, even a proper name, can take the indefinite article.	There IS a Santa Claus. There EXISTS a Santa Claus living quietly at the North Pole.
Infinitival: Has a gapped infinitival clause.	There's food to eat. There's making dinner to start thinking about.
Presentational*:* It both sets up a scene in a narrative world and introduces an entity into it. Allows intransitive verbs and auxiliaries; most negation and embedding is not allowed. For some speakers, 'the verb phrase cannot be much longer (or have much more informational content) than the noun phrase' (p. 571).	From an asylum near Paris, there recently disappeared an exceedingly singular person. There arose a commotion. Suddenly there burst into the room an SS officer holding a machine gun.

The final construction (in bold), Lakoff's 'presentational existential' (pp. 570-5) is noteworthy because of its resemblances to his 'narrative focus' and 'presentational deictic' subtypes of deictic thetics. Like the deictic varieties, there are restrictions on the 'presentational existential' such that most negation and embedding is prohibited. It also serves to add vividness to a narrative.

In my view, these three constructions—all of which can add vividness to a narrative—show an important overlap between the two otherwise distinct parameters of deictic versus non-deictic thetics. Two are based on deictic thetics, but the other on the non-deictic. We might therefore expect that there can be some blurring in other languages, at least with non-central constructions. This may be the case with some ἰδού constructions.

2.4.2 Thetic uses of fragment NPs and perception verb imperatives

While comparing deictic and non-deictic thetics, it is helpful to mention some other utterance types that can have similar functions. My discussion is intended to be suggestive of how one type of deictic thetic could develop in a language (e.g. in Greek; §6.2).

The first utterance type I have in mind is a simple NP that is used to introduce an entity into the awareness of hearer.

(188)   a. (Two people enter their home after being away for a week and one says)
ANTS! (They're everywhere!)

b. (Two people are walking on a road when one sees a something on the ground and says)
MONEY! (Pick it up!) [compare L. 1994:46]

c. 'Ai, ai!' wailed Legolas. 'A Balrog! A Balrog is come!' [J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring,* p. 428][136]

d. (Someone points out to another the unexpected appearance of a nobility, saying)
The QUEEN!

These sentence fragments are used as thetics. They are another type of **fragment thetic** (§2.2.6.6). Given their orientation to the text-external world and the fact that they involve physical sight, they resemble deictic thetics. For example, (188b) could be paraphrased by the deictic *Here's some money!* and (188d) by *There's the QUEEN!* But *non-deictic* paraphrases

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[136] Another example with an indefinite NP would be the following 'monologic' utterance: Having just driven through a red light, I notice a police car in my rear-view mirror and say to myself: *Oh no, a cop!* (example from Fillmore [1976:92] when discussing monologic utterances).

are also possible for these sentences. Legolas himself supplies one in (188c): *A Balrog is come*. And (188a) could be paraphrased by non-deictic *There's ants all over the kitchen.* Of course, an utterance composed of a single accented NP need not be thetic at all. In other contexts, it could have vocative or constituent-focus function, or it could be an exclamative, as illustrated in (189). So a bare NP is functionally underspecified.

> (189)   a. ANTS, you've had it this time (thanks to this new poison I've bought).
>
> b. *Question:* What would you like for your birthday? *Answer:* MONEY.
>
> c. MONEY! Is that all you ever think of?

Still, the thetic function of such fragments can be made considerably more specific by the addition of an imperative of a perception verb like *Look!* Consider the sentences in (190), where *look!* is syntactically and intonationally separate from the NP. I will call this the **perception imperative+fragment** construction.

> (190)   a. LOOK! ANTS!
>
> b. LOOK, a BALROG!
>
> c. LOOK! The QUEEN!

Now, the pause between the imperative and the NP can vary in size. At one extreme, there can be a significant pause between the imperative and the NP, as in (191a) below. This would seem to indicate that, cognitively, these are two separate thoughts (what Chafe [1994a:63] calls a speaker's 'focus of consciousness'). At the other extreme, there may be no pause at all, the two parts being uttered under one intonation contour, as in (191c). This would seem to indicate that the utterance represents one thought.[137]

> (191)   a. LOOK! … A FOX! (with a full 'sentence level' pause)
>
> b. LOOK, a FOX! (with a short pause)
>
> c. LOOK a FOX! (no pause, one unified intonation contour, strongest stress on *fox*)[138]

Although in natural speech the pause is often absent, English writing conventions require a comma, which gives the impression that only the variety with a pause exists. Adding a quote formula before the NP further promotes this simplified view:

> (192)   [Watchmen are standing guard.] Suddenly it flickered back to view; a brief glow touched it and faded. "Look!" said one. "The lights again! Last night the watchmen saw them start and fade from midnight until dawn. [Tolkien, *The Hobbit,* p. 234]

The (perception) *imperative+fragment* construction must be distinguished from the **imperative+object** construction illustrated in (193).

> (193)   a. Look at the ANTS!

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[137] The imperative may also precede the NP: *A fox! Look!* In this case, the imperative may feel like an afterthought. Still, in both writing and spontaneous speech, it seems much more typical for the imperative to come first. In Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, I have counted 43 instances of *look* used as an object-less imperative with the function discussed here. Of these 43, in only two does *look* follow what the hearer is to look at (e.g. 'The Corsairs of Umbar! <u>Look</u>! The Corsairs of Umbar are coming!'). That *look* usually precedes seems to follow from the need for one to first win the hearer's attention before directing it to the object to be viewed. So there is a functional similarity between this use of *look,* vocatives, and marked topic expressions (in harmony with Tomlin's [1986:37] 'theme first principle').

[138] Although stress may come on both *look* and *fox,* it may be considerably reduced on *look.* Such an intonation contour may also occur with *THERE's a FOX!,* where deictic *there* may be stressed less than *fox.*

b. Look at the FROG!

Both imperatival constructions are oriented to the text-external world and serve to direct the hearer's attention towards something there. They do so by explicitly commanding the hearer to look. A deictic thetic (e.g. Here's a Balrog) accomplishes the same, not by an explicit command, but by its own built-in pointing function.

But note that in English (and presumably other languages), if the object of the *imperative+object* construction is a simple nominal, it must be identifiable (and grammatically definite) when the speaker is trying to show the hearer a specific object of the speaker's choice in the hearer's field of perception. Thus, the following sentences are unacceptable (they are only acceptable if the hearer is supposed to choose what to look at).[139]

(194)　a. *Look at some ants.

　　　b. *Look at a bird.

In contrast to *imperative+object* construction, the *imperative+fragment* allows both identifiable and unidentifiable NPs, and in this way *it resembles more the deictic thetic.* Table 6 summarizes some differences between these constructions. '+' indicates a specified function but '(+)' only a possible use.

Table 6

construction		com-mands	directs attention to field of perception	speech act points	identifiable entity
deictic thetic	Here's a/the Balrog.	–	+	+	+/–
fragment thetic	A /The Balrog!	–	(+)	(+)	+/–
imperative +fragment	Look, a/the Balrog.	+	+	+	+/–
imperative +object	Look at the Balrog	+	+	+	+

2.4.3 Deictic thetics in other languages

Languages vary in the kinds of constructions they use to accomplish the different tasks that deictic thetics are typically used for. Some constructions may be characterized as

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[139] But there are other contexts where the object of the imperative *look at* may be formally indefinite. If the object is modified by a restrictive relative clause, it may be formally indefinite, but, crucially, it is still identifiable for the speaker: *Look at a/this book I just read; Look at what I read.* The modifier *another* could be counted as indefinite, as in *Look at another card.* Still, it functions as identifiable for the speaker if the speaker is choosing which card the hearer is to look at. In contrast, an indefinite NP is always appropriate when it is the hearer who is to choose what to look at: *Look at a star and make a wish.*

This distinction between speaker choice and hearer choice has important repercussions in language. It is noteworthy that *look* followed by an *indefinite* word like a wh-word—where the hearer must choose—can be a diachronic source of indefinite pronouns. See Plank (unpublished paper) on 'imperatives of free choice' where forms like *look/see what, look/see when*, etc. in older forms of English and other Germanic languages mean 'whatever', 'whenever', etc.

dedicated deictic thetic constructions, like English deictic *there/here+be* constructions, but other constructions are of a more underspecified nature.[140]

Dedicated deictic thetics often employ deictic and demonstrative-like forms. Deictic forms are illustrated by English *here/there* and German *hier/da.* Below we shall review several *ecco* sentences from Italian. *Ecco* derives from Latin *ĕccu(m)*, a colloquial form of Latin *ecce* 'Behold!, Look!, Observe!', which has been called an 'interjection' (Glare 1968) and a 'demonstrative' particle (Georges 1959, Lewis & Short 1879). Although lexicons disagree on the etymology of *ec-*, *-ce* is taken to be originally a deictic or demonstrative particle.

There is no doubt that perception verbs like *look* or *see* often fill this role and that many dedicated deictic thetic forms derive from such verbs.[141] French *voici* and *voilà* are prime examples, which we illustrate below. Such examples are of interest to us since Koine Greek makes use of ἰδού and ἴδε, which are based on imperative forms of 'see, look'.

Other languages also make use of perception verbs in constructions that may be used as deictic thetics. English *lo* (now mostly limited to phrases like 'lo and behold') stems from Old English *lócian* 'look, see'. 'Bible' German (both in Luther and modern translations) uses *siehe* (from *sehen* 'see')[142] with the sense of 'behold', and various modern German dialects have other forms derived from vision verbs.[143] Czech (especially in colloquial speech) makes use of *hele* (including conjugated forms like *heled' (se),* etc.); *hele* derives from an older verb 'look' which is today rather bookish (Viktor Elšík and Jiri Hedanek, p.c.). Hortènsia Curell (p.c.) reports that *goita* is used in some varieties of Catalan (from the now 'old-fashioned' verb *guaita* 'look'). According to László Honti and Edith Moravcsik (p.c.), Hungarian *ne, nesze* and *ne'zd* are deictic particles based on the verb *néz* 'see'.

One could also cite examples from languages outside of Europe. In Moroccan Arabic (and other dialects), the particle *rā-* comes from the imperative of an old verb 'see'; it has both deictic presentational and aspectual uses (Martine Vanhove, p.c.; Caubet 1992). Mwotlap (an Oceanic language, north Vanuatu) has a 'deictic presentational particle' *ete;* it likely derives from *et* 'see, look' plus *e(n),* which is a general situational deictic meaning 'there' (Alex François, p.c.; François 'in preparation'). Yurakaré (unclassified, central Bolivia; Rik van Gijn, p.c.) has the 'demonstrative' forms *bëna* 'this here' and *bëti* 'that there', which are related to the verb *bëjta* 'see'. No doubt, many more examples could be cited.

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[140] I already mentioned the underspecified nature of a sentence fragment NP, which may be used as a deictic thetic. If time allowed, we could investigate other types of underspecified constructions that may be used in deictic thetics. The polite phrase *befarmāyid(/n)* (literally 'command!') in Farsi is an interesting example. It may be used in a variety of ways (e.g. 'please…', 'You're welcome!', 'Come in!', 'Sit down!'), one of which is as a quasi-deictic particle (usually followed by a pause) to point out or present an entity to the hearer (e.g. *Befarmāyin, pitsaye tun* 'Here's your pizza' [near], *Befarmāyin, kuh sofē* 'There's Mt. Sofē' [far]). Somewhat similar comments would apply to Turkish *buyurun,* German *bitte (schön),* and perhaps similar polite phrases in other languages.

[141] I wish to thank the people on the LingTyp list who responded to my queries (in April and May 2006) about deictic particles that derive from perception verbs and that may be used thetically.

[142] Although a comma normally follows *siehe* 'behold' in German Bibles as if to separate off this word from the NP or sentence that follows, Ursula Wiesemann informs me that many speakers, including herself, would not typically make a pause when reading.

[143] René Schiering has reported to me that Ruhr German has *kumma,* from the verb *gucken* 'look' plus *mal,* and Kölsch has *loor eens* or *loorens. Loor* is the imperative of *looren* (related to Old High German *lôgên*) and *een* is related to 'one'.

We will now briefly consider some French and Italian constructions as these will provide good points of comparison for Koine Greek ἰδού and ἴδε. Although there are some important similarities between French and Italian, and, I will argue later, Greek, there are also many differences.

2.4.3.1 *Voilà* and *voici* deictic thetics in French

The French words *voilà* (far deixis) and *voici* (near deixis) are, as mentioned above, good examples of deictic thetic forms that historically derive from an imperative perception verb, in this case the verb *voir* 'see'. Lambrecht counts *voilà* as 'a frozen form of the imperative of *voir* "to see" meaning literally "see there"' (2000:646; see also 1999:29). The demonstratives *là* indicates 'there' and *(i)ci* 'here'.[144] Prototypical uses of the French deictic thetic are illustrated by (195) through (197).

(195) a. *Voilà mon ami.*

      'There's my friend' [L. 2000:646]

(196) *Le voilà.*

      'There he is' [L. 2000:646][145]

(197) *Voici mon frère, Trey.*

      'Here's my brother, Trey' [*Tex's French Grammar*][146]

It is important to note that these are spoken under one intonation contour without a pause between *voilà*/*voici* and the NP being introduced. Moreover, unlike English *here/there+be,* the *voilà*/*voici* construction does not require the verb 'be'. Lambrecht (2001a:468) considers *voilà* and *voici* to be **monovalent *predicators***, not particles (compare also Morin 1985, who counts them, at least in constructions like those illustrated here, as subjectless present indicative verbs); similarly, Hall 1953 considered them to be **morphologically invariable verbs**. That the NP is formally an object is illustrated by (196), where the pronoun *le* 'him' is used (L. 2000:646).

Voilà/*voici* occur in a variety of other thetic (or thetic-like) constructions. Two worth mentioning involve relative *qui* clauses that contain an additional finite verb besides *voilà.* The first, which Lambrecht (1999, 2002) calls a 'deictic *voilà*' construction, is illustrated by (198). Lambrecht analyzes this as a single construction that combines two predications (what he implies are two assertions): the first is presentational, serving to introduce an entity ('the mailman'), and the second makes a topic-comment assertion about the new entity (2002:178). The function of deictic *voilà* involves the implicit perception of speaker who is pointing out the entity's presence (and would likely be able to see the entity).

(198) *Voilà le facteur qui arrive.*

      'There's the mailman coming' or 'Here comes the mailman.' [L. 2002:171]

Another type of *voilà+relative clause* construction is illustrated by (199), what Lambrecht calls a '*voilà*-cleft'.

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[144] *Voici* is actually rare in modern spoken French (L. 1999:29). This and other facts suggest that *voilà* has a more generalized use in the spoken language, thus resembling Italian *ecco* and Greek ἰδού more than one might first expect, since the latter are unmarked for far/near deixis.

[145] Since *le* 'he' is topical, Lambrecht considers *Le voilà* 'There he is' to be a hybrid of sentence-focus and predicate-focus structures (1999:31; see 2000:614 and 1994:40 on similar English constructions).

[146] Blyth et al. 2006. Retrieved February 3, 2009 at http://www.laits.utexas.edu/tex/gr/det6.html

(199) *Voilà la sirène qui hurle!*

'There goes (howls) the siren.'

In this construction, Lambrecht claims *voilà* 'has lost its value as a perception predicate' and instead 'functions as a frozen presentational morpheme' (1999:31). Therefore, *voilà la sirène* should not be counted as an 'autonomous propositional structure' (2002:178) that 'expresses an independent assertion', but rather the whole sentence (*Voilà la sirène qui hurle!*) is 'mono-propositional' (as suggested by the one-clause English equivalent; 1999:31). Although these claims may appear subtle, they make sense in that, as Lambrecht further argues, the construction's function is to introduce an event (i.e. our second order entity) rather than an entity. Moreover, this eventive function may even be extended to a sentence where visual or audible perception is irrelevant and the entity referred to would normally be expressed by a topical subject. Consider (200).

(200) *Lui, quelque temps après, pouf! le voilà qui meurt!*

'(Him) shortly after, wham he dies.'

The person who dies (referred to by *le* 'him') is already an activated entity—a ratified topic—and so this is not a prototypical thetic (i.e. its purpose is not to introduce the male entity into the discourse). Still, the structure is thetic-like in the sense that it functions to introduce an **unexpected** event. Finally, such an example shows that *voilà*'s function may be stretched to include reference that is not truly deictic (i.e. it does not point to the text-external world).

The reader is referred to Lambrecht's works for further discussion. For our purposes, it is enough to have illustrated these few thetic and thetic-like uses of *voilà,* a form that derives from a perception verb. A special use of *voilà* with time durations is taken up in §6.5.1.

2.4.3.2 *Ecco* **deictic thetics in Italian**[147]

As in French, the prototypical Italian deictic thetic, *ecco+NP,* also lacks 'be'. *Ecco,* which derives from the Latin demonstrative *ĕccu(m)* (and not from a verb like 'see'), may be viewed as a **morphologically invariable verb** (Hall 1953).[148] *Ecco+NP* is also spoken under one intonation contour (without a pause). However, unlike French (but much like Greek *ἰδού+NP*), it is unmarked for near and far deixis, as (201a) through (d) show. When uttering these, the speaker can point at the object being presented, but more importantly the presence of the entity should be fairly obvious (sounds can also be introduced by *ecco+NP*). (201d) would be appropriate when pointing either to a photograph of the sun near you or to the sunrise on the horizon, so *ecco* is unmarked for near/far deixis.

(201) a. *Ecco dell'acqua.*   'Here's (There's) some water.' [Act 8:36]

   b. *Ecco l'uomo.*   'Here's (There's) the man.' [Jhn 19:5]

   c. *Ecco il sole*   'Here's (There's) the sun.'

   d. *Eccomi.*   'Here I am.' (*mi* = accusative, *io* = nominative)

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[147] For these Italian data and their discussion, I am especially indebted to Marco Librè, Cinzia Russi, M. and R. Vergari. Thanks, too, to Cinzia Russi for pointing out to me Hall (1953).

[148] Besides Italian *ecco* and French *voici/voilà,* Hall (1953:279-280) also takes Latin *ecce* and its other descendants to be morphologically invariable verbs. Since *ecco* takes pronominal complements that follow it and is accompanied by falling intonation like imperative sentences, he considers *ecco* to be a kind of imperative. In contrast, pronominal complements *precede voici/voilà and* 'and utterances containing *voici* and *voilà* have, not falling, but the normal rising and rising-falling pitch-contours of a declarative utterance'. So Hall takes *voici* and *voilà* as 'non-imperatival'.

If a speaker must specify near or far deixis, a deictic adverb may be added (*qui* or *là*):

(202) a. *Ecco qui l'acqua.*   'Here's the water.'

        b. *Ecco là l'acqua.*   'There's the water.'

Like French (but unlike Greek *ἰδού+NP*), when case is shown, the NP is accusative; see (201d) above with the object pronominal suffix (clitic) *mi*. Finally, such clauses can be neither negated nor questioned.[149]

As preparation for looking at ἰδού, it is helpful to illustrate a few more complex *ecco* constructions. The examples in (203) contain finite verbs (besides *ecco*). *Ecco che* is a clefted clause (*che* is the relativizer 'that'). The introduced states of affairs are thetic and unexpected. Notice that the subject in (203b) follows its verb (*Luca indossa*) but in (203a) it precedes it (*arriva la cameriera*), thus illustrating that (for whatever reason) both orders may occur in Italian.

(203) a. *Ecco che Luca indossa   un cappello rosso.*
           –   that Luca is-wearing a   hat   red

    'Here's Luca wearing a red hat.'

    b. *Ecco che arriva la   cameriera con la   nostra pizza.*
           –   that arrives the waitress   with the our   pizza

    'Here comes the waitress with our pizza.'

The relativizer *che* may also occur after the subject. As I understand, compared to (203a) above, in (204), the verbal clause *che indossa...* represents a second assertion, one that is secondary or circumstantial to the thetic *Ecco Luca*. Here *che* may be translated as 'and'. But in (203a), the event 'Luca's wearing a hat' is presented as an integrated whole (the same is true of (203b)).

(204) *Ecco Luca che indossa   un cappello rosso.*
           –   Luca that is.wearing a   hat   red

    'Here's Luca and he's wearing a red hat'

Ecco and *ecco che* are also used in narrative to add suspense and vividness. This use is similar to a use of deictic *there/here* in English narrative (Lakoff's 'narrative focus' and 'presentational deictic' constructions, §2.4.1), where the imagined world of the narrative is treated as if it were a here-and-now stage that may be pointed to.

Consider (205). No pause would come between *ecco che* and the thetic clause and together they form a single (complex) intonation contour. But *ecco che* can be followed by a pause. This is illustrated in (206) where *ecco che* has been 'raised' before a circumstantial clause. This position may be used to add more suspense since the hearer must first process the circumstantial clause before hearing the thetic one.

(205) *Era una sera tranquilla, tutta la famiglia stava guardando la televisione. **Ecco che** qualcuno bussò alla porta...*

        (It) was a quiet evening, all the family was-watching the television. *Ecco that* someone knocked at the door… (freely: Lo and behold/Suddenly someone knocked at…)

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[149] But negation may occur when *ecco* is used in conjunction with non-deictic *c'è* 'there is': (Said by a magician who just made a book disappear) *Ecco, il libro non c'è più!* (with pause), or *Ecco che il libro non c'è più!* 'Look, there's no more book' or 'Look, the book's no longer there.'

(206) *Era una sera tranquilla, **ecco che,** mentre tutta la famiglia stava guardando la televisione, qualcuno bussò alla porta...*

(It) was a quiet evening, *ecco that*, while all the family was-watching the television, someone knocked at the door…

Consider also the three similar sentences in (207).

(207) *Era una sera tranquilla, tutta la famiglia stava guardando la televisione.*

*a. **Ecco che** nella stanza apparì Babbo Natale.*

Freely: There in the room appeared Father Christmas.

*b. **Ecco che** Babbo Natale apparì nella stanza.*

Freely: There in the room Father Christmas appeared.

*c. **Ecco,** Babbo Natale apparì nella stanza.*

Lo and behold (Suddenly), Father Christmas appeared in the room.

As I understand it, all three variations can report surprising, thetic states of affairs. (207a), where the subject follows the verb, is most appropriate when there is absolutely no expectation to see Father Christmas (*Babbo Natale*). (207b) could also be used in such a context, but it would also be appropriate if the family was already talking or thinking about Father Christmas when he appeared. *Che* can be also omitted, as in (207c), in which case a pause would normally intervene before the thetic clause.

One last use of *ecco* worth mentioning is where it metaphorically points to discourse, either cataphorically or anaphorically, as when one introduces or concludes a thought (e.g. *ecco la mia opinione*[150] 'here's my opinion/so there's my opinion'). Here we can say that *ecco* points to a mental space where one or more thoughts are located. In a similar way, *ecco* may point to a mental space where the thoughts one is looking for are located. For example, *(ah) ecco* may be uttered once a discovery has been made, meaning 'Oh yes, THERE'S (THAT's) the reason' or 'NOW I realize'.[151]

2.4.4 Perception reports and related issues[152]

2.4.4.1 Perception reports

A '**perception report**', a term used by Lambrecht (2002:177, footnote 3), is a sentence used by a speaker to report what a he (or she) or someone else saw, heard, or otherwise perceived.[153] They are often used to introduce a new entity or state of affairs into a discourse, and so in this sense they may be **thetic-like**, that is, function as thetics. While they are not deictic thetics, they nevertheless resemble them in that perception involves a deictic element, which is the perceiver himself from whose perspective the report is made. But perception reports are especially complex, since they may mix different perspectives—that of the

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[150] Example from De Mauro's (2000) *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso*.

[151] According to Marco Librè (p.c.), *ecco* used in this way may be an abbreviation for (more literary) *Ecco il motivo* 'That's the reason' or colloquial *Ecco il perché* 'That's why!'

[152] Carl Follingstad's discussion of Hebrew הִנֵּה (*hinnēh*) 'behold' in terms of perspective and mental space was inspirational for me when I first began wondering about the workings of Greek perception reports and deictic thetics (2001:158-178, 227-8, 511-3, 585). Carl also pointed me to Fillmore 1976, which turns out to have also inspired Lambrecht's analysis of perception reports in French (L. 1999 and 2002).

[153] Lambrecht says 'perception report' is a translation of Kleiber's 'compte-rendu de perception'. Johannessohn (1937) used the term 'Wahrnehmungssatz' (i.e. perception clause) with the same sense in his extensive study of such sentences in Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Greek, and other languages.

speaker (or narrator), that of the hearer (or audience), and that of a discourse internal character. Before illustrating some examples, I must first define a few terms. The discussion here is background to Chapter 5, which takes up theticity in Greek perception reports.

A speaker (or writer) can package his discourse in ways that guide his hearer (or reader) to take one or another **perspective** when processing the discourse. In order to talk about issues of perspective and orientation in language, Fillmore (1976) introduces the notion 'contextualization'. *'External contextualization'* concerns 'worlds in which the text can appropriately be used; with *internal contextualization* our concern is with the worlds in the imagination of the creator and interpreters of the text' (pp. 88-9). He illustrates **external contextualization** by (208).

(208)   Do you like this one better than this one?

Of the different worlds where this utterance might be appropriate, Fillmore says that 'the most easily imagined context' is where the speaker is talking to someone who can see him pointing first to one thing and then to another.

Fillmore illustrates **internal contextualization** by (209).

(209)   She never *had* enjoyed listening to her husband lecture, and this time was no exception.

Here, a sensitive audience will likely imagine sharing the discomfort a woman felt as she listened to her husband lecture. Such feelings are enhanced by the position of *never,* the emphatic stress on *had,* and the use of 'this time'. These reflect aspects of the imagined internal world.

Of special interest to us are Fillmore's comments on point of view in reported speech (e.g. in contrast to quoted speech) and how this affects the choice of forms. For example, in reported speech, some forms of the original event may be changed to accommodate the perspective of the speaker (p. 94): 'indexical and referencing expressions are transparent, i.e., they are selected from the point of view of the reporting speech act, not the reported speech act,' that is, 'from the point of view of the speaker of the larger sentence, and not that of the speaker of the reported utterance'. Consider (210). Fillmore says that the descriptive NP *that idiot* represents the speaker's point of view rather than the person thinking. Otherwise, we would have a contradiction.

(210)   She thinks that that idiot is a genius.

And in (211)*,* the words *she, me, here,* and *today* are from the point of view of the speaker of the larger sentence. The original utterance might have been 'I want you to go to the office on Wednesday' (nab; Fillmore supplies no original utterance).

(211)   She told him that she wanted me to be here today.

Lambrecht (1999, 2002) applies Fillmore's concept of contextualization to **perception reports**. In what follows, I will sketch how perception reports interact with theticity and topicality in a narrative. The picture that I will draw will illustrate various **constellations of interacting perspectives** (i.e. different 'contextualizations'), something that Lambrecht does not do in the publications that I have read. I will then apply Lambrecht's treatment of contextualization to this larger picture.

Now consider three different perception reports in (212) in a made up narrative.

(212)   Once upon a time there was a girl named Jill. She was fishing at the river when, suddenly, she looked UP…

    a. and saw [a BOY.]

    b. and saw [a BOY coming towards her.]

    c. and SAW [that there was a BOY coming towards her.]

In each version, 'a boy' represents a new entity from the perspective of both Jill, who is the viewer/perceiver,[154] and us, the audience (or hearer). I will depict such introductions as **viewer-new** and **audience-new**. The bracketed portions are objects or object complement clauses (=ObjCmp). In (212a) the object is a simple NP, in (212b) it is a participial complement clause, and in (212c) a full complement clause headed by the relativizer *that*. All three have thetic function, but only the latter two have properties of sentence-focus structure: The object in (212a) is simply part of the predicate of the larger predicate-focus sentence. The ObjCmp in (212c) embeds a typical sentence-focus structure, a (non-deictic) *there+be* thetic.[155] The object in (212b) is a structural mix. As a nominalized clause, it is a NP, but internally it has sentence-focus structure—the ObjCmp subject *a BOY* is accented. The ObjCmp in (212c) is syntactically more independent given the presence of the relativizer and finite verb.

Now in all three variants in (212), the internal contextualization primarily reflects Jill's perspective since the narrator tells us about her and what she saw. Having said that, note that, when we hear any of the three, we simultaneously comprehend the introduction from two different perspectives: (i) not only are we aware that Jill is perceiving a situation where a new entity comes into her awareness, (ii) we too as the audience become aware of the same entity who is then added to our mental representation of the text world. It is important for us to keep track of these different perspectives.

A narrator can package an event so that one or the other perspective is given prominence. Consider the next two examples where the narrator first identifies two entities, 'Jack' and 'Jill', for the audience. In such a context, the narrator can play up the character's perspective, as in version (213a), where Jack is introduced to Jill by a *there+be* thetic in a perception report. 'A boy' is packaged from Jill's perspective, for whom Jack is a new entity. So Jack is **viewer-new** but **audience-old**. The audience is obliged to put their perspective on hold for the moment in order to enjoy the events from Jill's perspective. Or the narrator can completely suppress Jill's perspective, as in (213b), where we are left to infer how and when

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[154] I shall henceforth use the term 'viewer' since most of my discussion concerns perception reports with 'see'. To be sure, 'perceiver' might be a better term because it would cover hearing and other modes of perception.

[155] I believe that the combination (i) *saw + that there was/were a…* is rarer in natural speech than (ii) *saw + object complement clause*. This is because 'saw' in this construction usually indicates direct visual perception, and '*there+be*' is generally not used with direct visual perception (see on (178) in §2.4.1). But (i) is still attested. In Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, I have counted 3 tokens. Still, in at least two of them, there are contextual elements indicating that the viewers' visual perception is either hampered (e.g. Merry and Pippin are in a dark forest at dawn…'and soon they saw that there was a rock-wall before them'; *The Two Towers,* p. 81) or that the perception is indirect ('Frodo looked out of his window and saw that there had been a frost in the night' *The Return of the King,* p. 327).

she first saw him. The pronoun *he* is packaged entirely from the audience's perspective, for whom 'Jack' is identifiable and activated.[156]

(213)   Once upon a time there was a girl named Jill and a boy named Jack. This is how they met.

a. …One day, Jill was at the river fishing, when, suddenly, she looked UP and SAW [that there was a BOY coming towards her.]

b. …One day, while she was fishing at the river, he came CANOEING down the RIVER and his canoe got hooked on her line.

In contrast to the above, (214a,b,c) below mix perspectives. In (214a), we as the audience are told how she became aware of Jack entering her field of perception. The ObjCmp also has sentence-focus structure, given that *JACK* is accented, and this reflects Jill's perspective, for whom Jack is new (viewer-new). But the proper name *Jack* (instead of *a boy*) reflects the audience's perspective, for whom Jack is identifiable (audience-old). In (214b) and (214c), the pronouns further suppress Jill's perspective; these have predicate-focus structure. Perhaps my reader may feel some discomfort with either (214b) or (214c), given the pronouns. This may be because there is an expectation to hear Jill's perspective developed. But the fact is such mixes often occur in language, as we will see in NT Greek.

(214)   …One day, Jill was fishing at the river, when, suddenly, she looked UP…

a. and saw [that JACK was coming towards her.]

b. and saw [that he was coming TOWARDS her.]

c. and saw [him coming TOWARDS her.]

Such mixes Lambrecht (1999, 2002) describes in terms of contextualization. As he explains for similar mixes in French examples, in the cases with an unaccented pronoun, as in (214b) or (214c), 'the entity is contextualized simultaneously as new in one text world and as already given in another' (2002:179).[157]

So, concerning Jack's appearance in the three versions of (214), (214a) alone has sentence-focus structure, and as I see it, it explicitly conveys a feeling of theticity that (b) and (c) do not. Jack's appearance *feels* more newsworthy and surprising in (214a) given the sentence-focus structure. (214b) and (c), in contrast, while they implicitly count as thetics for Jill, they are formally instances of predicate-focus, and the effect for the audience is to diminish the implicatures of surprise and noteworthiness.

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[156] That the narrator may totally dispense with the character's perspective shows that, ultimately, the audience's perspective is the most important. The story is being told for the audience's sake. If the narrator fails to properly introduce and track an entity for the audience, then communication is in jeopardy.

[157] Lambrecht (2002:177) gives these two examples:

(i)   *Je vois (trouve, surprends) la jeune fille qui fume.*

'I see (find, surprise) the girl smoking'

(ii) *Il la voit (trouve, surprend) qui fume.*

'He sees (finds, surprises) her smoking'

Concerning this difference Lambrecht (p. 178) writes:

'the presented discourse entity can be expressed either as an accented postverbal NP or as an unaccented preverbal pronoun, i.e. it can have either a focus or a topic relation to the proposition. This is possible because of the particular contextualization properties of this subtype. When coded in accented lexical NP form, the entity is contextualized in a single text world; when coded in unaccented pronoun form, the entity is contextualized simultaneously as new in one text world and as already given in another'.

Yet another constellation of interacting perspectives is possible. Later in our story, once Jack and Jill have become friends but have then become separated for a time, different forms may be used to report how they would meet again. In such a context, Jill is both **audience-old** and **viewer-old**. In the following examples, I include instances of the verb 'hear' (comparable sentences with ἀκούω 'hear' are treated in §5.5).

(215)   Jack and Jill just happened to come to town on the same day.

a. When Jack **saw** [JILL had arrived,] he ran to meet her.

b. When Jack **heard** [that JILL had arrived,] he ran to meet her.

c. When Jack **saw** [she/Jill had ARRIVED,] he ran to meet her.

d. When Jack **heard** [that she/Jill had ARRIVED,] he ran to meet her.

In (215a) and (b), we again have sentence-focus structures, and the structures reflect Jack's perspective for whom Jill's appearance can be characterized as thetic. These variants are more appropriate in a context where Jack was not expecting her arrival.[158] In contrast, (215c) and (d), with either a pronoun *her* or an unaccented noun *Jill* (what are normally topic expressions), play down the thetic perspective. They would be more appropriate if Jack was expecting Jill's arrival.[159] Such an expectation is also illustrated in (216) where Jack is portrayed as thinking about Jill when she appeared.[160]

(216)   Jack had been waiting for Jill all day, and thinking about her constantly.

a. So when Jack **saw** [her step off the BUS,] he ran to meet her.

b. So when Jack **heard** [that she had ARRIVED,] he ran to meet her.

Similarly, note that a perception report could be used when Jack was already aware of Jill's presence in the scene, as illustrated by (217). But in such a context, we cannot speak of Jill having even a downplayed thetic function, since Jack knows she is there. Instead, for Jack as the viewer, she has a **topical status**, and it is the complement's predicate that is newsworthy for him.

(217)   Jack and Jill were having an argument about how to spend the afternoon.

a. But when Jack **saw** [her/Jill getting UPSET,] he decided to do what she wanted.

To sum up things up to here, except for the final example, all of the perception reports illustrated here introduce an entity into an existing scene from the viewer's perspective. In some cases, the introduction counts equally for the audience, but in others, the audience, having a more omniscient perspective, is already aware of an entity's presence in a scene. Depending on the different forms used for the perception report—pronoun versus lexical noun, definite versus indefinite, sentence-focus versus predicate-focus—either the perspective of the viewer or audience may be given priority, or both perspectives could be reflected to one degree or other.

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[158] Examples like *When Jack saw [JILL had arrived,]* illustrate exceptions to Sasse's (1987:528) claim for German and English that 'when the subject is textually established' then 'subject-accented sentences' with thetic function cannot occur.

[159] It also seems to me that in the context described here an accented subject pronoun could occur and have thetic reading: *When Jack heard [that SHE had arrived,] he ran to meet her.* If so, this would represent an important exception to the rule that sentence-focus subjects must be lexical and not pronominal (L. 2000:618).

[160] See footnote 600 on the difference between sentences like *Here I am* and *Here's me.*

Moreover, we can characterize the different types of perception reports in terms of involving differing degrees of theticity, or, in other words, as being more or less like prototypical thetics. Utterances that introduce the entity from the perspectives of both the audience and viewer are highest on the scale. Utterances that involve only the viewer's perspective or that play down the viewer's perspective come lower on the scale. And utterances like (217) are not at all thetic in function.

Perception reports may of course be used in still other ways that diverge from the prototypical thetic-like uses. Unlike the majority of the examples illustrated above (that succeed in increasing the number of entities in the text world for at least the viewer), some instances may activate a new idea without necessarily introducing anything tangible into the text-world, such as into the imagined scene. For example, in (218) *nothing* does not introduce an entity into the scene. In (219), given the event is not actualized (*to see* is irrealis), neither 'another child' nor 'Jack' are introduced into a real scene; they are only possibilities (and *another child* could even be nonspecific).

(218)   Suddenly, Jill heard a noise, and looked up but saw [nothing.]

(219)   Jill hopes to see [another child/Jack.]

The difference here between the more prototypical thetic-like use and the latter uses is somewhat analogous to the distinction I made for different types of *there+be* sentences in English, where only a subset were considered prototypical thetics (because they succeed in introducing something into the discourse) but others, while being 'existential in a broad sense', were in one way or another unlike prototypical thetics (because they were negated, or involved polar focus, etc.). For these reasons, my chapter on Greek perception reports will usually avoid such sentences. But I will consider tokens where the perception report involves an entity that has a topical status, as in (217).

2.4.4.2 Multiple perspectives and recursively embedded text worlds

Given the nature of human thought, a text world (as a type of mental space) may be embedded within one or more other text worlds (compare Fauconnier [1997:11] on recursive embedding of mental spaces). The examples reviewed so far have involved two perspectives, the audience's and a story internal character's, and for each perspective there was at least one text world. A more involved case is found in Jhn 4:1 (see §5.5 for discussion). It involves three perspectives and four text worlds.

(220)   Now when Jesus learned that the Pharisees had heard, 'Jesus is making and baptizing more disciples than John'… [NRS]

Perspective 1: the audience is aware of Text World A:
    [Perspective 2: Jesus is aware of Text World B:
        [Perspective 3: the Pharisees are just becoming aware of Text World C:
            [Text World D (Jesus making disciples…)]]]]

2.4.4.3 Other ways besides perception reports to signal the embedding of text worlds

So far, we have only looked at perception reports with matrix verbs like 'see' and 'hear'. Other things besides perception reports may signal the embedding of different perspectives and text worlds. Cognitive verbs like 'know', 'realize', and 'be aware of' may indicate such embedding.

Also, when a speaker begins a story, a switch of perspective and an embedding of a text world normally occurs. For example, in (221), the speaker begins by speaking to us in the present, which involves one text world (one that overlaps with text external world). And as

soon as he begins the embedded discourse of his joke, we are invited to open up a new mental space within the first, where a new text world then unfolds.

(221)   Let me tell you a new joke I heard. There was a lawyer who…

I will also argue that Greek deictic thetics, especially certain uses of ἰδού in narrative (§6.3.4), can signal an invitation to the audience (either implicitly or explicitly, depending on the form of the clause) to share the perspective of a story internal character and thereby signal the embedding of text worlds.

2.4.4.4 Ways of signaling immediacy and vividness

Since perception reports may be used to portray a situation from a perceiver's perspective, story tellers often use them to flesh out the inner feelings and emotions of the perceiver and this in turn lends a sense of immediacy and vividness to a story.

Consider first the bland perception report in (222), which gives hardly any details of the encounter. In contrast, the perception report in (223a) details some of the particulars of the encounter and thus gives an impression of what the perceiver felt. The use of an embedded thetic with a hearer-new referent, *a funny guy,* conveys some of the newness and surprise the speaker felt. Yet more particulars are fleshed out by the cognitive report (*she realized…*) in (223b) (this time with an embedded deictic thetic).

(222)   One day, Jill saw her old friend Jack in town. They got to talking and then went out for ice cream.

(223)   a. One day, when Jill was in town, she saw [a funny looking guy juggling apples in the square.]
         b. Then she realized, ['Here's my old friend Jack!']
         c. So she yells, 'Hey Jack! What are you doing here, dude?'

Both the perception report in (223a) and the cognitive report in (223b) (the latter of which Chafe 1994a:221 would call a 'direct thought') draw the audience/hearer into the inner world the speaker is creating, thereby conveying a sense of immediacy and vividness.

There are of course many other ways of conveying immediacy and vividness in a narrative. The word *suddenly* is one such method (similar words occur in our Greek data). It is often used to convey the feeling of surprise a character in a story felt about an event (besides suggesting that the event might have happened quickly). This was illustrated by *Suddenly, Jill heard a noise…* in (218). Used in this way, *suddenly* amounts to an invitation to share the character's perspective.

Other devices in narrative relevant to us that can convey immediacy and vividness include the historical present and direct speech (see Chafe 1994a). The **historical present** is a present tense verb that reports an event that happened in the past. It may be used to add immediacy and vividness to an account since what would normally be part of the long term memory of a speaker is treated as though it were currently happening in the here-and-now. The historical present is illustrated by *yells* in (223c) above (see also Greek examples in §6.3.4). **Direct speech**, also illustrated in (223c), may have a similar effect, since it can replicate, or pretend to replicate, the exact speech, together with the evaluative and emotive

elements, of something remembered from the past. The same is true of **'direct thought'** reports, as illustrated by *Then she realized, 'Here's my old friend Jack!'* in (223b) above.[161]

Finally, the reader will recall from §2.4.1 how certain thetic constructions, especially deictic ones (like Lakoff's 'narrative focus' and 'presentational deictic' subtypes) are used in English narrative to add vividness and immediacy (e.g. *There I was in the middle of the jungle*). Section §6.3.4 will explore how ἰδού is used in a similar way while also comparing it to the Greek historical present.

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[161] Chafe (1994a:195-223) discusses similarities between the historical present, direct speech, and (what may be new to some readers) 'direct thought' reports. All of these may 'convey a quality of immediacy' (p. 218) or 'involvement' (p. 223) that is missing when events or speech are represented indirectly (i.e. when a speaker uses indirect reports and other indirect means to convey what someone said or thought). These matters are discussed by Chafe in terms of what he calls the 'extroverted consciousness' and the 'introverted consciousness'. The extroverted consciousness (p. 197) is one that is immediately affected by the environment (including what one perceives is happening there and what one is aware of doing there himself) as well as the internal evaluations and thoughts one has about that environment. The introverted consciousness (p. 198) has input not 'from directly perceiving, acting on, or evaluating the immediate environment, but through the process of *remembering* what was present in a distal extroverted consciousness, or alternatively through the process of *imagining* what might be present in such a consciousness' (italics are Chafe's).

3. CHAPTER THREE: PREVIOUS STUDIES ON GREEK INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND OTHER BACKGROUND ISSUES

> Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα διεσάλευεν ἡ πεῖρα καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέφαινε. 'But experience upset all [my attempts to explain Greek word order] and showed them to be completely worthless.' (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum 5*)[162]

3.1 Classical Greek and Koine Greek[163]

Classical Greek is dated as a living language from roughly 800 BCE to 300 BCE. During this period, there were naturally several different dialects. The great literature from the classical period was written in the dialects of Doric, Aeolic, and especially Attic-Ionic, which was comprised of Attic (of Athens) and Ionic. Older examples of Ionic include Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (before 600 BCE), and later examples include the historical works of Herodotus. The works of Plato and Aristotle are examples of Attic.

Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE) and his conquests marked the time when the Greek language and culture began to spread far and wide. During this period, Attic Greek became sufficiently 'deregionalized' by input from the other dialects to become an acceptable common language for the different Greek groups as well as the vast new empire (Hock & Joseph 1996:55-6, 387-8). This variety is known as 'Hellenistic Greek' or ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, 'the common dialect', hence 'Koine'. The Koine period then lasted roughly from 300 BCE to 300 CE.

Given Koine's temporal span, geographical spread, and contact with other ancient languages, there is naturally much variation within the language. For example, the mark of the Semitic languages Hebrew and Aramaic is visible on the Koine version of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint (=LXX). The LXX was translated in stages, with later revisions, from the third to first century BCE. Some parts of the LXX show considerably less Semitic influence than others.

The NT, which is the main corpus for my study, is another example of Koine (again, with noticeable variations among its writers),[164] albeit colored by the LXX and Semitic languages. To be sure, many differences from Classical Greek that were previously attributed to Semitic influence have since been attested in secular Koine papyri of the same general period and so are now accepted as features of mainstream Koine (BDF §3; Moule 1988:3; Hf&S p. 3 and §297-8; Reiser 1984; de Lange 2007:640; Janse 2007:647).

Although my study focuses on Koine of the NT (NT Greek, or 'NTG'), occasional reference is made to the LXX and other Koine texts (e.g. by Josephus) as well as Classical texts (e.g. by Homer and Herodotus).

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[162] Some of this passage is quoted in H. Dik (1995:1-2) with an English translation. See the discussion in de Jonge (2006:221-278).

[163] BDF §1-7; Smyth 'Introduction'; Moule 1988:1-4; Joseph 2001; Crane (No date, Perseus Encyclopedia, §-Herodotus).

[164] According to Moule (1988:2-3), among NT authors, the most literary style may be found in, first, the writing of the anonymous author of *Hebrews,* and then, in Luke's writings. But Moule describes Josephus as writing 'in a markedly more literary style' than Luke.

3.2 'Word order', 'constituent order', and postpositives

Since antiquity people have puzzled over Greek 'word order',[165] and in modern times, especially since the 1800s, many works have been devoted to various types of word order issues in Classical Greek (see e.g. Dover's bibliography, 1968:ix-xiii).[166] Various types of explanations are represented in these works. According to Helma Dik (1995:1), 'Ever since Weil (1844), the pragmatic explanation has been prominent'. She considers the work of Frisk (1933), Loepfe (1940), and Dover (1968) to be 'main contributors to the pragmatic approach' (p. 2). But their work has been since largely eclipsed by the newer approaches of Dik and others.

Some work on Classical Greek has also taken Koine into account (e.g. Frisk 1933, Cervin 1993). But given the difficulty of the task, classicists and Koine scholars have tended to ignore each other (Reiser 1984 is a notable exception).[167] Still, many observations about word or constituent order that apply to the one also apply to the other. This will be seen shortly, for example, by comparing certain observations by Helma Dik and Dejan Matić for Classical Greek with ones by Stephen H. Levinsohn for the NT.

My approach will be to take the work of Levinsohn,[168] especially his book of 2000, as my main point of reference, while also considering relevant observations from others, who have researched either Koine or Classical Greek.

I will also follow Levinsohn in using the phrase **constituent order** rather than 'word order', since the matter at hand more typically involves the order of clause constituents (subject, object, verb, etc.) in relation to each other (2000:1; see Cervin 1993 and LaPolla & Poa 2006:287, note 1).

I shall have less to say about word order permutations within constituents, although **split constituents** will be discussed occasionally (where e.g. the elements of a complex subject NP occur both before and after the verb).

With a few exceptions, I shall also have little to say about **enclitics** and other '**postpositives**', whose sentence position in both Classical and Koine is generally much more predictable than that of other clause constituents. (The general designation 'postpositive' encompasses enclitics, while the term enclitic specifically refers to those postpositives which tend to lack an accent.) Certain conjunctions and particles (e.g. γάρ, μέν, δέ) are perhaps best

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[165] H. Dik (1995:1-2) cites the reflections of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (late first century BCE), who, as Dik says, 'throws up his hands gracefully' on various 'word order' issues. In de Jonge's (2007) estimation, Dionysius essentially dispenses with what could be called a grammatical account of word order (based on word type, e.g. noun, pronoun, verb, etc.). Moreover, according to de Jonge, Demetrius's famous comments on word order (*On Style* Περὶ ἑρμηνείας, probably second century BCE) resemble modern pragmatic approaches more than H. Dik and Dover have realized. Demetrius was concerned with τῇ φυσικῇ τάξει τῶν ὀνομάτων 'the natural order of words' in sentences (or 'periods') in discourses of 'plain' style, which, according to de Jonge, imitate 'everyday language' (vs. 'grand', 'elegant' and 'forceful' styles). Demetrius recognized that τὸ περὶ οὗ 'the matter about which' should generally, but not always, come first in sentences in plain style. De Jonge argues forcibly that Demetrius' use of τὸ περὶ οὗ corresponds fairly well with the modern notion of 'topic' as defined by Simon Dik.

[166] See also the bibliography maintained by Michel Buijs at the University of Utrecht: http://www2.let.uu.nl/solis/geschiedenis/afdelingen/goac/bgl/

[167] Reiser (1984) compares constituent orders for subject and predicate in Mark's Gospel with that in both Classical (Xenophon and Herodotus) and secular Koine texts (e.g. novels by Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus and the Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes). Reiser makes use of the Prague School 'theme-rheme' distinction.

[168] See www.sil.org/sil/roster/levinsohn_stephen.htm, Levinsohn 2000, and 2006 for his work on Greek since 1977.

known among postpositives, as they must come in 'second position' in the sentence (that is right after the first word, or 'mobile' in the terminology of Dover 1968). Indefinite pronouns (e.g. τις) and 'non-emphatic' personal pronouns are also normally considered postpositives (Dover, pp. 12-13, H. Dik 1995:32). Present indicative forms of εἰμί 'be' (except monosyllabic εἶ '2.sg') are also sometimes assumed to be postpositives, but Dover (p. 13) and Dik (p. 32, note 32) avoid making this assumption. This is because, even if εἰμί, especially as a copula, prefers non-initial positions (and in certain clause types behaves like a postpositive), it may nevertheless come in initial position. In fact, in existential sentences (including thetics), initial position is common, a point that we will consider in detail later (see also Kahn 1973, especially pp. 424ff).

3.3 Constituent order in NTG, especially according to S. H. Levinsohn

Traditional grammars have observed that a constituent can come earlier than 'normal' in the clause if it is (in some sense) 'emphasized' (e.g. BDF §472.2; Moule 1988:166; also Porter 1994:296). Greek scholars working within Functional Grammar, Prague School linguistics, and other typologically oriented linguistic theories have gone beyond the word 'emphasis' by recognizing that such 'preposed' constituents may, in Lambrecht's terminology, bear either a topic or focus relation to the assertion. For example, from H. Dik's (1995) discussion of constituent order in main declarative clauses (p. 16) in Herodotus, it is clear that she has in mind the following basic template (which is like ones proposed for Hungarian, p. 13).[169] The three slots to the left of 'Verb' are marked ones. 'Setting' would be considered outside of the clause 'core' (i.e. 'extra-clausal', p. 13). The P1 and PØ slots have the functions of Topic and Focus respectively. Constituents coming in position X are pragmatically unmarked (pp. 11-13).[170]

Setting – P1:Topic – PØ:Focus – Verb – X:pragmatically unmarked area

Levinsohn's work on NTG (2006, 2000, 1992, 1987) recognizes essentially the same for the preverbal area, although he makes use of different terminology.[171] But his work goes far beyond the above template, for both the preverbal and postverbal areas. Levinsohn in particular investigates the postverbal area (Dik's pragmatically unmarked area) and concludes that it may indeed host pragmatically marked constituents. Similarly, Matić (2003a) improves on Dik by noting that, among other things, the postverbal area in Classical Greek may host either 'broad' or 'narrow focus' (what in Chapter 2 we called predicate-focus and constituent-focus, respectively). Although Dik's analysis is attractive because it is simpler (it assumes only one template), I believe that it is insufficient and that the more complex pictures sketched by Levinsohn and Matić are closer to reality. We will return to this later.

I will now turn to the major claims by Levinsohn and others that will be relevant to us.

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[169] This template represents Dik's 1995 discussion, although she never actually gives it in this form. In Dik (1994:210), she gives the following: *Stager – Topic – Focus – Predicate – X,* which is essentially the same.

[170] Helma Dik's work generally follows definitions in Functional Grammar by Simon Dik (1989). Simon Dik's definitions of Topic and Focus are in many but not all respects compatible with those of Lambrecht.

[171] Levinsohn (2006:16) presents the following template, but, as we will see below, Levinsohn recognizes it does not cover everything: *P1–P2–V–Pronominals–Nominal subject–Other nominal arguments–Adjuncts.*

3.3.1 Discourse (dis)continuity and preverbal and postverbal *topical* constituents

One distinction of Levinsohn's work is his recognition that constituent order interacts with **discourse 'continuity'** and **'discontinuity'**.[172] In later chapters I will argue that discourse continuity is relevant to constituent order in thetics too.

Levinsohn refers to Givón, who relates discourse continuity to notions of discourse hierarchy and thematic relations[173] between clauses and sentences. We can say (at some risk of oversimplification) that, in a discourse, the ideas expressed by different clauses and sentences relate to each other to form a coherent whole (without such coherence a discourse would not make sense; Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:21-4). The whole is itself made up of different parts that hold different relationships to each other, some being more closely connected than others. Thus, a discourse can be viewed as a hierarchically structured composite. At the lowest level, clauses and sentences may combine to form 'paragraphs', and paragraphs, in turn, may combine to form sections, and then episodes etc. up to the whole (Givón 1984:243; Longacre 1983; Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:35-37).

A discourse's hierarchical structure and the different parts of the whole can be assessed, or even to a certain extent 'measured', in terms of different types of '**continuity**'. For narrative, Givón mentions four dimensions of continuity: **time, place, action** (like the three 'unities' of Classical Greek playwrights), and **participants** (i.e. personal entities). Levinsohn (2007:27) presents for narrative the following table that contrasts continuities and discontinuities for these four dimensions (this 2007 version of the table contains a few small revisions compared to the tables in Dooley & Levinsohn p. 37 and Levinsohn 2000:3).

Dimension	Continuity	Discontinuity
place	same place or (for motion) continuous change	discrete changes of place
time	events separated by at most only small forward gaps	large forward gaps or events out of order
participants	same cast or gradual changes of cast	discrete changes of cast
action	all material of the same type: event, non-event, reported conversation, etc.; events are in sequence	change from one type of material to another and/or the event is NOT the next in sequence

For genres other than narrative, other types of continuity may be relevant, such as different kinds of reference besides personal entities (e.g. things, ideas, propositions) and continuity in the logical flow of an argument (where conditions, reasons, purposes, etc. play prominent roles).

When it therefore comes to assessing a discourse's structure, two points can be kept in mind. First, the different continuities 'are more likely to be maintained *within* any particular discourse unit than *across* its boundary with another unit' (Givón 1984:245; see also Givón 1983a and Chafe 1987:43). Second, 'More *major,* higher discourse nodes are those at whose boundaries one observes a *greater* number of breakages and discontinuities' (Givón

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[172] On discourse continuity interacting with constituent order in other languages and in particular the correlation between verb-initial clauses and temporal succession, see D. Payne (1992b:8-9), Myhill 1992, Quakenbush 1992, Longacre 1990 and 1995. On Biblical Hebrew, see Bailey & Levinsohn (1992:193-200), Buth (1992:101–103), and Gentry (1998:10–13).

[173] By 'thematic relations' Givón has in mind things like 'sequentiality, temporality, causality, conditionality, contrast', etc.

1984:245). So a juncture involving a change from one section or episode to another will typically betray more discontinuities than a lower level juncture, such as between two paragraphs that belong to a section.

Such discontinuities are signaled in many different ways in language. When it comes to constituent order in Koine Greek, Levinsohn notes that adverbial and nominal constituents coming *clause or sentence-initially* (ignoring conjunctions)[174] are an important way to indicate significant discontinuities (2000:7). He calls such initial constituents **points of departure** (following the Prague linguist Beneš, 1962). But when such constituents occur *after the verb* they do not have same 'discontinuous' affect.

In Lambrecht's terms, what Levinsohn calls a Greek point of departure by definition always holds a topical relationship to its sentence, never a focal one.[175]

Levinsohn stresses that a point of departure involves both an anaphoric and a cataphoric relationship to the discourse (an observation he credits Beneš 1962; see also Givón 1990:847 and de Vries 1995:524). It sets a *domain* (e.g. a time, place, entity, etc.) for something that *follows* while also indicating a *switch* away from something comparable that is already assumed (i.e. from 'something accessible in the hearer's mental representation', Levinsohn 2000:8, Dooley & Levinsohn p. 68).[176] (See footnote 182 below on points of departure that indicate not so much a 'switch' as a 'renewal'.) A point of departure may often be accompanied by a sense of contrast (2000:9, 11) and thus it may be an instance of a **contrastive topic**.

Let's now look at some examples of points of departure and consider how they interact with discontinuities. Then we will consider what happens when no point of departure occurs.

Let's first consider as points of departure the *temporal* phrase in **Luk 15:13** and the *locative* phrase in **Act 9:36**.

Luk 15:13 καὶ **μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας** συναγαγὼν   πάντα
          and after not many   days   having.gathered all

          ὁ   νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν   μακρὰν
          the younger son 3S.departed to country far

          NRS: [12] …So [the father] divided his property between [his two sons]. [13] <u>A few days later</u> the younger son gathered all he had and traveled to a distant country,…

Act 9:36 **Ἐν Ἰόππῃ** δέ τις   ἦν   μαθήτρια ὀνόματι Ταβιθά,
          in Joppa   now a.certain 3S.was disciple by.name Tabitha

          NRS: [35] …And all the residents of Lydda and Sharon saw him and turned to the Lord. ¶ [36] Now <u>in Joppa</u> there was a disciple whose name was Tabitha,…

Levinsohn (p. 9) says the clause-initial time phrase 'after not many days' in Luk 15:13 'sets the domain in time for what follows. It also indicates that the primary basis for relating what follows to the context is by a switch from the time of the father's dividing of the inheritance to a few days later.' Similarly, the initial locative constituent 'in Joppa' in Act 9:36 'indicates

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[174] We will usually ignore conjunctions when talking about constituent order. When καί 'and' conjoins clauses, it always comes first, but many other conjunctions are postpositives that follow the first element of the clause (e.g. δέ 'but/now/then' γάρ 'for/because' οὖν 'therefore').

[175] We can add that, from a Construction Grammar perspective, a Greek point of departure would be a grammatical construction, since it pairs a form with a meaning/use. Moreover, as a language specific construction, it may behave differently than comparable constructions in other languages.

[176] Some points of departure may *anticipate* a switch (Levinsohn 2000:228-9). See §4.10.3.5.1 on Act 27:42 on thetics that involve cataphorically oriented contrastiveness.

that the primary basis for relating what follows to the context is by a switch from Lydda and Sharon to Joppa'. Note that both passages begin (relatively minor) new episodes. Only a few translations I have consulted indicate a new paragraph at Luk 15:13 (e.g. NIV, NLT, CEV) but all do so at Act 9:36 (indicated here by '¶'). Of course the latter also coincides with a 'participant' discontinuity—a new entity is introduced by the thetic εἰμί clause. And so, quantitatively, it is more discontinuous.

Adverbial clauses may also be points of departure. Consider the two subordinate 'if' clauses in **Mat 6:14-15**.

Mat 6:14   **Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε   τοῖς   ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν,**
           if   for   you.forgive to.the men   the trespasses   of.them

           ἀφήσει   καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος·
           3S.will.forgive also you   the Father of.you the heavenly

15   **ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφῆτε   τοῖς   ἀνθρώποις,**
           if   but   not you.do.forgive to.the men

           οὐδὲ   ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει   τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.
           neither the Father of.you 3S.will.forgive the trespasses   of.you

           NRS: ¹² And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. ¹³ And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one. ¶ ¹⁴ <u>For if you forgive others their trespasses,</u> your heavenly Father will also forgive you; ¹⁵ <u>but if you do not forgive others,</u> neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

The first, in v 14, indicates, in Levinsohn's words, 'a switch from the set of petitions that make up the Lord's Prayer to the specific petition that appears in v. 12. This petition becomes the point of departure for the assertion that will be true if the condition is fulfilled. The opposite condition is the point of departure for v. 15' (p. 9).[177] I can add that the translations I have consulted only put a paragraph break before the first point of departure. The first juncture is clearly more prominent given not only the point of departure but also the 'action' switch from petitions to a logically oriented editorial. And the second juncture is relatively speaking less prominent. This shows that a point of departure by itself may amount to only a local switch.

Levinsohn (pp. 9-10) cites other types of sentence-initial adverbial clauses functioning as points of departure, including adverbial clauses expressing a reason in 1Co 12:15, a purpose in Eph 6:21, and a time in Mat 6:2.

So far, the illustrated examples of points of departure involve what we called 'scene-settings', that is, times, places, or propositions. Levinsohn's definition of point of departure for Greek is intended to cover also **individual** or 'referential' entities (including 'participants') that bear a topical relation to the assertion.[178]

Levinsohn illustrates this use first by **1Co 8:1**, where the initial prepositional phrase 'concerning food sacrificed to idols' 'sets the topic for the chapter' while also indicating 'a switch from the topic of the previous section' (περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων 'concerning virgins', 1Co 7:25). Given the point of departure operates for a large new span of text, it coincides with a major discontinuity.

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[177] Levinsohn (p.c.) now considers the first point of departure in Mat 6:14 to be a 'back-reference' (as defined in 2000:280-1), in which case it does not indicate so much a 'switch' as a 'renewal' of a discourse-old idea. See footnote 182.

[178] Levinsohn has told me that he has deviated from Beneš whose 'point of departure' only covered 'scene-settings'.

1Co 8:1   **Περὶ   δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων,** οἴδαμεν ὅτι πάντες γνῶσιν   ἔχομεν.
           concerning – the idol.sacrifices we.know that all   knowledge we.have

   NRS: ¶ <u>Now concerning food sacrificed to idols:</u> we know that "all of us possess knowledge." Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up.

Levinsohn also cites **Act 20:6** as an example of an individual entity, where the initial pronoun ἡμεῖς 'we' indicates a switch from 'they' (i.e. the other men present). In relation to the previous clause, one also senses a contrast between 'we' and 'they' and their parallel actions. For the overall discourse, the discontinuity is minor (no consulted translation puts a paragraph break here).

Act 20:6   **ἡμεῖς** δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν   ἀζύμων   ἀπὸ Φιλίππων
            we   – we.sailed.away after the days   of.the unleavened.bread from Philippi

   NRS: ⁵ They went ahead and were waiting for us in Troas; ⁶ but <u>we</u> sailed from Philippi after the days of [the Feast of] Unleavened Bread,…

Now, note that these last two examples differ from each other in that the prepositional phrase 'concerning food sacrificed to idols' has no grammatical trace in the main clause but ἡμεῖς 'we' does. The former is only loosely connected to the main assertion (it is left-detached), but in the latter ἡμεῖς is coreferential with the clause's subject, which is marked on the verb. So, unless ἡμεῖς were set off by a pause,[179] I assume it would not be left-detached. In her 1995 work on Herodotus, it would appear that H. Dik would call the second 'Topic' and the first 'Setting' (or 'Theme' in her 2007 book).[180] And Matić would also distinguish them.[181]

Thus, it is clear that, for better or worse, Levinsohn uses 'point of departure' as a cover term for different types of sentence-initial topical constituents.[182] Whether or not we follow Levinsohn on the one hand, or Dik and Matić on the other, has little consequence for the present study. (In any case, recall that Lambrecht himself [1994:118] considers the notion of topic and 'aboutness' to cover both types, even if a language may have structural means for distinguishing them.)

What Levinsohn does see as a vitally important distinction for NTG is when what would be a *potential* point of departure does *not* occur sentence-initially. For example, in the last passage, Act 20:6, the temporal phrase μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων 'after the days of [the Feast of] Unleavened Bread' does not occur preverbally but ἡμεῖς 'we' does. For Levinsohn

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[179] The presence here of a postpositive conjunction like δέ 'but, now' does not necessarily indicate that ἡμεῖς is extra-clausal or set off by a pause. This is clear since such a postpositive may also follow a focused constituent that is obviously clause-internal (e.g. Luk 6:46 Τί δέ με καλεῖτε, Κύριε κύριε [why δέ me 2P.call Lord, Lord] 'Why do you call me "Lord, Lord" (and do not obey me)?' I am therefore skeptical of Fraser's (2001) claim that such clause-initial phrases with certain postpositives necessarily form a prosodic 'intonation group'.

[180] For H. Dik 2007 (much as in S. Dik's framework) 'Topics' are clause internal but 'Theme' (and 'Tail') 'fall outside of the clause', counting as 'a separate intonation unit' (p. 35). Phrases with 'Setting function', which like Theme also precede the clause, may or may not be part of the clause. Setting phrases 'tend to be part of the spatial or temporal (or causal) organization of the text rather than themselves a participant about whom the speaker provides information' (pp. 36-7). See also Allan 2006b on these distinctions as applied to Classical Greek, and see Allan 2008 for a review of Dik 2007.

[181] Matić 2003a would call the first an 'extraclausal topic' and the other a 'frame-setting topic'. See my footnote 183.

[182] Levinsohn also mentions a subtype that involves 'renewal' (p. 12-13). These cannot be described as contrastive or as involving a switch, since they refer to entities that are usually active and typically expressed pronominally. Nor do they seem to involve the same degree of discontinuity as other types of points of departure.

this 'indicates that the sentence is to be related to its context primarily on the basis, not of a switch of time, but of a switch of attention from one participant to another' (p. 14). Put another way, we can say the proposition is to be processed against the presupposition of a switch from 'the men' to 'we'.[183] The time phrase would be part of the focus of assertion.

Now consider **Act 5:21** where neither the potential point of departure 'about dawn' nor anything else precedes the verb, which in this case is a participle.

Act 5:21 ἀκούσαντες δὲ εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐδίδασκον.
        having.heard – 3P.entered about the daybreak into the temple and 3P.were.teaching

> NRS: [19] …an angel of the Lord…said, [20] "Go, stand in the temple and tell the people the whole message about this life." [21] When they heard this, they entered the temple at daybreak and went on with their teaching.

Levinsohn comments (p. 15):

> If the sentence had started with the temporal phrase ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον 'about the dawn', then the primary basis for relating the sentence to its context would have been through a switch to a new temporal setting. This might have raised the question as to why the apostles waited till morning to obey the angel's command. The fact that neither this nor any other potential point of departure is initial has the pragmatic effect of conveying continuity with the context, in this case with the command of v. 20. This relationship of command and appropriate response takes precedence over the change of temporal setting.

Thus, a sentence beginning with a verb, be it finite or participial,[184] typically does not involve a major discontinuity (p. 15). And in fact, **verb-initial** sentences are often used for reporting sequential events that belong to a single scene in a narrative—in other words, where there is 'action' continuity (p. 15).[185] Levinsohn mentions **Luk 1:59-65** as an example, of which I cite part. Notice that, even though the sentence topics switch from one agent to another, none of these changes are expressed by a point of departure. For example, although the subject changes from 'they' in v 59 (those present at the circumcision) to ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ

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[183] Matić (2003a), who does not refer to Levinsohn's publications, also employs the notion of discourse continuity to describe different topic constructions in Classical Greek. He mentions three types: a 'frame-setting topic' (pp. 588-91), a 'continuous topic', and a 'Zero/clitic topic' (591-600). A **frame-setting** topic, which is always preverbal, may be contrastive or it may 'resume' a topical entity that has been absent. In Levinsohn's terms, these are (clause internal) points of departure. **Zero marking** topics are subjects only marked on the verb or **clitic pronouns**, which have other grammatical relations, that follow the verb. A **continuous topic** is lexical (I assume he means usually the subject) and comes right after the verb (preverbal ones are exceptional). Functionally, zero and clitic topics 'indicate the continuation of the referential frame from the previous clause, and are neutral as to the continuity of the spatio-temporal frame'; a continuous topic, while referentially continuous, involves some degree of discontinuity in 'the spatio-temporal frame, meaning that the scene, the perspective or the discourse universe has changed' (p. 592). The choice between a continuous versus a frame-setting topic (postverbal vs. preverbal) also seems to boil down to the fact that the frame-setting type indicates more discontinuity (e.g. it occurs at more significant discourse junctures).

[184] Clauses beginning with a participle (which is subordinate to a following finite verb clause) are taken by Levinsohn to report state of affairs that are 'backgrounded with respect to their nuclear clause', that is, for the following finite verb clause (p. 181). Still, the general rule about continuity applies equally to clauses with initial finite verbs and participles used verbally: if the verbal element is initial, then there is usually no major discontinuity (p. 188).

[185] Although Levinsohn's claims are for NTG, they likely have some application to non-Biblical Koine and even Classical Greek. Since Julius Wellhausen, many have assumed that NTG 'style', including e.g. Mark's Gospel, made more use of verb-initial clauses due to Semitic influence (e.g. BDF §472.1; Hf&S §128b). But Reiser (1984:46-47, 66, 164-5), who studied the position of the subject and predicate in Classical and secular Koine literature and compared it to that in Mark's Gospel, concluded that Mark's use of verb-initial clauses (including sequential narrative sentences) is typical for Koine as a whole.

'his mother' in v 60, 'his mother' is postverbal. Similarly, πάντες 'everyone' is postverbal despite the subject change. So the verb-initial clauses coincide with events belonging to a single scene where overall continuity holds.

Luk 1:59 … **ἦλθον** περιτεμεῖν τὸ παιδίον
　　　　　 3P.came to.circumcise the child

　　　　　 καὶ **ἐκάλουν** αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίαν.
　　　　　 and 3P.were.calling it by the name of.the father of.him Zechariah

60　　　　 καὶ **ἀποκριθεῖσα** ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Οὐχί, κτλ
　　　　　 and having.answered the mother of.him 3S.said no

61　　　　 καὶ **εἶπαν** πρὸς αὐτὴν κτλ
　　　　　 and 3P.said to her

62　　　　 **ἐνένευον** δὲ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ κτλ
　　　　　 3P.were.motioning and to.the father of.him

63　　　　 καὶ **αἰτήσας** πινακίδιον ἔγραψεν λέγων, κτλ
　　　　　 and having.asked tablet 3S.wrote saying

　　　　　 καὶ **ἐθαύμασαν** πάντες.
　　　　　 and 3P.was.amazed everyone

NRS: [59] [And it happened o]n the eighth day they came to circumcise the child, and they were going to name him Zechariah after his father. [60] But his mother said, "No; he is to be called John." [61] They said to her, "None of your relatives has this name." [62] Then they began motioning to his father to find out what name he wanted to give him. [63] He asked for a writing tablet and wrote, "His name is John." And all of them were amazed.

Levinsohn nevertheless warns against concluding that 'whenever a sentence begins with a verb or participle, rather than with a nonverbal constituent, *complete* continuity with the last events described is indicated' (p. 15). Although this may often be so, he cites two pieces of evidence against this conclusion, one of which is very relevant to us: '**presentational**' sentences (i.e. thetics) often lack a preverbal constituent but nonetheless introduce a discontinuity into the entity register by presenting a new entity. I will take this point up in §4.10.2 where I will conclude that, in many discourse environments, thetics with *V...S* order represent less significant discontinuities than thetics with *S...V* order. This is because *V...S* thetics typically introduce a new entity or state of affairs into an existing scene. In other words, *V...S* still typically indicates general discourse continuity.

3.3.2　Preverbal and postverbal *focal* positions

We will first consider focal positions in non-copular clauses, then in copular ones.

3.3.2.1　Non-copular clauses

Preverbal instances of focus are considered first.

At the beginning of §3.3, we saw that for H. Dik constituents with the pragmatically marked function 'Focus' immediately precede the verb in Herodotus. Similarly, Levinsohn for NTG recognizes as a focus position the position (usually immediately) before the verb (p. 37-8 and 2006:13-6; see below on how a topical element can sneak in between the Focal Constituent and the Verb):

(Point of Departure) — Focal Constituent — Verb

Levinsohn says that such preverbal focal constituents may be either (i) 'what is relatively the most important […] information in the given setting' (p. 7, he is quoting S. Dik 1978:19) or (ii) what is both focal and emphatic (his 'emphatic' is compatible with my 'emotive emphasis', §2.2.7.3).[186] Elsewhere he makes clear that such focal constituents may be 'contrastive', and that the contrast may relate to either the anaphoric context (p. 37, Jas 2:18 and p. 40, 1Co 2:10) or cataphoric context (p. 55-7, 'this only' and 'by works of the law' in Gal 3:2).

Now, since Levinsohn follows Lambrecht in many respects, it seems his understanding of information structure is compatible with Lambrecht's. Still, Levinsohn's *relative* definition of 'focus' above (e.g. 'what is relatively…most important') differs from a pure Lambrechtian one (e.g. Lambrecht & Michaelis' [1998:494] definition of 'focus of assertion' as 'the component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition'). Levinsohn's 'focus' is a gradient notion, such as one finds in S. Dik and in the Prague School notion 'rheme'. In his planned revision, Levinsohn will call this 'the dominant focal element' (email October 2007). Although it is not clear to me how 'the dominant focal element' really works, I believe that something along these lines is needed given the way Greek often puts in the preverbal position only *part* of the focus domain and given this element is not readily explained in the Lambrecht framework.

In any case, it is plain that Levinsohn's 'focus' (and 'dominant focal element') only involves elements that would be in the focus domain for Lambrecht. In other words, Levinsohn does not mean contrastive or emphatic topic expressions. Moreover, it is plain that what he calls a preverbal 'Focal Constituent' in his examples corresponds to two types of focus structures for Lambrecht. It may either (a) make up the entire focus domain, as in the case of **constituent-focus** ('narrow focus'), or (b) it may be one element in a larger focus domain, as in the case of a **salient part of a focal predicate** (part of a broad focus) (see §2.2.7.4 on 'salient'). (For the following I indicate the page where Levinsohn calls the example a case of 'Focus'.)

(a) Constituent-focus is illustrated by the information question word 'who' in **Gal 3:1** (p. 53; it makes no difference that the question is rhetorical).[187] This is in fact the normal position for question words (if there is no verb, then the question word is still normally initial, assuming there is no point of departure).[188] Two more instances of constituent-focus are the grammatical objects, 'faith' and 'works', in **Jas 2:18** (p. 37; given the parallel statements, they evoke contrast); the relevant open propositions are 'You/I have X' (paraphrasable as 'What is it that you/I have?'). As Levinsohn predicts, the points of departure ('you' and 'and.I') precede the focal constituents.

Gal 3:1   Ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, [τίς]_{FD} ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν,   κτλ
              O   senseless   Galatians   who.N   you   3S.bewitched

              NRS: You foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you?

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[186] Levinsohn describes such emphasis as 'express[ing] strong feelings about an item or indicat[ing] that an event is unexpected' (p. 7; he refers to K. Callow 1974:52). Reiser (1984:62) also makes use of a similar understanding of emotive emphasis to explain some preverbal elements in Mark, secular Koine texts (pp. 93-4), and Classical texts (69-70). He found more examples in secular Koine than in Classical Greek (p. 93).

[187] For a real question, see e.g. Jhn 5:12 Τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ εἰπών σοι…; [who 3S.is the man who saying to.you] 'Who is the man who said to you (pick up your mat and walk)?'

[188] But a question word need not be clause-initial. A topical constituent, including a pronoun, may precede a focal question word. E.g. Jhn 1:19 Σὺ τίς εἶ; [you who 2S.are] 'Who are you?; Jhn 8:5 'Now in the Law Moses commanded us to stone such women; Σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις; ([you then what 2S.say] 'What then do YOU say?'– where σὺ and *YOU* would be contrastive topic expressions; see the discussion of (35) in §2.2.6.3 and §2.2.6.4).

Jas 2:18   Ἀλλ᾽ ἐρεῖ   τις,   Σὺ [**πίστιν**]_{FD} ἔχεις,   κἀγὼ [**ἔργα**]_{FD} ἔχω·
          but   3S.will.say someone you faith.A   you.have and.I works.A I.have

NRS: [17] So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead. [18] But someone will say, "You have faith and I have works." Show me your faith apart from your works, and I by my works will show you my faith.

> (b) Two examples of a salient element of a larger focal predicate occur in **Jas 1:2** (p. 37).

Jas 1:2a   [**Πᾶσαν χαρὰν** ἡγήσασθε,]_{FD}   ἀδελφοί μου,
          all.A   joy.A   2P.consider.Impv brothers of.me

2b   ὅταν   [**πειρασμοῖς** περιπέσητε ποικίλοις,]_{FD}
          whenever trials.D   you.fall   various.D

NET: [2] My brothers and sisters, consider it nothing but joy when you fall into all sorts of trials, [3] because you know that the testing of your faith produces endurance.

I assume that, minus the topical subject 'you', the entire predicates, 'Consider [it] all joy' in 2a and 'fall into various trials' in 2b, are in the focus domains of their respective clauses. A constituent-focus analysis of these would be amiss since there is nothing in the contexts that suggests the rest of the predicates, 'consider' in 2a and 'fall into various', are predictable or topical (i.e. in the presupposition). That the object 'all joy' in 2a is in the marked Focus position is apparently to indicate emotive emphasis (to ask someone to consider hardship a joy is a surprising request). Concerning the split constituent, 'trials...various' in 2b, Levinsohn (pp. 286, 58-61) says that postverbal 'various' is supportive and 'trials' is more focal given it 'will be the theme of the section'.[189]

    Another instance of a salient element of a larger focus domain coming preverbally occurs in Gal 2:11 (Levinsohn 2000:42; in his planned revision Levinsohn will call this the 'dominant focal element', p.c.). Since Paul is recounting a heated argument he had with Cephas (i.e. Peter), this may also be an instance of emotive emphasis. A constituent-focus analysis here would miss the point. The point is hardly that it was 'to his face' (and not behind his back or in some other manner) that Paul opposed Cephas, but simply that he openly opposed him. (See below on why 'condemned' in the copular clause is preverbal.)

Gal 2:11   Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν   Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν,
          when but 3S.came Cephas to   Antioch

          [**κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ** ἀντέστην,]_{FD} ὅτι   κατεγνωσμένος ἦν.
          to   face   him   I.opposed   because condemned   3S.was

NRS: But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood self-condemned;…

    Some analysts—Matić (2003a:583, 587) for Classical and Pike (2000) for Koine—have assumed that every case of preverbal focus is necessarily an instance of (a) constituent-focus (alias 'narrow focus' or 'identificational focus'). I think that the above examples (and many more) show that this is not true for Koine. My impression is that the preverbal focal position is more typically used for (b) than (a). To be sure, at times it may be hard to decide between (a) and (b) (see e.g. 'angel of God' in Gal 4:14). It is also sometimes hard see why in every case a focal element occurs in this preverbal focus position, since it could instead be postverbal (see e.g. 'a field' and 'a woman' in Luk 14:18 and 20).

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[189] Levinsohn (pp. 57-62) treats different uses of split ('discontinuous') constituents, including where 'the first part is in focus' (read 'salient'), or where 'only the second part relates to what follows'. Thus, the latter can be more prominent for the discourse (see also BDF §473, especially on 1Pe 2:7; see also my footnote 425 in §4.10.3.5.3).

Now let's consider the other area of the clause where focal constituents occur, **at or near the end of the clause** (or sentence). In line with what is implied by traditional grammars,[190] Levinsohn assumes that, between the preverbal and postverbal focal positions, the preverbal one is (usually) more marked or 'emphatic' (or may 'underline a contrast', p.c.), and that the postverbal area is the default (pp. 38, 31-2). (See e.g. in §3.3.3 on Jas 5:17 with clause-final 'three years and six months'.)

It is also clear that focal constituents in the postverbal area may coincide with either predicate-focus (i.e. broad focus) as in all of the clauses in Luk 1:59-65 above, or constituent-focus (i.e. narrow focus) (Matić assumes the same for Classical, 2003a:615-9). Postverbal constituent-focus is especially common in equative copular clauses, to be illustrated shortly in Mat 13:37-39. It can also occur when the constituent is modified by adverbial καί 'also', as in **Act 12:3**; given the previous context, the utterance answers the question 'who else did Herod arrest?' (similarly the postverbal constituents 'also John' in Act 13:5, discussed in Pike [2000 §8.2.4], and 'also Jesus and the disciples' in Jhn 2:2). See also the clause final subjects 'I' and 'Christ' in Gal 2:20 discussed below in §3.3.3.[191]

Act 12:3   ἰδὼν   δὲ ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἐστιν τοῖς   Ἰουδαίοις,
            having.seen – that pleasing 3S.is to.the Jews

            προσέθετο   συλλαβεῖν [καὶ Πέτρον,]FD
            3S.proceeded to.arrest   also Peter

            NRS: [King Herod attacked some of the church, first having James executed.] [3] After he
            saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to arrest Peter also.

Pike (2000) comes to a conclusion that is analogous to Levinsohn's, even if it is presented in different terminology (his study was based on the *Acts of the Apostles*). In Pike's terms, preverbal focal constituents are necessarily instances of 'identificational focus', by which he means they are 'contrastive' (i.e. they evoke a 'set'), whereas postverbal ones are seldom so. I would quibble with Pike on his use of 'identificational focus' (he is trying to follow Lambrecht but also has E. Kiss's work in mind) and on how preverbal foci supposedly must always be 'contrastive' (e.g. Pike's liberal use of 'contrastive' conceals instances that I would take as salient or emotively emphatic elements of a larger focus domain). Still, Pike's conclusions are significant. And what he claims for **focal objects** is especially relevant to my study: focal objects that are 'contrastive' (I read this as contrastive, salient or emotively emphatic, as in Jas 1:2 and Gal 2:11 discussed above) almost always occur preverbally;[192] otherwise focal objects are postverbal. Pike's claims are based on clauses with indicative verbs, whether main or subordinate.

Thus, if I may rephrase Pike's findings, for him too focal constituents, including objects, that are less salient or non-contrastive or non-emphatic usually come in a postverbal position. These facts will be relevant when we look at the different positions of thetic subjects.

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[190] E.g. Robertson (1934:417) notes that for the purpose of emphasis a word may be moved from its 'usual position' and come 'at the end as well as at the beginning of the sentence, or even in the middle in case of antithesis'.

[191] Both Matić (2003a:615-6) and H. Dik (1995:12) note that cataphoric pronouns may occur preverbally or postverbally; by our definitions both types are probably always focal. It is also true that focal cataphoric pronouns in the NT may occur preverbally or postverbally, and this is so for both copular and non-copular clauses. Examples of preverbal cataphoric pronouns in εἰμί clauses include Jhn 15:12 ('*This* is my command, that you love one another as I have loved you', αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ ἐμή, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε…) and 1Jn 2:25; in non-εἰμί clauses see Luk 10:11 and 1Jn 2:3. Postverbal instances in εἰμί clauses include Mat 10:2; Act 8:32; 1Co 9:3; 1Jn 1:5; in non-εἰμί clauses Jhn 21:1; Act 24:14; 2Co 5:14.

[192] Pike (§8.2.4) says only about 2% of postverbal objects are 'contrastive'.

Finally, we can mention the findings of Davidson (1999) concerning the position of objects in Herodotus, which appear to match Pike's findings. For the types of objects Davidson studied (he excluded various types, e.g., pronominal objects),[193] he concludes that 'pragmatically marked' objects, by which he means ones involving contrast (especially with phrases like καί/τε…καί, etc., pp. 153-4), strongly tend to precede the verb (22 out of 25 times), while pragmatically unmarked ones tend to follow (129 out of 165 times).[194] His conclusion applies to clauses with both participles and finite verbs.

In most examples quoted by Davidson, both the verb and contrastive object are, in our terms, in the focus domain, and so the clause involves predicate-focus (i.e. broad focus; in the context both the verbs and the objects are informationally unpredictable). Consider **Herodotus 1.8.1**.[195] The construction καί…καὶ δὴ καί… indicates an escalating contrast between first 'confiding important affairs' and then 'even praising his wife's appearance'.

H. 1.8.1   τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ   [**καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα** τῶν   πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο]_FD
              to.this – Gyges   both   the most.earnest   of.the affairs   3S.was.confiding

ὁ   Κανδαύλης   [**καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς**   γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων.]_FD
the Candaules.N especially   the form of.the wife   super.praising.N.s.m

nab: Candaules was confiding his most important affairs to this Gyges, even praising his wife's appearance.

3.3.2.2 Focal complements in copular clauses

We must also mention focal predicate complements of *copular* verbs (εἰμί 'be', γίνομαι 'become', ὑπάρχω 'be present'), that is, predicate nominals, predicate adjectives, and predicate locatives. Such complements may precede or follow the copula. (For brief comments on subject constituent-focus, see Jhn 11:25 and Mrk 6:50 illustrated in §4.1.)

As mentioned in §3.2, εἰμί 'be' (especially when present indicative) is often considered a postpositive, and so it is not surprising that it behaves differently from other verbs. But it is doubtful that εἰμί is always a postpositive (see §3.2), and in any case εἰμί and other copular verbs appear to behave similarly, coming in a variety of positions relative to the predicate (and subject, if explicit). So one must conclude that the different orders with εἰμί (and other copular verbs) serve different pragmatic functions even if these functions are not always easy to define.

I will first show that εἰμί complements may be instances of constituent-focus that may occur either pre- or postverbally. This can be illustrated by complements in equative clauses

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[193] To eliminate possible competing factors, Davidson (p. 148) excluded from his data objects NPs that were pronouns, modified by a demonstrative or indefinite τις, in μέν…δέ constructions, compound or split, in relative clauses, that were heads of restrictive relative clauses, in subordinate clauses or direct speech.

[194] Interestingly, Davidson notes that the position of objects is also influenced by the identifiability status of their referents, identifiable ones preferring postverbal position and non-identifiable ones preverbal position (p. 154). But 'in pragmatically-marked contexts' (i.e. when contrastiveness occurs) 'the identifiability value of an NP will be overridden and it will be preverbal regardless of its [identifiability status]' (p. 155). So contrastiveness is the more powerful element.

[195] Davidson also cites Herodotus 1.80.4, 1.86.1, and 1.165.3.

that involve *referential* complements which refer to identifiable entities.[196] Consider **Mat 13:37-39** where Jesus is explaining a parable the disciples failed to understand.

Mat 13:37	Ὁ		σπείρων	τὸ	καλὸν	σπέρμα	ἐστὶν	[ὁ	υἱὸς	τοῦ	ἀνθρώπου,]FD
	the.one		sowing	the	good	seed	3S.is	the	Son	of.the	Man

38a	ὁ	δὲ	ἀγρός	ἐστιν	[ὁ	κόσμος]FD,
	the	and	field	3S.is	the	world

38b	τὸ	δὲ	καλὸν	σπέρμα	οὗτοί	εἰσιν	[οἱ	υἱοὶ	τῆς	βασιλείας·]FD
	the	and	good	seed	these	3P.are	the	sons	of.the	Kingdom

38c	τὰ	δὲ	ζιζάνιά	εἰσιν	[οἱ	υἱοὶ	τοῦ	πονηροῦ,]FD
	the	and	weeds	3P.are	the	sons	of.the	evil.one

39a	ὁ	δὲ	ἐχθρὸς	ὁ	σπείρας	αὐτά	ἐστιν	[ὁ	διάβολος,]FD
	the	and	enemy	the.one	having.sown	them	3S.is	the	devil

39b	ὁ	δὲ	θερισμὸς	[**συντέλεια**	**αἰῶνός**]FD	ἐστιν,
	the	and	harvest	end	of.age	3S.is

39c	οἱ	δὲ	θερισταὶ	[**ἄγγελοί**]FD	εἰσιν.
	the	and	reapers	angels	3P.are

> NRS: [36] …And his disciples approached him, saying, "Explain to us the parable of the weeds of the field." [37] He answered, "The one who sows the good seed is the Son of Man; [38] the field is the world, and the good seed are the children of the kingdom; the weeds are the children of the evil one, [39] and the enemy who sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the age, and the reapers are the angels. [40] Just as the weeds are collected and burned up with fire, so will it be at the end of the age. [41] The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will collect out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all evildoers, [42] and they will throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. [43] Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Let anyone with ears listen!"

Jesus is identifying 'Who is the sower?', 'What is the field?', etc. So each focal predicate nominal identifies a missing element in a relevant open proposition.[197] In most cases, the focal element follows the verb (e.g. v 37 'the Son of Man'), and this appears to me to be the

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[196] An **equative** clause 'assert[s] that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal, e.g. *He is my father*' (T. Payne 1997:114; an *equative* clause differs from a clause where the predicate nominal indicates a class to which the subject belongs, e.g. *He is a teacher*—what Payne calls '*proper inclusion*'). Equative clauses go by other names. Hengeveld (1992:80-89) calls them 'identification'. Hengeveld (building on others) distinguishes two types of identification: 'specification' and 'characterization'. In the specification type, the predicate exhaustively identifies the subject (e.g. *The capital of France is Paris*), but not in the characterization type (e.g. *Paris is [among other things] the capital of France*). An even more nuanced discussion (pointed out to me by Richard Rhodes) is found in work by Mikkelsen (to appear). Mikkelsen distinguishes three types (besides her 'predicational' type, which for predicate nominals corresponds to Payne's 'proper inclusion'): 'specificational' (e.g. *The director of* Anatomy of a Murder *is Otto Preminger*), 'identification' (e.g. *That (woman) is Sylvia,* here with a demonstrative), and 'equative' (e.g. *Sylvia Obernauer is HER*).

I have not explored to what degree these distinctions may be reflected in Koine grammar. Unlike the current example (Mat 13:37-39), it is not always easy to identify in Greek which constituent is subject (or predicate) and which is focal (or topical), e.g. Jhn 20:31 Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. McGaughy (1972), who offers helpful rules for identifying subject, actually disregards his own rules here and instead identifies anarthrous Ἰησοῦς as the subject. But others, like Goetchius (1976) and Carson (1987), disagree with McGaughy. In their discussion of what the 'subject' is, all three scholars sometimes confuse grammatical subject with topic (the confusion lies in the fact that not all subjects are topical).

[197] For more on why these are cases of constituent-focus and not predicate-focus, see footnote 229 in §4.1.

pragmatically unmarked position for complements in εἰμί equative sentences. But in the last two cases, '(the) end of (the) age' and '(the) angels', are preverbal.[198] So this shows that both positions are equally compatible with constituent-focus. But of course we must still ask why two positions exist. A reason why this might be is found in John Callow's work on NT copular clauses, something we will now turn to. (More examples of copular εἰμί will be taken up in §4.1 where they are contrasted with thetic uses of εἰμί.)

Callow's (1992) study of constituent order in copula verbs was basically limited to 1 Corinthians and Romans, and his observations may at first appear complex, but I have found them very helpful (Levinsohn also follows Callow, p. 38). Callow finds that **preverbal** complements of copular verbs (εἰμί 'be', γίνομαι 'become', ὑπάρχω 'be present') are either (i) contrastive, (ii) emphatic,[199] or (iii) 'spotlighting' something of special interest because (iii.a) 'the complement or part of it, is a significant concept for the following material' (1992:73)—in other words, the idea will persist in the discourse[200] (he calls this third type 'focus')—or because (iii.b) it relates to the previous (anaphoric) context. That a complement is **postverbal** may be because it is a long coordinated phrase (e.g. 1Co 5:11; Gal 5:22-23); otherwise, statements with postverbal complements appear to be 'off the theme-line' (p. 79; in which case the idea usually does not persist) or 'downplayed' (p. 78).[201]

Consider two similar utterances discussed by Callow, **1Co 7:23** and **1Co 10:7**.

1Co 7:23 μὴ γίνεσθε   **δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων.**
          not 2P.become.Impv slaves   of.men

NRS: [20] Let each of you remain in the condition in which you were called [[21-22] whether slave or free. In the end, the Lord is the master of each of us, whether freemen or slave.] [23] You were bought with a price [by the Lord]; <u>do not become slaves of human masters.</u> [24] In whatever condition you were called, brothers and sisters, there remain with God.

1Co 10:7 μηδὲ   **εἰδωλολάτραι** γίνεσθε   καθώς τινες αὐτῶν,
          neither idolaters   2P.become.Impv as   some   of.them

NRS: [7] <u>Do not become idolaters</u> as some of them did; [Paul is referring to the Israelites idolatry in the Exodus.]

For 1Co 7:23, where the complement is *postverbal,* Callow argues (p. 79) that the command not to become slaves of men 'is to one side of the main thrust of verses 17-24. It is in verse 24 that Paul returns to the main theme, stated in verse 20.'[202] 1Co 10:7, where the complement is *preverbal,* illustrates (iii.a), cataphoric 'spotlighting'. The command 'is clearly the point that Paul is making along with other negative commands in verses 8, 9, and

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[198] Despite these NPs lacking articles, they are commonly taken as 'definite'. See §3.3.4 on 'Colwell's rule'.

[199] For Callow (1992:71-2), emphasis involves the speaker-hearer relationship. What is emphasized may be surprising or otherwise significant and often involves the writer evaluating himself or his readers.

[200] Recall D. Payne's findings for Papago (§2.3.5) that constituent order may signal persistence and discourse salience.

[201] Callow (1992:77-78) notes that postverbal complements may nonetheless be contrastive if they are in a 'not X but Y' construction (see H. Dik 1995:38-45 for similar constructions in Classical Greek). These usually involve paired instances of (corrective) constituent-focus, as illustrated by 1Co 12:14 καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν μέλος ἀλλὰ πολλά [and for the body not is one member but many] 'For the body is not composed of only one part but of many parts'. Callow reasons that the negated side of the contrast is usually less significant in the context than the positive side (p. 78). Callow treats a few other instances of οὐ/μὴ…ἀλλά 'not…but' that do not involve such corrective pairs of constituent-focus. It seems to me these should not be lumped with the corrective pairs. (See 1Co 15:10, where he reasons that preverbal 'vain/useless' is emphatic.)

[202] Callow's observation that *Copula…Predicate* may be 'off the theme line' or 'downplayed' resembles Kahn's (1973:425, 432-3) observation for Classical Greek that *εἰμί–Subject–Predicate* (where, again, the predicate follows a copula) is typically a parenthetical statement.

10; it is thematic'. We can add that, although 'slavery' is dropped after 1Co 7:23, 'idolatry' explicitly persists as the overall discourse topic for rest of chapter 10.

Another example of (iii.a), the cataphoric 'spotlighting' of something that persists, occurs in **1Co 3:13**, where 'manifest' is preverbal. What is to be 'manifest' is explained in the following clauses. And **1Co 3:17** illustrates (iii.b) *anaphoric* 'spotlighting'. As Callow points out, γάρ 'for' relates this explanation to the previous. To be sure, it would be equally possible to claim that ἅγιός 'holy' is preverbal because it is (ii) emotively emphatic (see also 'foolishness' in 1Co 2:14 in §3.3.3).

1Co 3:13   ἑκάστου   τὸ   ἔργον   **φανερὸν**   γενήσεται,   ἡ   γὰρ   ἡμέρα   δηλώσει,   κτλ
           of.each   the   work   manifest   3S.will.become   the   for   day   3S.will.reveal

> NRS: the work of each builder will become <u>visible,</u> for the Day will disclose it, because it will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each has done.

1Co 3:17   ὁ   γὰρ   ναὸς   τοῦ   θεοῦ   **ἅγιός**   ἐστιν,
           the   for   sanctuary   of.the   God   holy   3S.is

> NRS: If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy that person. For God's temple is <u>holy,</u> and you are that temple.

We can now return to the string of copula clauses in Mat 13:37-39 and consider why the last two, '(the) end of (the) age' and '(the) angels', are preverbal. They too are apparently 'spotlighted' because they persist in the discourse. Both of these entities are mentioned again in the subsequent discourse (vv 40-41). Still, it must be admitted that, since 'the Son of man' who was identified in *postverbal* position in v 37 also explicitly persists, the correlations between (a) preverbal position and persistence and (b) postverbal position and lack of persistence are not perfect. As stated above, I believe the postverbal position is an unmarked position for the equative copula complement and that the (optional) preverbal position may be used to explicitly spotlight the entity.

Callow also admits that there are difficulties for his characterization of copular clauses. In the end, however, his observations appear significant. In §5.3.2 and §6.7.3.2, I will appeal to an explanation similar to his when discussing the position of subjects in perception reports and ἰδού thetics, arguing that a postverbal subject may indicate that what is being introduced is 'downplayed' or 'demoted'.

We should add here that there are other (syntactic or quasi-syntactic) environments where the position of the complement is probably determined automatically as a **default position**. Pragmatic explanations would thus be irrelevant. This applies especially to εἰμί 'be'. For example, *postverbal* complements are most typical when the subject is a personal pronoun (e.g. ἐγώ) or deictic pronoun (οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο)[203] (McGaughy 1972:57; Levinsohn p. 39) or a relative pronoun. And *preverbal* complements—that is where εἰμί follows and thus behaves as a postpositive—are strongly preferred when the clause lacks a lexical subject and the clause is neither negated, subordinate, a question, participial, nor imperatival (see, e.g. Mat 27:42 in §3.3.4, Luk 5:8 in §4.1, and 1Co 2:14 in §3.3.3). This last environment I have tested for εἰμί 'be' clauses in much of the NT, finding few exceptions. Kahn (1973:429) has observed much the same for Homer.[204]

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[203] The choice of a pronoun is, of course, usually pragmatically determined (since the entity must be accessible), but once this choice has been made, the position of the complement follows more or less automatically.

[204] Kahn (1973:429-30) treats εἰμί in indicative clauses, whether main or subordinate (but it is not clear to me if he excludes negated clauses or questions). See also Ebeling's (1902) discussion of εἰμί, γίγνομαι and φαίνομαι in Plato's *Protagoras,* which Kahn also discusses.

3.3.2.3 Summary

In this section, we have seen evidence that both pre- and postverbal positions are compatible with constituent-focus (narrow focus) and with salient elements of a larger focus domain (broad focus), and that this is so for clauses with both copular and non-copular verbs.

3.3.3 Other pragmatically marked and unmarked orders, including in thetics

As with the preceding, Levinsohn's constituent order principles assume that *the pragmatically unmarked position of the verb is clause-initial,* at least in sentences that lack negation and are not wh-questions (p. 29, note 1).[205] While aware of other claims (e.g. that NTG has the basic order of SVO), Levinsohn states that '*pragmatically,* it is easiest to explain variations in constituent order by taking verb-initial as the default order' (p. 17). This takes into account the fact that verb-initial sentences tend to be low in discourse discontinuity, as we saw in §3.3.1.

In §4.10.2, I will come to a conclusion I think is in harmony with Levinsohn's claim, namely, that in most environments verb-initial thetics are pragmatically unmarked. Nevertheless, for certain environments, we will also see that preverbal subjects are unmarked.

Levinsohn presents the following four 'default ordering principles' (pp. 29-32), which concern 'the arrangement of the constituents of the comment on the propositional topic' (p. 29).[206] By 'default' he means pragmatically unmarked orders. All of these together, and principle (4) in particular, suggest that the default focal area is at or near the end of clause. (Again, for Levinsohn, 'focal' is generally defined in terms of saliency, whether this be an instance of constituent-focus or a salient part of a larger focus domain.) Note, however, that although Levinsohn seems to suggest that these are all pragmatically motivated rules, (1) and (2) are probably better characterized as morphosyntactically motivated (see below on (1)). There is nonetheless a pragmatic element to these choices and so it is impossible to separate entirely the syntactic from the pragmatic.

(1)	**Verb – Pronominal Constituents – Nominal Constituents**
(2)	**Core Constituents – Peripheral Constituents**
(3)	**Propositional Topic – Nonverbal Constituents Of Comment**
(4)	'If ordering principles 1-3 do not determine the relative order of constituents, place the more focal constituent after the less focal one', i.e. **Less Focal Constituent – More Focal Constituent**

Principle (1) states that pronominal constituents, including ones in prepositional phrases, have the default position immediately after the verb (similarly Matić for Classical 2003a:587, 591-2, 598-9). This applies to non-emphatic and non-focal pronouns (p. 29), as well as to non-deictic ones (p. 39). We can say they cling to the verb, the clause core, behaving like verb morphology. **Jhn 2:7** (p. 29) illustrates (1). (See §4.10.4 for a type of thetic for which this rule usually does not apply.) So this appears to illustrate clitic behavior, what could be called a syntactic phenomenon. Still, it must be noted that this default position stands in opposition to other positions that the speaker could choose to express the referent in, such as

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the preverbal position to treat it as a marked topic, or one of the pre- or postverbal focus positions.

Jhn 2:7 λέγει **αὐτοῖς** ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κτλ
       3S.says to.them the Jesus

       NRS: Jesus said to them, "Fill the jars with water."

Elsewhere (e.g. p. 39) Levinsohn notes that in clauses with a preverbal focal constituent, pragmatically unmarked nominal constituents (especially pronouns) often slip in just before the verb, as indicated by (1.1) below.[207] (Similar observations are made by Pike for *the Book of Acts* and by Matić 2003a for Classical Greek.)[208] Such unmarked constituents would be non-emphatic and, I presume, always topical (or otherwise 'in the presupposition'). Consider the following examples: **1Co 2:14** (p. 39); **Gal 3:2** (p. 55)[209]; in **Gal 5:1**, two topical elements intervene, the subject and object (the REB's *it-cleft* rendering supports the constituent-focus reading of the dative 'for freedom').

(1.1)	**(Point of Departure) – Focal Constituent – Unmarked Constituent(s) – Verb**

1Co 2:14 μωρία   γὰρ **αὐτῷ** ἐστιν
         foolishness for to.him 3S.is

         NIV: The man without the Spirit does not accept the things that come from the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him,…

Gal 3:2 ἐξ ἔργων νόμου **τὸ πνεῦμα** ἐλάβετε   ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;
        by works of.law the.A Spirit.A you.received or by hearing of.faith

        NRS: The only thing I want to learn from you is this [cataphoric]: <u>Did you receive the Spirit by doing the works of the law</u> or by believing what you heard?

Gal 5:1 τῇ   ἐλευθερίᾳ **ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς** ἠλευθέρωσεν·
        to.the.D freedom.D us.A Christ.N 3S.freed

        REB: <u>It is for freedom that Christ set us free.</u> Stand firm, therefore, and refuse to submit again to the yoke of slavery.

Thus, (1.1) approaches something like the mirror image of (1) above.[210] But note that, according to traditional Classical scholarship, the pronouns in 1Co 2:14 and Gal 5:1 would be considered postpositives to the preceding element (they form a prosodic unit with the preceding word). That is, they take the 'Wackernagel's position'—the second position of the clause, following the first stressed element.[211] Interestingly, non-pronominal τὸ πνεῦμα 'the

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[207] This seems to be a tendency at least for main clauses (i.e. but not for subordinated clauses or where the pronoun has a case role in a subsequent subordinated clause, e.g. ὑμῖν in Luk 3:7 Γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς [offspring of.vipers who 3S.warned to.you to.flee from the coming wrath] 'You brood of vipers, who warned you to flee from the coming wrath'). But if this is a tendency for main clauses, there are still exceptions: Jhn 9:26 Τί ἐποίησέν σοι; [what 3S.did to.you] 'What did he do to you?' Luk 2:48 Τέκνον, τί ἐποίησας ἡμῖν οὕτως; [child why you.did to.us thus] 'Child, why did you treat us so?'

[208] Pike notes that even a topical lexical nominal may occasionally sneak in here before the verb; see §8.1.2 and §9.6.1 on Act 16:3, where topical 'his father' comes between focal 'Greek' and the verb. See also Php 1:15b where τὸν Χριστὸν 'Christ' is certainly topical (discussed by Levinsohn, p. 41). Matić (2003a:619-24) also notes several different types of 'intruders', including lexical nouns and pronouns (and 'clitics', p. 620) that are 'Con[tinous]Top[ic]s or simply as presupposed material' (p. 621).

[209] Levinsohn (p. 55) considers Gal 3:2 to be an instance of a subtype of focus, 'temporary focus'.

[210] See S. Dik (1997a:401) on 'centripetal orientation' or '"mirror-image" ordering' around a syntactic head.

[211] On 'Wackernagel's position' (or 'Wackernagel's law'), see e.g. Marshall 1987, Hajdú 1989, Ruijgh 1990a and 1990b, and H. Dik (1995:31-8).

Spirit' in Gal 3:2 would not be taken as a postpositive according to Classical scholarship, despite its similar function to the pronouns in this position. I shall not pursue this complex matter further.[212]

Principle (2) states that core constituents in the comment, that is, 'the subject, object, and other nominal constituents not preceded by a preposition, together with the adjectival complement' will precede peripheral constituents, which concerns mostly 'prepositional phrases plus adverbial phrases of time and location'. This principle also accounts for the order of pronominal constituents when more than one occurs. For example, in **1Co 1:11**, μοι 'to me' precedes prepositional περὶ ὑμῶν 'about you' (p. 30-1).

1Co 1:11   ἐδηλώθη   γάρ μοι   περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τῶν   Χλόης κτλ
           3S.was.revealed for to.me about you   brothers my   by of.the Chloe

        NRS: For it has been reported to me by Chloe's people that there are quarrels among you, my brothers and sisters.

Principle (3) reiterates the well-known 'theme-first principle' (Tomlin 1986:37). The 'propositional topic' (Lambrecht's 'sentence topic'), which Levinsohn says is most typically the subject, by default precedes other items in the comment.

Principle (4) covers cases not handled by the principles (1) through (3). It applies especially to cases when two core or two peripheral constituents occur in the sentence, and states that the more focal one comes later. This is illustrated by **Jas 5:17** (p. 32), which has two postverbal peripheral constituents and where the relatively more focal one, 'three years and six months', follows the other (it also happens to be longer). Again, it is clear that, in Lambrecht's terms, this would be a predicate-focus utterance (with a broad focus domain) where one element is (for whatever reason) singled out as more salient (i.e. 'the dominant focal element').[213]

Jas 5:17   καὶ οὐκ ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ   τῆς γῆς   **ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ·**
           and not 3S.rain upon the earth years   three and months six

        NRS: [16] …The prayer of the righteous is powerful and effective. [17] Elijah was a human being like us, and he prayed fervently that it might not rain, and <u>for three years and six months</u> it did not rain on the earth.

Another observation by Levinsohn that is relevant for us is his principle (5):

    (5)   'To mark as focused a constituent whose default position is not the end of a clause or sentence, place it at the end of the clause or sentence' (p. 34)

Like the preverbal positions for Focus and point of departure that are marked, he considers (5) also to be marked, and therefore it overrides the default principles. Principle (5) accounts for some instances of clause final subjects, verbs, and pronominals that are focal (i.e. the 'dominant focal element'). **Gal 2:19a** illustrates an especially salient verb, 'died' (p. 36) and **Gal 2:20** (p. 35) illustrates two examples of focal subjects. Given the comparisons Paul is making in vv 19-20, contrastive implicatures come through loud and clear. The pair 20a and 20b also involve corrective implicatures. Many translations in fact use *it-clefts* for 20a and 20b, as illustrated by the NRS.

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[212] In contrast, in Modern Greek, clitic pronouns immediately *precede* the verb (Matić 2003b:138).

[213] That 'for three years and six months' alone does not make up the focus domain is clear because (a) the sentence does not serve to primarily answer the question 'How long didn't it rain for?', and (b) the fact that it did not rain after the prayer is unpredictable (James could have just said 'and then it didn't!').

Gal 2:19a ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ   νόμου νόμῳ **ἀπέθανον**,
           I   for through law   to.law I.died

19b   ἵνα θεῷ   ζήσω.
           that to.God I.may.live

19c   Χριστῷ   συνεσταύρωμαι·
           with.Christ I.have.been.crucified

20a   ζῶ   δὲ οὐκέτι   **ἐγώ,**
           I.am.living but no.longer I

20b   ζῇ   δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ **Χριστός·**
           3S.lives but in me   Christ

NRS: [19] For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; [20] and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me.

Most relevant for us, Levinsohn considers principle (5) to account for the fact that '**presentational**' **subjects** (i.e. **thetic subjects**), which are by definition focal, often come finally (on p. 35 he cites Jas 2:2 with the verb 'enter'). He does not discuss why a presentational subject would occur preverbally or why, even when it occurs after the verb, it is not always in final position.

H. Dik (1995:227) admitted that 'presentative' (i.e. thetic) sentences posed a major analytical obstacle. She had hoped they could be accounted for by a single template for main declarative sentences, repeated here from above as (224), which predicted that important participants would be introduced preverbally, not in the postverbal 'pragmatically unmarked area'. But instead she found that in many presentative sentences (e.g. with εἰμί 'be' and verbs like ἔρχομαι 'come', p. 233) the participant is often expressed in a postverbal position. To avoid this obstacle, she suggested that the verb (e.g. εἰμί 'be') was to be counted as a topic, that is, *P1:Topic* (pp. 207ff, especially 221-235). But her suggestion is problematic (Allan 2008 also voices a complaint here). Although I assumed in Chapter 2 that a verb may at times have topical status (i.e. be in the presupposition), it would be dubious to claim for many of her examples that the verb or its presentative meaning is somehow already topical (as a kind of open proposition), or predictable, or activated, in the discourse. If anything, the scene-setting element, which is often present as a locative, whether pre- or postverbal, is the most topic-like element, not the (relatively semantically empty) predicate εἰμί 'be'.[214]

(224) *Dik:*   Setting – P1:Topic – PØ:Focus – Verb – X:pragmatically unmarked area

(225) *Matić:* Frame Setting Topic(s)[215] – [Verb] – Continuous Topic – [Focal Material]

        (*Note:* [Verb+Focal Material] = Broad Focus)

In contrast to Dik, Matić's (2003a:585-6, 626) explanation of postverbal thetic subjects is more plausible. He explains them as simply being elements of an (unmarked) broad focus domain. They would thus be covered by one of his most general templates, (225) above. This

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[214] For similar reasons, Weil's (1879) view that εἰμί could be the 'point of departure' is dubious. For a thetic εἰμί clause lacking an initial temporal or locative that functions as the 'point of departure' (the common ground between the speaker and hearer—see footnote 13), Weil suggested that 'the idea of existence' itself could have that function. As examples, Weil cites 'There was a king' and ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη ([is.3s city Ephyre] 'There is a city Ephyre'; Iliad 6.152). See Weil-Super-Scaglione (1978:31-3).

[215] For all practical purposes, Matić's 'Frame Setting Topic' is equal to Levinsohn's topical point of departure and Matić's 'Continuous Topic' is equal to Levinsohn's unmarked topical constituent in Levinsohn's Principle (1).

template covers not only thetics, but also any sentence type with a broad focus. In the case of a thetic εἰμί clause, the focus domain harbors both focal εἰμί and the focal subject.

In §4.10, I will discuss at length the position of subject in thetics. I will argue that in many environments the postverbal position is the subject's default position, while in other environments it may come preverbally. Motivation for both positions will be suggested.

3.3.4 Anarthrous proper names and common nouns expressing identifiable entities

It is well known that the way the definite article in Greek behaves with proper names and other nominals is complex. Since many of its details are immaterial to this study, I will outline only relevant aspects. In particular, we will look at the functions of its **presence** and **absence** in relation to focality, activation, discourse 'prominence', and referentiality. I use the term '**arthrous**' for a nominal modified by the article and '**anarthrous**' when the article is absent.

According to BDF §252, the article may indicate (i) that an entity is 'known' (also Smyth §1118) or (ii) that it is 'anaphoric'—'there is a reference back (ἀναφορά) to what is known or assumed to be known' (also Smyth §1120b). In our terms, both types of entities are **identifiable**: (i) is so because it is hearer-old and (ii) is so because (a) it has already been **activated** in the previous discourse or (b) it is **inferrable** from the linguistic or extra-linguistic context. Greek differs from English in that nominals referring to entities that are *generic* (Smyth §1118, i.e. non-specific or, for BDF, non-'particular') often take the article (e.g. '*The-foxes* have dens', Mat 8:20; '*The-laborer* is worthy of *the-his-wages*', Luk 10:7; Robertson 1934:757; Wallace 1996:227, 253). And *abstract* nouns (e.g. second order nouns, 'love', 'life', 'faith', 'endurance') are often arthrous, especially when 'anaphoric'.[216] But as in many languages, Greek has nominals—be they native or foreign names, titles, 'the sun', names of days and festivals, etc.—that go their own way. They either never take the article, or always take it, or take it only under certain circumstances. I will point out such exceptions when relevant.

For our purposes what is remarkable is that some nominals, even though they have identifiable reference, are nonetheless sometimes anarthrous. From Levinsohn's discussion (2000:148-167), it appears that the article may be absent to indicate focality, activation, or discourse prominence. We must also add that proper names, as a special type of nominal, always lack the article when used in 'naming' constructions and as vocatives; this seems to be because, used in this way, names are not truly referential (to be explained below), and therefore the parameter of identifiability is irrelevant.

Let's consider first instances of focal anarthrous nominals with identifiable reference.

One well-known peculiarity of Greek copular clauses with complements is that when a predicate nominal precedes its copula and refers to an identifiable entity, it is almost always anarthrous (Colwell [1933:20] calls these 'definite predicate nouns'; see Levinsohn p. 163, Wallace 1996:255-270; Zerwick §175). This is known as '**Colwell's rule**'. It is illustrated in the *equative* clause in **Mat 27:42** where preverbal '(the) king of Israel' is discourse-old and identifiable.

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[216] See e.g. 'the endurance' in Jas 1:4, cited by Levinsohn (2000:148-9), which is the subject and sentence topic.

Mat 27:42 **βασιλεὺς Ἰσραήλ** ἐστιν,
           king   of.Israel 3S.is

> NRS: [37] Over his head they put the charge against him, which read, "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews." …[Some were scoffing] [42] "…He is the King of Israel; let him come down from the cross now, and we will believe in him.…"

As Levinsohn notes (p. 163), such preverbal predicate nominals are often focal. Moreover, he finds for other verbs too that it is a general rule that preverbal focal nominals referring to identifiable entities will be anarthrous if possible (1992:83; 2000:42; this also applies to 'preposing' with verb ellipsis, 2000:162, note 13). He says this general rule can be illustrated by the various instances of (ὁ) θεός 'God' in Galatians (2000:162) (unlike English, ὁ θεός patterns as a common noun). Consider, for example, **Gal 2:19**, where dative θεῷ 'to God' is focal and anarthrous.[217] Note that θεῷ also contrasts with νόμῳ 'to (the) law', what most take to refer to the Jewish Law, and so νόμῳ would also be an instance (the Jewish Law has not yet been mentioned but it has been hinted at).[218]

Gal 2:19 ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ   νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα **θεῷ**   ζήσω.
          I   for through law to.law died   that to.God I.may.live

> NRS: For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God.

Postverbal focal constituents expressing identifiable entities may also be anarthrous but this correlation is much weaker. In fact, Levinsohn (in an email of 1999) says about Ephesians 'that postverbal focal constituents […] tend to retain the article (it is only preverbally that they are pretty certain to drop the article if focal).' Levinsohn (2000:162, note 13) cites **Eph 3:9-10** (and Eph 5:20), where arthrous 'God' occurs twice postverbally and is, in Levinsohn's opinion, focal. So, although Levinsohn would admit that there are many exceptions, it appears that, as a rule, postverbal focal constituents tend to be arthrous when identifiable.

Eph 3:9 καὶ φωτίσαι   (πάντας) τίς ἡ   οἰκονομία   τοῦ   μυστηρίου
         and to.enlighten all.men what the.Nfs stewardship.Nfs of.the mystery

         τοῦ   ἀποκεκρυμμένου   ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν **τῷ θεῷ** τῷ   τὰ
         of.the having.been.hidden from the ages in the God the.one the

         πάντα κτίσαντι,   10 ἵνα γνωρισθῇ   νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
         all.things having.created that might.be.made.known now to.the rulers

         καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ   τῆς ἐκκλησίας
         and the authorities in the heavenly.places through the church

         ἡ   πολυποίκιλος σοφία **τοῦ θεοῦ,**
         the many.faceted wisdom of.the of.God

> NRS: [8] Although I am the very least of all the saints, this grace was given to me to bring to the Gentiles the news of the boundless riches of Christ, [9] and to make everyone see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things; [10] so that through the church the wisdom of God in its rich variety might now be made known to the rulers and authorities in the heavenly places.

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[217] Contrast Gal 3:11 where postverbal dative παρὰ τῷ θεῷ 'before God' is arthrous and cannot be focal.

[218] The view presented here assumes that 'God' and 'law' are referential entities and that neither are used attributively (e.g. meaning 'divine' or 'legal'). While the latter possibility cannot be entirely excluded, especially for 'law', in my opinion the context here favors the referential interpretation.

Next we note that the **first mention** of a person via a **proper name** is usually anarthrous (BDF §260.1), whatever position it occurs in (but, except when nominative, this does not usually apply to indeclinable foreign names, since the article may be needed to indicate case; BDF §260.2). First mentions via a proper name must be divided into two groups, those occurring in naming constructions, and those that do not. The former are always focal, but the latter need not be.

Consider first the naming constructions in **Luk 10:38-39** (also known as 'nomination' [Anderson 2004:438] or 'appellative' constructions [Lyons 1977:217]). Before being named, the two sisters are introduced by indefinite NPs ('a certain woman' and 'a sister'), the latter occurring in a possessive thetic (§4.6). These indefinite NPs are then followed by the naming constructions, 'by name Martha' and 'called Mary', which I assume constitute separate focus domains (see §4.2.5). The fact that names in naming constructions are anarthrous makes sense because, given their special attributive-like function, they are not truly referential or identifiable: they function to *assign* identity (Anderson p. 441; Lyons p. 217).

Luk 10:38	γυνὴ	δέ	τις	**ὀνόματι**	**Μάρθα**	ὑπεδέξατο	αὐτόν.
	woman.N	and	a.certain.N	by.name	Martha.N	3S.received	him

39	καὶ	τῇδε	ἦν	ἀδελφὴ	**καλουμένη**	**Μαριάμ,**	(ἣ)	καὶ	παρακαθεσθεῖσα κτλ
	and	to.her	3S.was	sister	being.called	Mary	who	also	having.sat.down

40	**ἡ**	δὲ	**Μάρθα**	περιεσπᾶτο	περὶ	πολλὴν	διακονίαν·
	the	but	Martha	3S.was.being.distracted	about	much	service

NRS: [38] [Jesus] entered a certain village, where a woman [who was] <u>named Martha</u> welcomed him into her home. [39] She had a sister <u>named Mary,</u> who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to what he was saying. [40] But Martha was distracted by her many tasks;…

But note that when Martha is referred to again in Luk 10:40 above, the name is arthrous, ἡ Μάρθα 'the Martha'. As Levinsohn points out, this is the norm for names whose entities have been activated and established on stage (p. 150; this is equivalent to BDF's 'anaphoric' use, §242 and §260).

The first mentions of 'Simon' and 'Andrew' in **Mrk 1:16** are different. They neither come in naming constructions nor are they first activated by means of indefinite NPs. Given these hearer-new entities are first mentioned via names, the hearer is required to act as though they were already known to exist.[219] Still, these names also come in a focus domain (as objects of 'see'; the subject 'Jesus' is the sentence topic). And despite the presupposition of the entities' existence, the names are anarthrous.[220]

Mrk 1:16	εἶδεν	**Σίμωνα**	καὶ	**Ἀνδρέαν**	τὸν	ἀδελφὸν	Σίμωνος	ἀμφιβάλλοντας κτλ
	3S.saw	Simon	and	Andrew	the	brother	of.Simon	casting

NRS: As Jesus passed along the Sea of Galilee, he saw <u>Simon</u> and his brother <u>Andrew</u> casting a net into the sea.

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[219] As Anderson shows (2004:437-9, 444), using a proper name is a very direct way to refer to an entity, much like a deictic pronoun. Unlike common nouns, names and deictics normally do not require further modification.

Concerning identifiability marking in Greek, the presence of the article is typically more important for common nouns, since without the article and without an appropriate discourse context, the default interpretation is that the entity is unidentifiable or the noun is used non-referentially. But names do not need to be marked as identifiable, since (when used referentially) they are inherently so. This would explain why the presence/absence of the article could take on other functions for names (e.g. to indicate focality or activation).

[220] But the name 'Nathanael' on its first mention in Jhn 1:45 is arthrous, since, as an indeclinable foreign name, the accusative article shows the case: εὑρίσκει Φίλιππος τὸν Ναθαναὴλ [3S.finds Philip.N the.A Nathanael.A] 'Philip finds Nathanael' (Levinsohn p. 152).

But we do occasionally find first mentions that are not in a focus domain (and not in a naming construction). Consider the first mention of 'Joseph' in **Act 4:36** (discussed more fully in §4.5), which occurs as a left-detached NP that is set off from the main predication by a string of descriptions. Since this phrase is extra-clausal, it is not syntactically integrated into the following clauses and therefore outside their focus domains. In any case, as the first mention, 'Joseph' is still anarthrous.

Act 4:36   Ἰωσὴφ   δὲ   ὁ   ἐπικληθεὶς   Βαρναβᾶς   ἀπὸ   τῶν   ἀποστόλων,   ὅ
              Joseph   and   the.one   having.been.named   Barnabas   by   the   apostles   which

              ἐστιν   μεθερμηνευόμενον   υἱὸς   παρακλήσεως,   Λευίτης,   Κύπριος   τῷ γένει,
              3S.is   being.translated   son   of.encouragement   Levite   of.Cyprus   by.nationality

37   ὑπάρχοντος   αὐτῷ   ἀγροῦ   πωλήσας   ἤνεγκεν   τὸ   χρῆμα   κτλ
       belonging   to.him   field   having.sold   3S.brought   the   money

       nab: [36] And <u>Joseph,</u> whom the apostles called Barnabas (which means "One who Encourages"), a Levite, born in Cyprus, [37] having a field, sold it, brought the money…

As another special use of proper names, we must mention briefly vocatives, since they also always lack the article.[221] The vocative use of names also resembles the use of names in naming constructions in that they are also in a certain sense non-referential: they do not refer to clause-internal arguments (e.g. subject, object, etc.; see Anderson 2004, who claims that vocatives universally lack definiteness [p. 458], and who contrasts the vocative use of names with their 'referential' use as sentence arguments). Instead, vocatives are extra-clausal (or appositive) elements that function primarily 'to attract the attention of the person being called' (Lyons 1977:217; see also Anderson 2004:439) and thereby establish (or maintain) a relationship between the speaker and hearer. Given their extra-clausal nature, it is clear that vocatives do not come in a focus domain. From the perspective of information structure, they resemble in function (but not necessarily in position) left-detached elements, which have a topic establishing function, and vocatives may of course sometimes be coreferential with a clause-internal argument (e.g. *Would you do me a favor, John?;* see Lambrecht 1996 on the topical relationship a vocative holds with its sentence)

Now, Levinsohn has studied how different participants in the Gospels and Acts are treated when **reactivated** by name in the subsequent narrative. There are, to be sure, differences among different NT authors. Levinsohn (p. 152-5) says that, as a general rule, when a **major participant** is reactivated by name, such as at the beginning of a new episode or after a temporary absence, the name is **anarthrous**. But when **the most important participant** is reactivated (i.e. the 'VIP', e.g. Jesus in the Gospels), this is usually done so by an **arthrous** nominal. These particular observations apply especially to Acts, Luke, and Matthew; Mark has fewer anarthrous references and John has by far the most (Levinsohn p. 154-5; BDF §260.1).

Despite the mixed picture presented by different NT authors, what is clear is that many of these anarthrous reactivations involve **topical constituents**, not focal ones. This is illustrated by the preverbal subject 'Herod' in **Act 12:19**, which functions as the sentence topic (previously mentioned in vv 6 and 11; pp. 152-3).

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[221] I know of no counter example in the NT. This claim doesn't apply to common nouns like 'father' and 'G/god', which are arthrous when used as vocatives in the nominative as opposed to the vocative case (BDF §147).

Act 12:19   **Ἡρῴδης** δὲ   ἐπιζητήσας   αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εὑρών,   κτλ
   Herod   now   having.sought.after   him   and not having.found

NRS: [¹⁻⁶ After putting Peter in jail, King Herod intended to execute him the next day.
⁷⁻¹⁸ But then Peter is miraculously delivered at night and the next day the guards cannot
find him.] ¹⁹ When <u>Herod</u> had searched for him and could not find him, he examined the
guards and ordered them to be put to death.

   Consider also the anarthrous reactivation of 'Peter and John' in the subject point of
departure in **Act 3:1**. Even more noteworthy are topic expressions that refer to entities that
are fully activated and/or on center stage. This is illustrated by the anarthrous subsequent
references to Peter and John in vv 4 and 6 (they are postverbal topic expressions; see §5.3 on
v 3). Levinsohn argues that such anarthrous uses 'make the participant and/or his or her
initiative or speech *prominent* [i.e. highlighted, nab], because it is of particular importance'
(p. 156). Although the notion of prominence or highlighting is admittedly vague, Levinsohn's
attempt to make sense of the lack of the article seems plausible to me.

Act 3:1   **Πέτρος** δὲ   καὶ   **Ἰωάννης** ἀνέβαινον   εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κτλ
          Peter   now and   John   3P.were.going.up to the temple

4   ἀτενίσας   δὲ   **Πέτρος** εἰς αὐτὸν κτλ
          having.gazed but Peter   at him

6   εἶπεν δὲ   **Πέτρος**, Ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον   οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι,
          3S.said and Peter   silver.N.n.s and gold.N.n.s not 3S.is   to.me

NRS: ¹ One day <u>Peter and John</u> were going up to the temple… ² And a man lame from
birth was being carried in…so that he could ask for alms… ³ When he saw Peter and John
about to go into the temple, he asked them for alms. ⁴ <u>Peter</u> looked intently at him, as did
John, and said, "Look at us." ⁵ And he fixed his attention on them, expecting to receive
something from them. ⁶ But <u>Peter</u> said, "I have no silver or gold, but what I have I give
you; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, stand up and walk."

   In summary: Although many questions remain, we have suggested there are a number of
reasons why common nouns and proper names referring to identifiable entities may be
anarthrous. Setting aside the special cases of proper names being used in naming
constructions and vocatives, it seems there are at least three different discourse-pragmatic
categories that can correlate with anarthrous marking. There is, first of all, a high correlation
between such anarthrous nouns and the preverbal focal position. But focality in itself is not
decisive: anarthrous marking may also coincide with topical entities that are being
reactivated. And first mentions of proper names, no matter what construction they occur in or
what information status they have, are always anarthrous and always coincide with activation.
But neither is activation decisive: even entities that are fully activated and topical may be
expressed by anarthrous nouns, especially names, in which case this can apparently be to
mark them or their associated states of affairs as prominent.

<div style="text-align:center">

anarthrous marking
of identifiable entities

preverbal focus   (re)activation   prominence

</div>
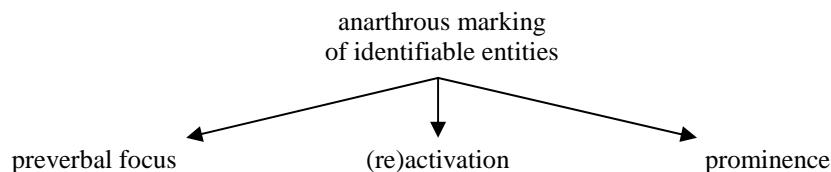
   Later we will consider the interaction between anarthrous marking and theticity. I will
argue that, despite some complications, names are almost always anarthrous when they are
the subject of a thetic clause, and that this is true whether they come pre- or postverbally.

3.4 A summary of the previous studies and the need to study thetics

I will now summarize the preceding discussion on information structure in especially NTG and then underline the need for studying how thetics interact with constituent order.

Although my discussion of this very complex topic has been brief, I think we may conclude that certain orders in Greek are pragmatically marked and others are unmarked. Clauses beginning with a verb appear to be unmarked in many environments and they generally involve more discourse continuity. To be sure, there are environments where verb-initial order is clearly not the default, two of which will be investigated in relation to thetic constructions in Chapters 5 and 6. This is further evidence that more than one constituent order template is relevant to Greek.

But in most environments, the first two preverbal positions are associated with conceptually marked functions: The first position, if filled, is for marked topical expressions, which typically involve greater amounts of discourse discontinuity (i.e. it is for different types of points of departure, whether a scene-setting element or a clause-internal sentence topic; and both may occur together in that order). The second position is a marked focus position. Both of these preverbal positions often coincide with contrastiveness. A third position, just before the verb, is not conceptually marked. It is used for highly topical elements (e.g. ratified topics, typically expressed as pronouns); this position seems to be used only when there is also a preverbal focal element. The postverbal area is usually dedicated to conceptually unmarked topic and focus expressions, topical pronouns usually coming immediately after the verb. That topical pronouns come immediately before or after the verb is reminiscent of the behavior of verb morphology and clitics.

When we compare the pragmatic properties of the preverbal and postverbal focus positions, in most environments preverbal focus is cognitively more marked. That is to say, the preverbal position typically hosts elements that are contrastive, emotively emphatic, or otherwise especially salient. But there are environments where even the final position may be an instance of marked focus (e.g. for subjects and verbs which would normally come earlier in the clause).

Identifiable entities being expressed by nominals strongly tend to be anarthrous when the nominals are proper names coming in the preverbal focus position. But the absence of the article may also indicate (re)activation or discourse prominence of an entity.

The above summary suggests a multi-faceted picture for Greek, one where more than one basic template is required to account for the different orders. Although many of the researchers mentioned in the preceding sections took thetics (or 'presentationals') into some consideration, thetics did not usually figure prominently in their discussion, and none of them attempted to explain the variety of constituent orders that thetics may have (e.g. *S…V* and *V…S*). This gap in our knowledge of how thetics interact with constituent order is therefore one good reason for studying theticity in Greek. As one of the main goals of this study, we will try to discover what factors influence the different orders in thetics.

3.5 A major handicap in studying information structure in ancient languages and how we may overcome this handicap (methodology)

To study information structure (including theticity) in old forms of Greek, we ideally need native speakers, not just to test our theories, but also to supply what is very likely an

important piece of the puzzle missing from the written record, that is, **prosody**.[222] This is obviously one of the most serious handicaps in investigating information structure in old languages like Classical and Koine Greek.

If we consider the evidence from modern European languages, including Modern Greek, it seems very likely that prosody played some role in information structure in Classical and Koine Greek.[223] And so prosody would have likely disambiguated at least some constructions, as we find it does in English (recall, e.g. how a predicate-focus structure like *[The PRESIDENT]$_{TOP}$ [DIED]$_{FD}$* is distinguished from a subject-only-accented sentence like *The PRESIDENT died,* which could be either an instance of subject-constituent-focus or sentence-focus). To be sure, since all languages involve underspecification (as illustrated in Chapter 2 by some modern languages), all information structure studies require the analyst to engage in some (subjective) interpretation.[224] Still, our situation as analysts of old languages is clearly much worse given our lack of access to prosody. Our task is to assemble a puzzle that is missing some key pieces.

Some might therefore conclude that the task of studying an ancient language's information structure is too speculative to bother with. Nevertheless, I believe there are still enough rewards to justify the effort. First of all, translators and exegetes of ancient texts stand to profit, since they will struggle through such issues anyways, and any light we can throw on the grammar and discourse patterns in their texts may help them. But beyond that, there are still plenty of unambiguous data in these ancient texts by which a number of conclusions may be made that are significant for linguists and information structure theorists.

Given this substantial handicap, my research has focused on constructions that seemed to be especially likely candidates as thetics and from which reasonable conclusions could be drawn. Thus, much of the analysis presented in the following chapters is devoted to sentences with predicates that commonly appear cross-linguistically in thetic constructions (equivalents of '*there+be*', 'happen', 'come', 'appear' etc.; see the beginning of Chapter 4 for the list of Greek forms). Having identified several sets of core examples of thetics, attention is then given to various aspects of these core examples, including especially their constituent order, and then an attempt is made to tease apart competing factors that may influence the different

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[222] Our tradition of writing, which generally ignores prosody (or greatly reduces it in European languages to things like '!' or '?'), is often a handicap to the linguist. The tradition has encouraged linguists to ignore intonation and sentence and word stress, not only among those working in formalistic theories, but also functional-typological theories. Linguistic theorizing is weaker because of it.

[223] Prosody (especially sentence accents) appears to be a fairly universal means of indicating information structure categories. But there are languages for which it has been shown not to be relevant. See, e.g. Bearth (1992, 1998), who says about Toura that 'no prosodic feature such as intonation or accent is in any way recurrently associated with the shift in informativity' (1998:399) but rather 'all focus-marking is morphological' (p. 403). Desmond Derbyshire informed me (email, 2001) that Hixkaryana (a Carib language of Brazil) does not use prosody to indicate information structure categories but instead uses special positions, especially initial, and certain particles (for a description of these particles and how the initial position is used, see Derbyshire 1985:21-3, 247-56, and 145-54; on the lack of special prosody for initial 'focus' position, see p. 146).

Prosody is, in any case, a very common means in European languages, including Modern Greek (as assumed by Sasse [1995b:147, 152] and Matić [2003b:130, 137]). But even if we do assume it played a role in Classical and Koine Greek information structure, we cannot assume that this role is identical to any modern language. Although there are many similarities among modern languages, there are also important differences. See Ladd (1990:810-4) for some examples of differences among a few languages concerning the placement of default sentence accents, and see Lambrecht on default sentence accents (1994:248-57) as well as his scattered comments on Italian (e.g. p. 234) and French (e.g. pp. 245-6).

[224] See T. Payne (1997:342-3) on the difference between 'discourse interpretation' and the linguistic analysis of discourse.

orders. I attempt to separate out both syntactic factors (e.g. subordination, relativization, the use of finite versus non-finite verbs, the use of the particle ἰδού, etc.) and non-information-structure pragmatic factors (e.g. emotive emphasis, contrastiveness, etc.). My attempt to tease apart competing factors is also reflected in my dividing the discussion of Greek data into the following three sets: non-deictic thetics (Chapter 4), perception reports (Chapter 5), and ἰδού/ἴδε sentences (Chapter 6). Finally, when making generalizations about constituent order, I give preference to the most unambiguous instances of thetics and then only afterwards to less clear examples or possible borderline cases.

3.6 The Greek data and texts analyzed in this study

Although my study focuses on Koine of the NT (=NTG), occasional reference is made to the LXX and other Koine texts (e.g. by Josephus and certain papyri), as well as Classical ones (e.g. by Homer and Herodotus).

For the NT, my study concentrates on the standard 'eclectic' text, the fourth edition of the *UBS NT,* which is equal to the twenty-seventh edition of *Nestle-Aland.* Only occasionally do I refer to alternate readings noted in the critical apparatus of *Nestle-Aland* and readings in the *Byzantine Textform* (a type of 'majority text', edited by Robinson & Pierpont, 2005). For the LXX (Old Testament), unless noted otherwise, I use Alfred Rahlfs' edition.

I have greatly profited from searching many of these texts in electronic form. For the NT and LXX I made use of the programs BART and BibleWorks, for Josephus I used BibleWorks, and for Classical texts and some papyri I used the online texts at the *Perseus Digital Library Project*. I also greatly benefited from BART's feature that allows a user to create tags to mark words and then search those tags.

See the reference section for the bibliographical citations of these different texts.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: NON-DEICTIC THETIC CONSTRUCTIONS

Δύο ἦσαν ἄνδρες ἐν πόλει μιᾷ εἷς πλούσιος καὶ εἷς πένης.
'There were two men in a city, one rich and one poor.'
(The Prophet Nathan to King David, 2Sa 12:1)

This lengthy chapter is dedicated to thetic constructions of the non-deictic type. Deictic thetics (i.e. ones with ἰδού) and perception reports will also be mentioned on occasion when it is necessary to give the reader more perspective. In these initial paragraphs, I first introduce the types of clauses that I have studied in order to build my database of thetic clauses and then I outline the chapter sections.

This chapter gives most attention to thetics employing the verbs εἰμί 'be' and γίνομαι 'happen/occur',[225] although clauses with many other verbs are also considered, including especially ἔρχομαι 'come'. In my research, I looked at every occurrence of these three verbs in the NT to consider which could be thetic. From what is known about theticity in other languages, sentences with these Greek verbs are an obvious starting point for collecting thetic tokens. Besides sentences with those three verbs, I considered all sentences with the following: ὑπάρχω 'be (there), exist, be possessed', πάρειμι 'be present', ἐξέρχομαι 'come out, appear', προσέρχομαι 'approach, come forward', ἐπέρχομαι 'come upon, happen', παραγίνομαι 'come, arrive', εἰσέρχομαι 'enter', καταντάω 'arrive', ἥκω 'come', ἐγγίζω 'come near', ἐκπορεύομαι 'come/go out', passive forms of ὁράω meaning 'appear', ἐφίστημι 'appear, stand', φαίνω 'appear', ἐμφανίζω 'appear', ἵστημι 'stand (up)', παρίστημι 'stand nearby, be present', ἀνίστημι 'stand, rise, appear', and ἐγείρω 'rise'.

Thetics involving other verbs that I happened upon are also occasionally cited.

I also studied all clauses with the following words: (i) τις meaning 'a certain', (ii) ὥρα 'hour', ἡμέρα 'day', ἥλιος 'sun', (iii) Ἰησοῦς 'Jesus', Πέτρος 'Peter', Παῦλος 'Paul', and πνεῦμα '(Holy) Spirit' as a pseudo-proper name. The reasons for studying clauses with these words were: (i) τις 'a certain' obviously interacts with theticity and it has occasionally featured in the literature about Greek discourse; (ii) I wished to collect and study enough potential thetics of the time and atmospheric types; and (iii) the above proper names are common and I wished to study how the presence/absence of the article with names interacts with theticity.

Since εἰμί 'be' and γίνομαι 'happen/occur' function as existential verbs (in the broad sense) and are thus prime candidates for thetic utterances, describing their uses as thetics has been a main goal. The following criteria were used when sifting through the data and identifying thetics with these two verbs: If the subject was anarthrous (lacked the article) and unidentifiable,[226] and if it served primarily to introduce an entity into the discourse (whether first, second, or third order), I tagged the clause as unambiguously thetic (none are negated). Although a few tokens are informationally 'heavy' (i.e. they introduce more than one new entity, e.g. 'In a city there was a judge'), given the verb type I still consider these to be unambiguous instances of theticity and sentence-focus structure (see e.g. §4.1 on why topical locatives are not predicating constituents). The unambiguous tokens that I have collected are listed in §4.2.5.2 in Table 7 (108 εἰμί tokens) and Table 8 (121 γίνομαι tokens). Other

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[225] I follow the convention of citing the dictionary forms εἰμί and γίνομαι, which are first person singular present forms, rather than the present infinitives, εἶναι and γίνεσθαι.

[226] There are two γίνομαι tokens that might be interpreted as having identifiable subjects. See §4.2.5.2.

possible instances of thetics with εἰμί and γίνομαι will also be mentioned here and there, but the reader will be warned of their questionable or non-prototypical nature.

For my discussion of constituent order, it was useful to tag all unambiguous instances of thetics employing a selection of verbs other than εἰμί and γίνομαι. For this selection of verbs, I chose ἔρχομαι 'come', ἐξέρχομαι 'come out', and a few others. This set, which totals 119 tokens, is listed in a footnote to Table 15 in §4.10.1. Since thetics with such verbs sometimes involve identifiable subjects, and since identifiable subjects are also good candidates for topic expressions, I have been more discriminating: a token has only been considered to be an unambiguous thetic with sentence-focus structure if its clause was informationally light (i.e. for the given clause, the subject alone is lexical; any other NP, if present, is pronominal; e.g. 'there appeared *to them* Moses and Elijah').

Informationally heavy clauses that have an unidentifiable subject are also discussed on occasion. While they may resemble prototypical thetics in certain respects, they differ in others. The verb type is generally incompatible with theticity, and/or the predicate phrase also activates a new idea. For these reasons, they presumably cannot be instances of sentence-focus structure in Greek (this characterization is modified for instances of perception reports and ἰδού thetics). The reader will be warned whenever I deal with heavy clauses.

The sections of this chapter are organized as follows:

The first and second sections provide a *general overview* for the entire chapter. The first section, §4.1, gives an overview of both thetic and non-thetic uses of εἰμί. (One goal here is to underscore the important difference between locatives that are focal predicating elements and locatives that are topical elements of thetics.) The second section, §4.2, presents an overview of various types of thetics and related items. §4.2 has five parts: §4.2.1 treats thetics with εἰμί, and §4.2.2 treats thetics with other verbs. §4.2.3 considers thetics with verb ellipsis, and §4.2.4 treats borderline constructions, especially of the informationally heavy type. The latter discussion may be of special interest to translators. §4.2.5 looks more closely at the different types of subsequent predications that follow thetics while also considering the often tricky question of where does a thetic end and the next clause begin. This section not only broadens our understanding of Greek thetics, it is a prerequisite for treating other issues, such as constituent order and the 'periphrastic' *εἰμί+participial* construction.

The sections that follow the two initial overview sections take up a variety of *specialized issues* that relate to theticity. Some concern special types of thetics. In several of these sections, theticity is used to shed light on problems that are well known to Greek grammarians and lexicographers. Translation issues are also touched on in many places.

Section §4.3 takes up a handful of issues related to εἰμί. Some of the issues involve the presence of presupposed elements that make analysis of the clause difficult. In §4.3.1, εἰμί clauses are investigated that evoke something presupposed that is less than a full proposition. One clause type involves a predicate locative and an identifiable subject, and the clause as a whole has *subject-constituent-focus* function. Another clause type involves an unidentifiable subject and a non-asserted relative clause or a word meaning 'also' or 'other' that evokes an addition-like presupposition; I take this latter type to still be thetic. In §4.3.2, a different type of presupposition is considered, namely when the clause's entire proposition is presupposed and the clause involves *polar focus.* Although these 'polar' clauses are not thetics, they nonetheless (like most εἰμί thetics) involve the non-copular use of εἰμί; hence the need to distinguish them from true thetics. This subsection also deals with how non-copular εἰμί may be translated in English, including when it can be rendered by 'exist' (something that has

been debated), or 'be alive/live', or other semantically rich predicates. The final subsection, §4.3.3, treats the first clause of John's Gospel.

Sections §4.4 and §4.5 treat constructions with τις 'a certain'. The first deals with τις in prototypical thetics and in heavy clauses, and the second deals with left-detached noun phrases that essentially have thetic function, many of which are modified by τις.

§4.6 looks at the information structure of clause level *possessive constructions,* especially those with εἰμί. It is shown that a clause with an unidentifiable subject plus εἰμί and a dative possessor is a dedicated 'existential' construction and that such clauses often have thetic function. This clause type is contrasted with ones with a genitive possessor. The latter only rarely have existential or thetic function.

§4.7 attempts to shed light on the well-known problem of identifying instances of the *periphrastic εἰμί+participial* construction and this construction too can be thetic. A key to the problem is correctly discerning when the participle does not count as a subsequent predication.

§4.8 is devoted to *time and atmospheric* thetics. Time statements involve special problems given the particular nature of time entities (which can be in a certain sense identifiable). Some atmospheric thetics are 'impersonal' constructions, in that they lack a lexical subject. Issues involving the presence and absence of the article are considered.

§4.9 compares εἰμί and γίνομαι thetics to consider how they overlap and differ in their thetic uses. This section makes heavy use of the distinction between first and second order entities, aspectual meaning, and discourse function.

Last but not least, §4.10, takes up the thorny problem of *constituent order* in all varieties of thetics encountered in the earlier sections (constituent order of deictic thetics involving ἰδού and in perception reports are also briefly considered). The positions of the subject and verb relative to each other are featured most. Although it is true that Greek thetics tend to involve the order *Verb...Subject* (as others have noted), several syntactic and pragmatic contexts are identified where the inverse order is preferred or even required (§4.10.2 and §4.10.3). The position of topical adverbials (e.g. locatives) are considered in §4.10.4. Evidence is given that when both the adverbial and the subject are postverbal, the position of the subject is generally controlled by the type of persistence its new entity has in the discourse. In §4.10.5, the presence and absence of the definite article with thetic subjects having identifiable reference is briefly considered. It is shown that regardless of position, common nouns expressing the subject normally retain the article while proper names lose it.

4.1 An overview of εἰμί 'be' in its thetic and non-thetic uses

Among Greek verbs, it is perhaps εἰμί 'be' that stands out most, not only for its frequency, but also for the variety of constructions it occurs in. Εἰμί is, first of all, well known for its use as a proper *copula,* that is, in predicate nominal, predicate adjective, and predicate locative constructions.[227] But it is also known for what grammarians have called its **non-copular** uses (or 'predicate' use as called in BDAG εἰμί §1; others, like Kahn 1973, call it the 'absolute' use), where it can be translated 'be present/there', 'exist', 'be alive/dead', 'be so/true', and *there+be.* A large subset of such non-copular uses—at least those with

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[227] For general discussions of predicate nominals, predicate adjectives, predicate locatives, and existential constructions, see T. Payne (1997:111-128), Dik (1997a:193-212), and the extensive discussion in Hengeveld (1992).

unidentifiable subjects—can be described as '**existential** (**in the broad sense**)'.[228] And a significant subset of these existential uses is **thetic**. (It may be that even a copular predicate locative clause can occasionally be used thetically—see below.)

In what follows, I shall attempt to illustrate in information structure terms how thetic uses can be distinguished from non-thetic ones, and how such non-thetic uses may be copular, non-copular, or existential.

I shall first argue that the typical εἰμί thetic is not copular (at least in its surface structure; see below on the question of 'underlying' structure). The thetic clause only requires two elements: the subject and εἰμί. I will call this the *S+**BE*** structure ('+' indicates flexible constituent order). This is illustrated by the first clause of a story in **Mrk 12:20**. This clause is a typical **first order** (and entity-central) **thetic**, since it introduces into the discourse a set of new (first order) entities 'seven brothers', who then persist in the discourse. The clause is also a case of sentence-focus, since both the subject, which expresses the new entity group, and the verb are in the focus domain (indicated by [...]$_{FD}$). Although it cannot be proven, we might assume that, like many other languages, prosodic stress would have occurred on the subject constituent alone as an indication of sentence-focus structure. In any case, what will become abundantly clear is that the focus structure is *not* indicated by set positions of the subject and verb: both *S...V* and *V...S* orders are common for thetics (that the subject in this passage precedes εἰμί is because the clause begins a discourse).

Mrk 12:20 [ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν·]$_{FD}$ καὶ ὁ   πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθνῄσκων κτλ
          seven brothers 3P.were and the first   took   wife   and dying

          NRS: <u>There were seven brothers;</u> the first married and, when he died, left no children.

In contrast, the typical copular use of εἰμί, which necessarily involves a predicate element besides εἰμί, is not thetic. Consider the predicate adjective in **Mat 25:2** and the predicate nominal in **Luk 17:16**. In both of these clauses, the subject expresses the sentence topic, and the predicate element plus copula comprises the focal comment; the assertion, in turn, serves to increase the hearer's knowledge about the topic. Topical subjects are, of course, often expressed by verb inflexion alone, as in **Luk 5:8**. All three clauses have **predicate-focus** structure, since the predicate (including the copula) comprises the focus domain.

Mat 25:2 [πέντε δὲ   ἐξ αὐτῶν]$_{TOP}$ [ἦσαν   μωραὶ]$_{FD}$ κτλ
          five   now of them   3P.were foolish

          NRS: [1] ...Ten bridesmaids...went to meet the bridegroom. [2] <u>Five of them were foolish,</u>

Luk 17:16 καὶ [αὐτὸς]$_{TOP}$ [ἦν   Σαμαρίτης.]$_{FD}$
          and he   3S.was Samaritan

          NRS: He prostrated himself at Jesus' feet and thanked him. <u>And he was a Samaritan.</u>

Luk 5:8   Ἔξελθε ἀπ'   ἐμοῦ, ὅτι [ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι,]$_{FD}$ κύριε.
          depart from me   for man   sinful   I.am   Lord

          NRS: [Peter said to Jesus,] "Go away from me, Lord, <u>for I am a sinful man!"</u>

As we already saw in §3.3.2, predicate nominals are also used in **equative** clauses, that is, where the subject entity is equated with a uniquely identifying description. This was illustrated there by **Mat 13:37** where Jesus is explaining a parable to his disciples that they did not understand. The subject plus verb activates a topical open proposition, 'The one

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[228] I make no attempt to further define what an 'existential clause in the broad sense' would be in Greek. See §2.3.7.

sowing the good seed is X' (paraphrasable as 'Who is it that sows the good seed?'). And the predicate nominal expresses the focus domain, which is a case of **constituent-focus**.[229]

Mat 13:37 [Ὁ   σπείρων τὸ   καλὸν σπέρμα ἐστὶν]_{TOP'L OP} [ὁ   υἱὸς τοῦ   ἀνθρώπου,]_{FD}
         the.one sowing   the   good   seed   3S.is   the Son   of.the Man

  NRS: [36] …And his disciples approached him, saying, "Explain to us the parable of the weeds of the field." [37] He answered, "The one who sows the good seed is <u>the Son of Man;</u>…"

In other equative clauses, the focus domain may be expressed by the subject constituent alone, as illustrated by ἐγώ 'I' in **Jhn 11:25** and **Mrk 6:50**.[230] In the first, the topical open proposition is expressed by the verb plus the predicate nominal (Jesus is correcting Martha's understanding about the identity of the resurrection and the life—it's he himself; the open proposition is 'X is the resurrection and the life'). In the second, since the open proposition is sufficiently active, it is minimally expressed by the postpositive (enclitic) copula εἰμι.[231] The copula in these examples is of course not a propositional topic, but it is still a topical element because it helps express the relevant open proposition.

Jhn 11:25 εἶπεν   αὐτῇ   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς, [Ἐγώ]_{FD} [εἰμι ἡ   ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ   ζωή·]_{TOP'L OP}
          3S.said to.her the Jesus   I   am   the resurrection and the life

  NRS: [23] Jesus said to [Martha], "Your brother will rise again." [24] Martha said to him, "I know that he will rise again in the resurrection on the last day." [25] Jesus said to her, "<u>I</u> am the resurrection and the life. Those who believe in me, even though they die, will live,…"

Mrk 6:50 [ἐγώ]_{FD} [εἰμι·]_{TOP'L}
         I   am

  NRS: [When the disciples saw Jesus walking on the sea, they thought it was a ghost and were terrified…] But…he spoke to them and said, "Take heart, it is <u>I</u>; do not be afraid."

Thus, we can observe several differences between the various copular uses of εἰμί and the thetic use as illustrated by ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν 'there were seven brothers'. The non-thetic copular clauses have a **bipartite** information structure, being comprised of a topical element and a focal one, some having predicate-focus structure and others constituent-focus structure. Our thetic example, in contrast, only has a focus domain, this being comprised of both the subject and verb and thus counting as an instance of sentence-focus. Its subject, in turn, expresses a hearer-new entity, 'seven brothers', which is introduced into the discourse. (We will soon take up the fact that many thetics have topical locatives.)

A bipartite information structure may also occur with **non-copular** uses of εἰμί, as illustrated twice in **Rev 17:8**. In the first token, 'the beast which you saw' expresses the clause topic, and ἦν '(he) was' expresses the comment. In the second token, the same topic

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[229] There is nothing in the constituent order that structurally distinguishes this constituent-focus sentence in Mat 13:37 from the predicate-focus ones just mentioned (Mat 25:2 and Luk 17:16). The order is underspecified. It is rather the facts that (i) 'the Son of Man' is a uniquely identifiable phrase (and so a 'referring expression') and that (ii) it functions to *identify* an element in a presupposed open proposition which forces the constituent-focus interpretation. Compare Lambrecht's (1994:123) discussion of *The ones who did that are my FRIENDS*, where, depending on context, this sentence may be (i) a case of constituent-focus (Lambrecht's 'identificational' reading, where 'my friends' is a referring expression) or (ii) predicate-focus (Lambrecht's topic-comment reading, where 'my friends' would be non-referring).

[230] To identify the subject in such equative clauses, I follow the rules laid out for NTG in McGaughy 1972. In these two clauses, ἐγώ 'I' is clearly the subject because the verb agrees with it and not the third person predicate.

[231] In both examples, even though εἰμι is a postpositive and so morphologically bound to the subject, its information structure function is to evoke an entire proposition—in this case is a (topical) open proposition. For this reason I assume εἰμι is outside of the focus phrase.

(now fully activated) is minimally indicated by verb inflexion, and οὐκ ἔστιν '(he) was not' expresses the comment. The meaning of non-copular εἰμί here is rendered by 'live/be alive' in the GNT and 'be' in the less colloquial NRS.

Rev 17:8   [τὸ θηρίον ὃ   εἶδες]TOP [ἦν]FD καὶ [οὐκ ἔστιν]FD κτλ
            the beast   which you.saw 3S.was and not   3S.is

> NRS: [3] …I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast that was full of blasphemous names… [7] But the angel said to me, "…I will tell you the mystery of the woman, and of the beast… that carries her. [8] <u>The beast that you saw was, and is not,</u> and is about to ascend from the bottomless pit and go to destruction.…"

> GNT: That beast was once alive, but lives no longer;…

Notice that, if we ignore the information structure, there is no structural difference between τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδες ἦν 'the beast you saw was' and our thetic token ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν 'there were seven brothers'. Both are composed of *S+BE*. So, crucially, what distinguishes these constructions is the information structure (including, we may presume, the accompanying prosody).

Now, as discussed in §2.3.4, thetic constructions often contain a topic expression, but if a thetic is a true sentence-focus structure, the subject will not itself be the sentence topic. Of particular relevance to our discussion are topical locatives phrases. Consider, for example, the preverbal locative 'in the synagogue' in **Luk 4:33** and postverbal ἐκεῖ 'there' in **Luk 6:6**. Note that they do *not predicate* anything about the subjects but are adverbial.

Luk 4:33   καὶ [ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ]TOP [ἦν   ἄνθρωπος]FD
            and in   the synagogue   3S.was man

            ἔχων   πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου
            having spirit   of.demon of.unclean

> NRS: [31] He went down to Capernaum, a city in Galilee, and was teaching them on the sabbath. [32] They were astounded at his teaching, because he spoke with authority. [33] <u>In the synagogue there was a man</u> who had the spirit of an unclean demon,…

Luk 6:6   καὶ [ἦν   ἄνθρωπος]FD [ἐκεῖ]TOP
            and 3S.was man   there

            καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἦν   ξηρά.
            and the hand of.him the right 3S.was withered

> NRS: On another sabbath he entered the synagogue and taught, and <u>there was a man there</u> whose right hand was withered.

These locatives are to be taken for granted in relation to the thetic assertions—they are topical (i.e. part of the stage topic). The particular synagogue in Luk 4:33 has not yet been activated, but it is a predictable element given Jesus' custom of preaching in the local synagogues as he traveled (v 16). More specifically, this preverbal phrase has a setting function (Levinsohn's point of departure): it establishes a more specific location for the introduction of the new entity and subsequent events (we know that Jesus has just arrived in Capernaum, v 31, so 'in the synagogue' further specifies this setting). In contrast, the locative ἐκεῖ 'there' in Luk 6:6 refers to a fully activated entity (another synagogue); it also occurs postverbally. Thus, since the locatives in these tokens are topical adverbials, neither has a predicating function. Both clauses count as sentence-focus constructions: the subjects are not sentence topics but they together with their verbs comprise the focus domains. (Unless noted otherwise, we will assume that such locatives in thetics are topical. See §4.10.4 for more discussion.)

Now it is crucial to distinguish (a) such εἰμί thetics with topical locatives from (b) copular predicate locative clauses. Although other information structures are possible, the latter most typically involve predicate-focus, which means the predicate locative phrase is part of the focus domain. The topical subject is often active and so unexpressed lexically, as illustrated in **Luk 23:43** (i.e. the subject 'you' is only indicated on the verb). In such a case, there can be no confusion with the thetic construction. Of course, a topical subject may also be lexical, as illustrated by 'the Word (was with God)' in **Jhn 1:1b** (in 1a 'the Word' was established in the discourse) and 'his tomb (was with us)' in **Act 2:29** (although discourse-new, the anchored subject 'his tomb' counts as an inferrable topic given its relation to David's burial).

Luk 23:43 Ἀμήν σοι   λέγω, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ   ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.
truly to.you I.say today   with me   you.will.be in the paradise

NRS: [42] Then he said, "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom." [43] He replied, "Truly I tell you, <u>today you will be with me in Paradise</u>."

Jhn 1:1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ   ἦν   ὁ λόγος, καὶ **ὁ λόγος** [**ἦν   πρὸς τὸν θεόν,**]$_{FD}$
in beginning 3S.was the Word and the Word 3S.was with the God

NRS: In the beginning was the Word, <u>and the Word was with God,</u> and the Word was God.

Act 2:29 ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐτάφη,   καὶ
that also 3S.died   and 3S.was.buried and

τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ [**ἔστιν ἐν   ἡμῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.**]$_{FD}$
the tomb of.him 3S.is   among us   until the day   this

NRS: Fellow Israelites, I may say to you confidently of our ancestor David that he both died and was buried, <u>and his tomb is with us to this day.</u>

So the distinction between (a) εἰμί thetics with topical locatives and (b) copular predicate locative clauses is very important. Again, if we ignore the information structure properties of the constituents and of the clauses as a whole, the two look identical. So information structure is a key distinguishing feature. But besides this information structure difference, I believe the locative has a different syntactic status in each. In (b), but not in (a), it is an obligatory, predicating element. This latter point might appear debatable at first, since many grammatical theories take existentials to have a predicate locative in *the underlying structure* (e.g. Hengeveld 1992:1, 94-101, S. Dik 1997a:210-212; Freeze 2001). Moreover, it has been shown cross-linguistically that there are typically important structural and conceptual relationships between predicate locatives on the one hand and existentials on the other. The conceptual relationship is underscored by the fact that many existentials involve an explicit locative, and that the basic construction in many languages developed historically from a locative construction (e.g. English *there+be*). But whatever the proposed underlying structure may be, what is essential to note is that, *in the surface structure,* including the information structure, such locatives in thetics do not predicate a property about the subject.

This important grammatical difference between thetics and predicate locatives is, I believe, obscured by Kahn (in his otherwise rich and insightful treatment of εἰμί in Classical Greek; 1966, 1973 and the reprint of 2003 with new introduction) and it is further confounded by McGaughy (in his otherwise very useful treatment of εἰμί NT Koine; 1972:103, 119-125; McGaughy follows Kahn in this matter).[232] Taking their cue from linguists like Lyons (1967), they assume that 'existential' constructions (including what we are calling thetics) can be directly derived transformationally from predicate locative

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[232] J. Callow (1992:84, note 3) feels that McGaughy confuses 'form, context, and meaning' on this point.

constructions. But the relationship between the two turns out to be more complex than early transformational syntacticians wished, and attempts to derive existentials in an uncomplicated manner from predicate locatives failed. Kahn actually admitted severe difficulties in the transformational approach (1973:32-35, 251; see also Breivik 1981, Hannay 1985, and Lakoff 1987:470-1) and, more importantly, he also recognized what I would term the typical functional difference between predicate locatives and thetics (McGaughy in contrast gives barely any attention to what we are calling the thetic use, wishing, as stated above, to subsume it under the predicate locative use). But since Kahn did not consider information structure (his 'rhetorical structure' or 'force')[233] to be a matter of grammar, he felt the existential use could not be correlated with 'a definite syntactic form' (p. 251). Moreover, he very much wanted to maintain that existential uses derived from predicate locative uses, since he felt this view better fit the ontology of ancient Greek philosophers.[234]

So without denying the important relationship between εἰμί being used as (a) an 'existential' (including thetic uses) and (b) with a predicate locative, we will assume that the two can be distinguished on information structure grounds,[235] as well as on the grounds that the latter, but not the former, are in their surface structure non-copular.

There is at least one possible exception to this portrayal that predicate locatives do not occur in thetic uses of εἰμί. The tokens I have in mind are not typical thetics because they apparently involve identifiable subjects. They are also atypical because they assert that something divine (e.g. God, his presence, power, or word, etc.) was with someone, the emphasis being on something like a force, and for this reason most instances suggest a quasi-second-order entity. Consider **Luk 2:25**, where the anarthrous subject πνεῦμα…ἅγιον '(the) Holy Spirit' is identifiable and the entity designated by the location, 'him' (=Simeon), is topical.

Luk 2:25   καὶ **πνεῦμα ἦν   ἅγιον ἐπ’ αὐτόν·** καὶ ἦν   αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον
           and Spirit   3S.was Holy upon him   and 3S.was to.him revealed

           ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν   κτλ
           by the Spirit   the Holy not to.see death   before

NRS: [25] Now there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon; this man was righteous and devout, looking forward to the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Spirit rested on him. [26] It had been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit that he would not see death before he had seen the Lord's Messiah.

Of course, without access to native speakers I cannot prove that this clause could have either thetic interpretation or sentence-focus structure (e.g. where the subject alone would be accented). But the fact the subject in this (and most other tokens of this type) is anarthrous may suggest focality. If read as a thetic, the whole clause, including the locative (with topical pronoun), would presumably be in the focus domain: *[The Holy Spirit was on [him]TOP]FD.* Given the topical status of 'him' ('Simeon'), the utterance can be still said to be 'about' Simeon, increasing the hearer's knowledge about him. For other possible predicate locative εἰμί eventives with identifiable subjects, see: Luk 1:66; Luk 2:40; Luk 4:18 (verbless); Luk

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[233] Much of what I subsume under information structure Kahn (1973/2003) calls 'rhetorical structure' (or 'force' or 'function') and (true to an early transformational grammar perspective) he considers to be non-syntactic. Included here are 'intonation' (including 'pause'; 2003:xxxvii), 'topic-comment' and 'theme-rheme' (1973/2003:45-46), what I am calling thetic function (2003:xxi; 1973/2003:252), as well as 'contrast, emphasis, repetition, and novelty' (which he considers 'word order' to interact with; 255).

[234] See Kahn (2003:viii and 1966:248-9) on what 'being' means for Parmenides, Plato, and Aristotle as well as Aristotle's discussion of 'to be' in Greek.

[235] This position is implicit or explicit in Hannay (1985), Dik (1997a:212-4), and Hengeveld (1992:118-21).

5:17; Act 10:38; Act 11:21. (Compare also two γίνομαι thetics with anarthrous subjects: Luk 3:2 and Act 7:31.)

Predicate locative constructions can of course have other information structures. For example, in §4.3.1 we will look at cases of subject-constituent-focus, like 'the mother of Jesus' in **Jhn 2:1**.

Jhn 2:1   καὶ ἦν   [ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ   Ἰησοῦ]_{FD} ἐκεῖ·

and 3S.was the mother of.the Jesus   there

NRS: On the third day there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee, and <u>the mother of Jesus was there.</u>

Now, to return briefly to non-thetic uses of εἰμί that are also non-copular: We already mentioned εἰμί being used to mean something like 'be alive/there' in Rev 17:8 (NRS, 'The beast that you saw was, and is not', i.e. GNT, 'was once alive, but lives no longer'). In that token, the subject was the clause topic. Non-copular uses of εἰμί and their relation to thetic *S+BE* are taken up in more detail in §4.3.2. There we will also look at sentences that are often translated by English *there+be* and that are 'existential' in the broad sense while not being thetic. Many of them involve **polar assertions**, that is, statements about the truth of a proposition that is up for discussion (§2.2.7.1 and §2.3.7.1), like 'there really are (not) angels' (i.e., 'Angels do/don't exist'). Even though the subject may be 'indefinite' and even though these may be translated by *there+be*, they do not introduce a new entity into the discourse. For this reason, they are not counted as thetic in the narrowly defined sense used here.

Other *S+BE* clauses that I have not counted as thetics, or at least not as prototypical ones, are **negated** clauses, as in **Luk 2:7**, and **questioned** clauses, as in **Act 19:35**. Such constructions are 'existential' in the broad sense but seldom thetic in the narrow sense (see §2.3.7.3 and §2.3.7.1).[236] Negation also adds a complicating element to constituent order. To keep my study manageable, I have systematically avoided such tokens.

Luk 2:7   διότι οὐκ ἦν   αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι.

because not 3S.was for.them place in the lodging.place

NRS: And [Mary] gave birth to her firstborn son and wrapped him in bands of cloth, and laid him in a manger, <u>because there was no place for them in the inn.</u>

Act 19:35 τίς γὰρ   ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων   πόλιν

who indeed 3S.is of.men   who not 3S.know the of.Ephesians city

νεωκόρον   οὖσαν τῆς   μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ   διοπετοῦς;

temple.keeper being of.the great   Artemis   and of.the fallen.from.heaven

NRS: But when the town clerk had quieted the crowd, he said, "Citizens of Ephesus, <u>who is there</u> that does not know that the city of the Ephesians is the temple keeper of the great Artemis and of the statue that fell from heaven?…"

Finally, I will have little to say about **partitive** sentences and clauses functioning to **identify a quantity** of a known set. In these constructions, the subject is necessarily quantified (e.g. modified by *some, many, few, no, none,* or a number). One type of partitive

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[236] At best Luk 2:7 introduces a second order entity, a state of affairs about an **absence**, as described in §2.3.7.3. Act 19:35 is actually a rhetorical question. On one level it could be claimed that it introduces a hypothetical person who doesn't know certain things. But the implicature is that no such person exists (as far as the speaker is concerned).

sentence is bi-clausal: *quantified-subject+εἰμί+relative-clause*, as illustrated by **Jhn 6:64**.[237] This sentence appears to activate a subset of known entities ('some of you') about which a comment is made. Another type, illustrated by **Mrk 8:9**, involves only one clause. It identifies a quantity of a known set (i.e. the number of the people present was four thousand).

Jhn 6:64   ἀλλ᾿ εἰσὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν τινες οἳ   οὐ πιστεύουσιν.
            but   3P.are of you   some who not do.believe

           RSV: But there are some of you that do not believe.

           GNT: Yet some of you do not believe.

Mrk 8:9   ἦσαν   δὲ   ὡς   τετρακισχίλιοι.
            3P.were and approximately four.thousands

           NRS: [After preaching, Jesus miraculously feed the people who had come to hear him.] [9]
           <u>Now there were about four thousand people.</u> And he sent them away.

While not denying that these sentence types may be conceptually related to existential sentences and even thetics, I do not treat them, since they do not seem to be ever clearly thetic in the narrow sense (see Lambrecht 2002:189; 1999; 1988). But sentences like ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν 'There (once) were seven brothers' in Mrk 12:20 are included. Even though the subject is modified by a number, the clause functions to introduce a first order entity into the discourse and so it is a prototypical thetic.

Having completed this brief overview of εἰμί in its thetic and non-thetic uses, we will now take a closer look at thetic constructions involving both εἰμί and other verbs.

4.2 An overview: thetics with εἰμί and other verbs

4.2.1 Thetics with εἰμί

As illustrated in the previous section by **Mrk 12:20**, the basic structure of the εἰμί thetic consists of inflected εἰμί and a **subject NP**, abbreviated *S+BE*. As we noted there, a locative adverb is not required even though often present. In Mrk 12:20, no specific location or time is given because they are irrelevant to the story. Examples with locatives are illustrated by **Luk 4:33** (also repeated here) and **Jhn 6:9**.

Mrk 12:20 ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν·   καὶ ὁ   πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθνῄσκων κτλ
            seven brothers 3P.were and the first   took   wife   and dying

           NRS: [20] <u>There were seven brothers;</u> the first married and, when he died, left no children; [21] and the second married her and died, leaving no children; and the third likewise; [22] none of the seven left children. Last of all the woman herself died. [23] In the resurrection whose wife will she be? For the seven had married her.

Luk 4:33   καὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἦν   ἄνθρωπος ἔχων   πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου
            and in the synagogue 3S.was man   having spirit   demon   of.an.unclean

           NRS: <u>In the synagogue there was a man</u> who had the spirit of an unclean demon.

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[237] For more examples of *quantified-subject+εἰμί+relative-clause*, see Mat 16:28; Mrk 9:1; Mrk 10:29; Luk 1:61; Luk 9:27; Luk 12:2; Luk 13:30 (?); Luk 18:29; Act 11:20 (clearly thetic); Rom 3:11. Instead of the relative clause, a participial clause may occur (but less frequently) in such partitive sentences. But some candidates are probably better viewed as periphrastic *εἰμί+participle*. See Luk 6:43 (periphrastic according to Marshall 1978 but not Björck 1940:49); Mat 18:20 (the perfect passive suggests periphrasis); Mrk 7:15 (follows with both participial and relative clauses); Luk 17:35; Act 12:12 (the perfect passive suggests periphrasis). Mrk 4:22, with a purpose clause, might also fit here.

Jhn 6:9	Ἔστιν	παιδάριον	ὧδε	ὃς	ἔχει	πέντε	ἄρτους	κριθίνους	καὶ	δύο	ὀψάρια·
	3S.is	young.boy	here	who	3S.has	five	loaves	barley	and	two	fish

NRS: <u>There is a boy here</u> who has five barley loaves and two fish.

The above three tokens are prototypical *S+BE* **first order thetics** in that they introduce unidentifiable first order **entities**. Moreover, in each the newly introduced entity persists as the subject and topic of the next clause—what I have called 'subsequent predications' (§2.3.6). (Mrk 12:20 is less typical, since the entity is a plural set of 'seven brothers' and the subject of the first subsequent predication is only a part of the set.) These three tokens illustrate different types of subsequent predications: in Mrk 12:20 it is a *conjoined clause* with finite verb, in Luk 4:33 a *nonfinite participle clause,* and in Jhn 6:9 a *relative clause* with finite verb. Finally, in each subsequent predication, the new entity then functions as an *established topic* about which a *comment* is made ('took a wife', 'had a demon', and 'has loaves and fish'). We will look at subsequent predications in more detail in §4.2.5.

Εἰμί thetics may be **event-central** in function, introducing unidentifiable **second order entities**. (Kahn, who has championed the first/second-order-entity distinction, also notes that εἰμί existentials may involve either first or second order entities; 1973:239-40, 282-3, etc.). **Act 12:18** introduces '(no little) commotion (among the soldiers)' and **Jhn 7:12** introduces 'murmuring (about Jesus among the crowd)'. As is typical of thetics introducing second order entities, neither entity persists as a sentence argument (e.g. subject, object, etc.) that expresses a sentence topic. Jhn 7:12 illustrates a common pattern where a second order entity persists in the form of **propositions** (see the discussion of 'voice' in example (145) in §2.3.6). The following embedded discourse fleshes out the content of the 'murmuring'. (Act 12:18 is less clear. The events of v 19—interrogation and execution—could be taken as a fleshing out the 'commotion'.) Note also that both tokens involve locatives, and that Act 12:18 has a topical temporal adverbial clause 'when morning came' (see §4.10.3.6 on how this also embeds an internal thetic).

Act 12:18	Γενομένης	δὲ	ἡμέρας	ἦν	τάραχος	οὐκ	ὀλίγος	ἐν	τοῖς
	having.become.G	now	day.G	3S.was	commotion	not	little	among	the

	στρατιώταις	τί	ἄρα	ὁ	Πέτρος	ἐγένετο.
	soldiers	what	then	the	Peter	3S.became

NRS: [18] When morning came, <u>there was no small commotion among the soldiers over what had become of Peter.</u> [19] When Herod had searched for him and could not find him, he examined the guards and ordered them to be put to death.

Jhn 7:12	καὶ	γογγυσμὸς	περὶ	αὐτοῦ	ἦν	πολὺς	ἐν	τοῖς ὄχλοις·
	and	murmuring	about	him	3S.was	much	among	the crowds

GNT: [11] The Jewish authorities were looking for him at the festival. "Where is he?" they asked. [12] <u>There was much whispering about him in the crowd.</u> "He is a good man," some people said. "No," others said, "he fools the people." [13] But no one talked about him openly, because they were afraid of the Jewish authorities.

Εἰμί thetics normally introduce only **unidentifiable** entities, as illustrated in the above examples (this claim does not apply to periphrastic uses where εἰμί is an auxiliary verb; see §4.7). Only one possible exception was mentioned above, clauses like Luk 2:25 with a predicate locative. What might also count as an exception are εἰμί 'time' thetics that introduce an *'identifiable'* time (a time is a special type of second order entity; see §4.8.2). In §4.8.1, I will argue that times like χειμὼν 'winter' (as well as τὰ ἐγκαίνια 'the festival of Dedication', with γίνομαι) in **Jhn 10:22** are thetic subjects. Otherwise, when the subject entity is identifiable (and especially if first order), an εἰμί clause cannot be thetic.

Jhn 10:22   Ἐγένετο   τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια   ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, **χειμὼν** ἦν,
            3S.happened/came then the Dedication in –   Jerusalem   winter 3S.was

> NRS: At that time the festival of the Dedication took place in Jerusalem. <u>It was winter.</u>

Luk 2:36 may be mentioned here as a possible exception, but its structure is far from clear. Translations would seem to suggest that either a constituent-focus reading or a thetic reading is possible.[238] The problem concerns the syntactic status of identifiable Ἅννα 'Anna'.

Luk 2:36   Καὶ ἦν   Ἅννα προφῆτις, θυγάτηρ Φανουήλ, ἐκ   φυλῆς Ἀσήρ·
           and 3S.was Anna prophetess daughter of.Phanuel from tribe of.Asher

> RSV: [36] <u>And there was a prophetess,</u> Anna, the daughter of Phanu-el, of the tribe of Asher; she was of a great age,…[38] And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks to God, and spoke of [Jesus] to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem.

> CEV: The prophet Anna was also there in the temple.

> NRS: There was also a prophet, Anna the daughter of Phanuel,…

> KJV: And there was one Anna, a prophetess,…

The context concerns Jesus' dedication as a baby in the Temple where Simeon has just held him in his arms and given prophetic testimony about his future. Simeon was introduced in Luk 2:25 by a typical thetic with *εἰμί+unidentifiable-noun* (ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ 'behold man was in Jerusalem' i.e. 'Behold, there was a man in Jerusalem'). So Anna is the second holy witness to testify about Jesus in the Temple (Marshall 1978). If Ἅννα 'Anna' is a case of subject-constituent-focus, the utterance would add her to the scene (answering the question 'Who (else) was present?'). The CEV suggests this analysis, taking εἰμί to mean 'be there/present' (also Z&G and Hb&S), but it adds *in the temple* and *also.* Although 'be there' with an implicit locative is a possible non-copular meaning of εἰμί, I know of no other parallel use with subject-constituent-focus in the NT. The best NT examples I have found have explicit locatives (§4.3.1). (Or are we to take this as a case of locative ellipsis, i.e. ellipsis of 'in Jerusalem' from v 25, which is very far away, or 'in the Temple' from the foregoing scene?) What also might speak against a constituent-focus interpretation is that Anna is both discourse-new and hearer-new. Such an indirect introduction is rare for personal entities in the NT who are named and have an active role.

The NRS and KJV above represent thetic interpretations. The KJV's 'there was one Anna' would make especially good sense if the particle τις 'a certain' were present (compare Mrk 15:21 discussed in §4.4 and Act 22:12 discussed in §4.5). Another interpretation is that (unidentifiable) προφῆτις '(a) prophetess' is the true subject of ἦν and Ἅννα is an intervening appositional modifier that (for some strange reason) has been moved forward. (Thus, the NRS and many others make 'a prophet(ess)' the subject of a *there+be* thetic although the addition of *also* makes this explicitly contrastive; see §4.3.1). But I am not aware of other comparable εἰμί thetics in the NT where a name has been moved forward in this way.[239]

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[238] A third interpretation, which seems least likely to me in the NT, would be where ἦν Ἅννα προφῆτις is a predicate nominal, 'Anna was a prophet', in which case the introduction of Anna would be indirect. Kahn (1973:26) notes a similar clause type in Classical texts to introduce a person, where a discourse-new proper name is *followed* by εἰμί. But see Herodotus 1.7.2 where εἰμί is *initial* (cited by H. Dik 1995:227) ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων ('Candaules was, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, ruler of Sardis').

[239] Although the comparison is farfetched, comparable εἰμί thetics with such 'fronted' names do occur in Classical texts—albeit with τις—as illustrated from Homer by **Iliad 11.711** and **Odyssey 19.172** (poetry composed around the 8th century BCE) where metrical factors could play a role. The standard translations render these as typical English *there+be* thetics despite the position of the proper names.

Subject-verb agreement: As mentioned in §2.3.3, in many languages the verb (or verb-like word) in existential and thetic constructions *lacks* the full range of verbal properties of that language and may not require agreement with its subject. So it is noteworthy that in NTG εἰμί and the subject always agree according to the normal verb agreement patterns in Koine.[240] Thus, in the first three tokens in this section, 'a man' takes singular ἦν (Luk 4:33), 'a boy' singular ἔστιν (Jhn 6:9), and the plural 'seven brothers' takes plural ἦσαν (Mrk 12:20). Nor does constituent order affect agreement with plural subjects: εἰμί is plural whether its subject precedes the verb, as illustrated by 'seven brothers', or follows, as illustrated by 'numerous lamps' in **Act 20:8**.

Act 20:8   ἦσαν   δὲ   λαμπάδες ἱκαναὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ   οὗ   ἦμεν   συνηγμένοι.
            3P.were and   lamps   many   in the upper.story where we.were assembled

NRS: There were many lamps in the room upstairs where we were meeting.

Finally, there does not seem to be any obvious restriction on the **tense-aspect** of εἰμί when thetic. Indicative forms in the imperfect, present, and future are common and the subjunctive present ᾖ occurs at least once (Luk 10:6).[241] Subordinate clauses with a nonfinite form also occur in thetics in my database: participles are common and an infinitive occurs at least twice (Act 16:13 and Act 23:30). As far as I can tell, the only form of εἰμί in the NT that does not occur in a thetic is an optative.

4.2.2 Thetics with other verbs

Other verbs often occur in thetics, a favorite being **intransitive** ἔρχομαι 'come'. In **Mat 27:57**, the unidentifiable first order entity 'a rich man' is introduced and then persists as the topic of several subsequent predications. Note the NRS's use of an inverted 'there came *Subject*' clause. **Luk 13:1** illustrates πάρειμι 'be present' with a topical temporal phrase.

Iliad   ἔστι δέ   τις   Θρυόεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα   κολώνη κτλ
11.711   is   now   a.certain Thryoessa city steep.N.s.f hill.N.s.f

Now there is a city Thryoessa, a steep hill, far off on the Alpheius, the nethermost of sandy Pylos; about this they set their camp, fain to raze it utterly. [Murray]

There is a city, Thryoessa, a headlong hill town far away by the Alpheios… [Lattimore, as cited in Kahn 1973:247]

Odyssey   Κρήτη τις   γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ   ἐνὶ οἴνοπι   πόντῳ,   κτλ
19.172   Crete a.certain land is   middle.D.s.m in winecolored.D.s.m sea.D.s.m

There is a land called Crete, in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair, rich land, begirt with water… [Murray]

There is a country, Crete, in the midst of the… [Palmer, quoted from Kahn 1973:248]

There is a fair and fruitful island in mid-ocean called Crete; [Butler]

[240] I am not aware of any exceptional agreement patterns that can be attributed to theticity in the NT. Although the verb usually agrees with its subject in Greek, there are some well-known situations where it typically does not (Smyth §§958-972; BDF §§133-135). There are at least two situations relevant to some of my tokens, where the verb is typically singular even though the subject is logically plural: (a) when the subject is neuter plural (a 'collective'; e.g. Mat 3:5; Jhn 6:23; 2Ti 2:20); and (b) when a compound subject follows the verb and the first nominal is singular (its 'closest conjunct'; e.g. Mat 17:3; Mat 27:56; Mrk 3:31).

[241] To be exact, a token like Luk 10:6 is only an 'internally construed' thetic. As a circumstantial adverbial clause, it holds a topical relation to its main clause. See the discussion of (36) and (37) in §2.2.6.3.

Mat 27:57 Ὀψίας   δὲ   γενομένης   ἦλθεν   ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἁριμαθαίας,
           evening now   3S.happening 3S.came   man   rich   from Arimathea

           τοὔνομα Ἰωσήφ, ὃς   καὶ   αὐτὸς   ἐμαθητεύθη   τῷ   Ἰησοῦ·
           by.name Joseph who also himself 3S.was.disciple to.the Jesus

NRS: [57] When it was evening, <u>there came a rich man from Arimathea,</u> named Joseph, who
was also a disciple of Jesus. [58] He went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus;…

Luk 13:1   Παρῆσαν   δέ   τινες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ κτλ
           3P.were.present now some   at same the time reporting   to.him

NRS: <u>At that very time there were some present</u> who told him about the Galileans whose
blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.

Consider also **Mrk 12:28**, with the verb προσέρχομαι 'approach', which introduces 'one
of the scribes' (the anchor 'the scribes' is discourse-old in Mark); both this clause and two of
its subsequent predications are participial (ἀκούσας… and ἰδὼν…). Note that, although
προσελθὼν εἷς τῶν γραμματέων is a subordinate participial clause and therefore one might
question if it is really asserted, it nevertheless functions in the discourse to introduce a new
entity, and it would at least have an internal sentence-focus structure. I include many such
examples in my discussion (recall the discussion in §2.2.6.3 of (36) with sentence-initial
adverbial clauses).

Mrk 12:28 Καὶ προσελθὼν   εἷς τῶν γραμματέων ἀκούσας   αὐτῶν συζητούντων,
           and having.approached one of.the scribes   having.heard them   debating

           ἰδὼν   ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεκρίθη   αὐτοῖς ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν,
           having.seen that well   3S.answered them   3S.asked   him

NRS: <u>One of the scribes came near</u> and heard them disputing with one another, and
seeing that he answered them well, he asked him, "Which commandment is the first of
all?"

Γίνομαι 'happen/occur' is another favorite, especially for **eventive**-like thetics, as
illustrated by the participial genitive clause '(when) evening happened' above in Mat 27:57
(see §4.10.3.6 on such subordinate clauses), as well as by the finite verb clause 'a great calm
occurred' in **Mat 8:26**. Both the time noun 'evening' and the atmospheric noun 'calm' refer
to second order entities. As is typical of eventives, neither entity explicitly persists.

Mat 8:26   τότε ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησεν τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ,
           then arising   3S.rebuked the winds   and the lake

           καὶ ἐγένετο   γαλήνη μεγάλη.
           and 3S.happened calm   great

NRS: [26] …Then he got up and rebuked the winds and the sea; <u>and there was a dead calm.</u>
[27] They were amazed, saying, "What sort of man is this, that even the winds and the sea
obey him?"

The eventive in **Jhn 18:27**, introduces a state of affairs involving the intransitive
('unergative') verb 'crowed' and the first order entity, 'a rooster', which does not persist.

Jhn 18:27 καὶ εὐθέως   ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.
           and immediately rooster 3S.crowed

NRS: [In Jhn 13:38 Jesus predicted Peter would deny knowing Jesus three times and that
a rooster would crow then. …Several chapters later, when Peter denied knowing Jesus a
third time during Jesus' trial,] <u>at once a rooster crowed.</u>

A major difference between thetics with εἰμί and most other verbs is that the latter often introduce **identifiable** entities. For example, in **Mrk 3:31** 'his mother and his brothers' are uniquely identifiable for Mark's reader (even if discourse-new) and in **Mrk 4:15** ὁ Σατανᾶς 'Satan' is uniquely identifiable for Jesus' audience (the disciples) and the reader.

Mrk 3:31 Καὶ **ἔρχεται** ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ
and 3S.comes the mother of.him and the brothers of.him

καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες κτλ
and outside standing.Prs

NRS: <u>Then his mother and his brothers came;</u> and standing outside, they sent to him and called him.

Mrk 4:15 καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν, εὐθὺς **ἔρχεται** ὁ Σατανᾶς
and when 3P.hear immediately 3S.comes the Satan

καὶ αἴρει τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον εἰς αὐτούς.
and 3S.takes the word the having.been.sown in them

NRS: These are the ones on the path where the word is sown: when they hear, <u>Satan immediately comes</u> and takes away the word that is sown in them.

REB: <u>…no sooner have they heard it than Satan comes</u> and carries off the word which has been sown in them.

I admit that, without recourse to Greek prosody, it is more problematic to claim that the above entities are unambiguously thetic. This is because identifiable entities are also readily construed as topics. But the above tokens, and many similar ones to be cited in this study, occur in discourse contexts that are typical of thetics in other languages. Since neither Satan nor Jesus' family are present in the scene or conversational topics, these clauses appear primarily to function to introduce the entities. Moreover, typical of entity-central thetics, it is the subsequent predications that predicate something about these entities. Finally, we can add the subjective reason that an English paraphrase for the above examples with a **topic-comment prosody** would be unacceptable in these contexts (where not only the verb would be accented but also the subjects since they express inactivated entities):

(226) a. ? Then his MOTHER and his BROTHERS CAME.

b. ? No sooner have they heard it than SATAN COMES…

Examples of identifiable entities in eventive-like thetics are illustrated in **Mat 13:6** by the 'sun' (a subordinate participial atmospheric thetic—see §4.10.3.6) and in **Luk 1:35** by the 'Holy Spirit' and presumably '(the) power of God' The appearance of each entity is not predictable in the given situation. Moreover, these entities do not persist in the immediate context. Given 'the sun' and 'the Holy Spirit' function as proper names, the lack of the article on both subjects may be additional evidence of focality (see §3.3.4 on arthrousity issues). As pointed out in §2.3.4, a pronominal (and thus topical) object or indirect object (e.g. 'upon you' in Luk 1:35) is compatible with sentence-focus structure. Assuming Greek prosody was similar to other European languages, only the subjects would be accented.

Mat 13:6 ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος | ἐκαυματίσθη
sun and having.arisen 3S.was.scorched [=the seed]

NRS: [5] Other seeds fell on rocky ground, where they did not have much soil, and they sprang up quickly,… [6] <u>But when the sun rose,</u> they were scorched;…

Luk 1:35   Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ   σὲ
           Spirit Holy 3S.will.come upon you

           καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου   ἐπισκιάσει   σοι·
           and power of.Most.High 3S.will.overshadow you

NRS: [34] Mary said to the angel, "How can this be, since I am a virgin?" [35] The angel said to her, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God.…"

Consider two other possible instances, **Mat 9:18** and **Mrk 5:35**, both with ἡ θυγάτηρ μου/σου 'my/your daughter' as the preverbal subject and one or another verb meaning 'die'.

Mat 9:18   Ἡ θυγάτηρ μου ἄρτι   ἐτελεύτησεν· ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν ἐπίθες
           the daughter of.me just.now 3S.died   but coming lay

           τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ ζήσεται.
           the hand of.you upon her   and 3S.will.live

NRS: …suddenly a leader of the synagogue came in and knelt before [Jesus], saying, "My daughter has just died; but come and lay your hand on her, and she will live."

Mrk 5:35   Ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἀπέθανεν· τί ἔτι σκύλλεις   τὸν διδάσκαλον;
           the daughter of.you 3S.died   why still you.are.bothering the teacher

NRS: [[24-34] A synagogue leader named Jairus begs Jesus to come and heal his dying daughter. On the way, Jesus meets another person whom he heals and speaks to.] [35] While he was still speaking, some people came from the leader's house to say, "Your daughter is dead. [GNT:…has died.] Why trouble the teacher any further?"

The context of Mat 9:18 demands the eventive thetic reading, *[My DAUGHTER has just died.]*FD This is because the hearer, Jesus, cannot be expected to be thinking about the man's daughter.[242] (This token also illustrates an eventive where the hearer-new entity, 'the daughter' persists.) In contrast, Mrk 5:35 might be construed as eventive thetic *[Your DAUGHTER has died]*FD or topic-comment *[Your DAUGHTER]*TOP *[has DIED]*FD (or even as a case of polar verb focus, in which case the subject would still presumably have a topic accent and the verb a focus accent). The thetic reading might seem more appropriate from the perspective of the audience. But for the father and his servants, who we might imagine to be constantly thinking about the girl, a topic-comment reading seems more relevant. I believe that the Greek written form is **underspecified** and compatible with either interpretation (presumably, prosody would have differentiated them). But see §4.10.3.3, which compares this token to parallel Luk 8:49 with *V…S* order.

Although the safest tokens to generalize from occur with intransitive verbs, eventives no doubt occur also with **transitive** verbs on occasion. **Act 12:23** introduces an event into the discourse that is clearly part of the event line. The unidentifiable subject 'an angel' (anchored to 'the Lord') does not persist. Instead, both this clause and the next are still about the topic 'Herod' (expressed pronominally).

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[242] See Lambrecht (1994:17-8) on how sentences with a lexical subject and 'unaccusative' verb (i.e. a non-agentive intransitive verb, e.g. *die, appear*) that are spoken in the absence of contextual clues (e.g. out of the blue) are typically construed as eventive in Italian and English.

Act 12:23   παραχρῆμα   δὲ   ἐπάταξεν   αὐτὸν   ἄγγελος   κυρίου   ἀνθ᾽   ὧν   οὐκ   ἔδωκεν
            immediately   and   3S.struck   him   angel   of.Lord   because   not   3S.gave

            τὴν   δόξαν   τῷ   θεῷ,   καὶ   γενόμενος   σκωληκόβρωτος   ἐξέψυξεν.
            the   glory   to.the   to.God   and   having.become   eaten.with.worms   3S.died

            NRS: [21] …Herod…delivered a public address to them. [22] The people kept shouting, "The voice of a god, and not of a mortal!" [23] And immediately, because he had not given the glory to God, <u>an angel of the Lord struck him down,</u> and he was eaten by worms and died.

     Passive transitive verbs are also frequently used thetically. Consider the participial thetic in **Jhn 20:19**, with passive 'shut'.[243] 'The doors', which do not persist, are inferentially identifiable (houses normally have doors) but discourse-new. The state of affairs gives descriptive background to Jesus' appearance.

Jhn 20:19   Οὔσης   οὖν   ὀψίας   τῇ   ἡμέρᾳ   ἐκείνῃ   τῇ   μιᾷ   σαββάτων
            being   therefore   early.evening   –   day   that   on.the   first   of.week

            καὶ   **τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων**   ὅπου   ἦσαν   οἱ   μαθηταὶ
            and   the   doors   having.been.shut   where   3P.were   the   disciples

            διὰ   τὸν   φόβον   κτλ
            because.of   the   fear

            RSV: On the evening of that day, the first day of the week, <u>the doors being shut</u> where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood among them and said to them, "Peace be with you."

     Consider also the following passive tokens. In **Act 7:20**, hearer-old 'Moses' is introduced into Stephen's speech. In **Mrk 9:4**, 'Elijah' (last mentioned in 8:28) and 'Moses' (last mentioned in 7:10) are introduced (much to the viewers' surprise). 'A thorn in the flesh' in **2Co 12:7** is hearer-new and discourse-new (the GNT renders the Greek focal *subject* as an English focal *object*). Note the pronouns in these tokens, which are topical but not subject: '(from) whom' (Mary); 'to them' (disciples); 'me' (the writer Paul).

Act 7:20   ἐν   ᾧ   καιρῷ   <u>ἐγεννήθη</u>   **Μωϋσῆς**   καὶ   ἦν   ἀστεῖος   τῷ   θεῷ·
            in   which   time   3S.was.born   Moses   and   3S.was   well-pleasing   to.the   to.God

            NRS: [19] …[Pharaoh] forced our ancestors to abandon their infants so that they would die. [20] <u>At this time Moses was born,</u> and he was beautiful before God.

Mrk 9:4   καὶ   ὤφθη   αὐτοῖς   Ἠλίας   σὺν   Μωϋσεῖ   καὶ   ἦσαν   συλλαλοῦντες
            and   3S.appeared   to.them   Elijah   with   Moses   and   3P.were   conversing

            τῷ   Ἰησοῦ.
            with.the   Jesus

            NRS: <u>And there appeared to them Elijah with Moses,</u> who were talking with Jesus.

2Co 12:7   διὸ   ἵνα   μὴ   ὑπεραίρωμαι,   ἐδόθη   μοι   σκόλοψ   τῇ   σαρκί,
            so   lest   I.should.be.too.elated   3S.was.given   to.me   thorn.N   in.the   flesh

            ἄγγελος   Σατανᾶ,   ἵνα   με   κολαφίζῃ,
            messenger   of.Satan   that   me   3S.might.beat

            NRS: Therefore, to keep me from being too elated, <u>a thorn was given me in the flesh,</u> a messenger of Satan to torment me, to keep me from being too elated.

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[243] Doors 'being shut' is a 'stage level' predicate (i.e. a non-permanent states of affairs), which is readily compatible with thetic reading (§2.3.3). This thetic introduces a background state of affairs that builds the stage. Sasse describes the discourse function of similar thetics as 'descriptive' (§2.3.5).

GNT: But to keep me from being puffed up with pride because of the many wonderful things I saw, <u>I was given a painful physical ailment,</u> which acts as Satan's messenger…

4.2.3 Ellipsis of εἰμί and other verbs

Ellipsis of εἰμί in thetics occasionally occurs. This is because its function is fairly predictable and therefore in some sense 'in the presupposition'. Consider ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινὸν in **Jhn 19:41** where ἦν '3S.was' is implied from the previous thetic (the NRS supplies 'there was'). A larger gap occurs between Act 10:13, where ἐγένετο '3S.happened/came' occurs, and its ellipsis in **Act 10:15**. The word πάλιν 'again' explicitly evokes an addition-like presupposition (see §2.3.7.4).

Jhn 19:41   ἦν   δὲ   ἐν   τῷ   τόπῳ   ὅπου   ἐσταυρώθη   κῆπος,   καὶ   **ἐν   τῷ   κήπῳ**
            3S.was   now   in   the   place   where   3S.was.crucified   garden   and   in   the   garden

　　　　　　μνημεῖον   καινὸν   ἐν   ᾧ   οὐδέπω   οὐδεὶς   ἦν   τεθειμένος·
　　　　　　tomb   new   in   which   never.yet   anyone   3S.was   placed

NRS: Now there was a garden in the place where he was crucified, <u>and in the garden there was a new tomb</u> in which no one had ever been laid.

Act 10:13   καὶ   ἐγένετο   φωνὴ   πρὸς   αὐτόν,   Ἀναστάς,   Πέτρε,   θῦσον   κτλ
            and   3S.happened/came   voice   to   him   having.arisen   Peter   kill

　　15   **καὶ   φωνὴ   πάλιν   ἐκ   δευτέρου   πρὸς   αὐτόν,**   κτλ
　　　　and   voice   again   for   second.[time]   to   him

NRS: [13] Then he heard a voice saying, "Get up, Peter; kill and eat." [14] But Peter said, "By no means, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is profane or unclean." [15] <u>The voice said to him again, a second time,</u> [Greek: 'a voice'] "What God has made clean, you must not call profane."

Other instances of εἰμί ellipsis occur in eventive-like tokens in Luk 21:23, Luk 21:25 and Rom 9:2. The thetic 'and with him [there was] a crowd' in Mrk 14:43 is apparently ellipsis of εἰμί rather than παραγίνομαι 'arrive'. 'The introduction of a better hope' ἐπεισαγωγὴ…κρείττονος ἐλπίδος in Heb 7:19 involves ellipsis of γίνομαι (from v 18). Rev 4:4 (accusative 'twenty-four thrones' and 'wreaths') apparently involves ellipsis of εἶδον 'I saw' from v 1 (Z&G, Hb&S)—as object complement clauses; and Rev 4:6 (nominative 'a sea' and 'four living beings') may involve ellipsis of ἰδού from vv 1 and 2.

More striking are instances of εἰμί ellipsis where the immediately preceding context makes no use of a comparable εἰμί construction. Consider **Rom 2:8-9**, which introduces various events. Since ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός 'wrath and anger' in v 8 are nominative, they cannot be objects of the previous construction where God ἀποδώσει 'will reward' accusative ζωὴν αἰώνιον 'eternal life' to the good. See also **1Co 13:8** (with tokens probably better categorized as polar existential statements rather than as thetics; §4.3.2). BDF §127.5 lists these and other passages.

Rom 2:8   τοῖς   δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας   καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πειθομένοις
        to.the.ones but of selfish.ambition and disobeying the truth   being.obedient

8-9   δὲ τῇ   ἀδικίᾳ   **ὀργὴ**   **καὶ θυμός.**   9 **θλῖψις**   **καὶ**
       but to.the to.unrighteousness wrath.N.s.f and anger.N.s.m   affliction.N.s.f and

στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν,
distress.N.s.f on every soul of.man – working   the evil

NRS: [God will repay according to each one's deeds.] [8] …for those who are self-seeking and who obey not the truth but wickedness, <u>there will be wrath and fury.</u> [9] <u>There will be anguish and distress for everyone who does evil,</u> the Jew first and also the Greek, [10] but glory and honor and peace for everyone who does good, the Jew first and also the Greek.

1Co 13:8   Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει· **εἴτε**   **δὲ**   **προφητεῖαι,**   καταργηθήσονται·
          the love   never   fails   if.both but prophecies.N.p.f 3P.will.be.abolished

εἴτε γλῶσσαι,   παύσονται· **εἴτε γνῶσις,**   καταργηθήσεται.
or.if tongues.N.p.f 3P.will.cease or.if knowledge 3S.will.be.abolished

NIV: Love never fails. <u>But where there are prophecies,</u> they will cease; <u>where there are tongues,</u> they will be stilled; <u>where there is knowledge,</u> it will pass away

4.2.4 Non-prototypical thetics and border-line constructions: transitive verbs and informationally heavy clauses

In searching the NT for clauses that introduce into the discourse an unidentifiable first order entity that is expressed by the subject, I have encountered clauses that diverge in various ways from prototypical thetics. These clauses resemble prototypical thetics in that the subject expresses an unidentifiable entity that becomes the topic of one or more subsequent predications. But they differ from the prototype in that (a) the verb is atypical, especially if transitive and not passive, or (b) the clause is informationally heavy. 'Heavy' clauses activate more than one referential idea: besides the unidentifiable subject entity, they may activate either another unidentifiable entity or one or more identifiable entities that are inactive (e.g. unused in the discourse) (see the discussion of (132b) in §2.3.5 and of (118) and (119) in §2.3.3). Many of the clauses discussed here also differ from prototypical thetics in that (c) they presumably could not have sentence-focus structure; this would be so if part of the predicate, especially an unidentifiable noun, was prosodically stressed. The discussion that follows may be of special interest to some translators, since such clauses are unacceptable in some languages.

Let's begin by considering **Mat 8:28**, which is actually a fairly typical first order thetic and so unremarkable.

Mat 8:28   ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι | ἐκ τῶν μνημείων ἐξερχόμενοι,
         3P.met   to.him two demonized.ones   out of.the tombs   coming.out

RSV: And when he came to the other side, to the country of the Gadarenes, <u>two demoniacs met him,</u> coming out of the tombs, so fierce that no one could pass that way.

GNT: <u>he was met by two men</u> who came out of the burial caves there.

Even though this token involves a verb ('met') that requires a dative indirect object, it only introduces one new entity (a group of 'two demoniacs'). The dative ('him', i.e. Jesus) is not problematic since it is topical. Nor is 'out of the tombs' problematic if we assume that together with the participle 'coming out' it forms the first subsequent predication. I have indicated likely boundaries between information structure units by means of '|', boundaries also reflected by the RSV's use of commas. Since 'met' can be construed as unaccusative

where the subject entity is an experiencer (and not an agent), I assume that this token would indeed have sentence-focus structure, with the subject alone being stressed.

But the form used in parallel **Mrk 5:2** is heavier assuming 'from the tombs' belongs to 'met' (which must be so since the subject ἄνθρωπος follows 'from the tombs'). Although 'tombs' are definite and inferentially identifiable (gravesites are common in the world), the particular tombs have not yet been activated and so this predicate element would presumably be stressed. (The phrase 'with an unclean spirit' is not problematic if it counts as the first subsequent predication; see ‖Luk 8:27 where this state of affairs is expressed by a participial clause, ἔχων δαιμόνια 'having demons'.) Thus, given the greater complexity of this otherwise typical thetic, it is less clear to me if the Greek could have unambiguous sentence-focus structure. In any case, it is worth noting how both the RSV and GNT put 'a man' in unambiguous focus positions. The RSV employs a dedicated thetic structure, inverted 'there met…*Subject*'. The GNT has converted the single heavy clause into two 'light' ones; the passive 'was met' allows 'by a man' to be unambiguously focal, and by adding 'who came' the phrase 'out of the tombs' is given its own focus domain.

Mrk 5:2   καὶ ἐξελθόντος   αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ   πλοίου | εὐθὺς   ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ   ἐκ
              and having.come   he   out of.the boat   at.once 3S.met   to.him out.of

              τῶν μνημείων ἄνθρωπος | ἐν   πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, ὃς   κτλ
              the tombs   man   with spirit   unclean   who

RSV: And when he had come out of the boat, <u>there met him out of the tombs a man</u> with an unclean spirit, who lived among the tombs;…

GNT: he was met by a man who came out of the burial caves there.

More remarkable is **Luk 20:9**, because the entities introduced by the subject and object are both unidentifiable (see also Luk 14:16 'a certain man was preparing a big banquet'). (See below on how the verb is non-prototypical.)

Luk 20:9   [Ἄνθρωπός (τις)[244]   ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα] καὶ ἐξέδετο[245] αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς
           man   a.certain   3S.planted vineyard   and 3S.leased   it   to.farmers

NRS: <u>A man planted a vineyard,</u> and leased it to tenants, and went to another country for a long time.

GNT: <u>There was once a man</u> who planted a vineyard, rented it out to tenants,…

Assuming (perhaps wrongly) that prosodic stress functioned in Greek information structure as it does in English and assuming both the subject and object in this clause received such accents, then this clause could not be a case of sentence-focus; it would have predicate-focus structure (i.e. a form compatible with topic-comment, thetic, and other functions; again the reader is referred to the discussion of (132b) in §2.3.5 and of (118) and (119) in §2.3.3). Whether we wish to view the subject as an 'accommodated' topic or as something else is taken up in §4.10.6.2. In any case, such heavy clauses that serve to introduce more than one entity seem more common in Luke's Greek. In contrast to Luke, Matthew's version, **Mat 21:33**, uses informationally light structures: the εἰμί thetic introduces the landowner (see §4.2.5.3 for why ἄνθρωπός…οἰκοδεσπότης is a single constituent and a single idea) and then the relative clause introduces the planting of the vineyard (via a predicate-focus/topic-comment structure).

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[244] Some manuscripts lack τις and have other constituent orders.

[245] See Robertson (1934:308) on the form ἐξέδετο (UBS text) versus ἐξέδοτο (Byzantine text).

Mat 21:33 [Ἄνθρωπος ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης] ὅστις ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα κτλ
man 3S.was house.master who 3S.planted vineyard

NRS: <u>There was a landowner</u> who planted a vineyard,…

Matthew's bi-clausal structure may serve some translators as a model for handling such heavy clauses (consider also the GNT's use of light structures for Luk 20:9). As mentioned in §2.3.5, although such heavy clauses are not a problem for many languages, for some they are awkward or even decidedly ungrammatical.

Even an εἰμί thetic may occasionally activate more than one unidentifiable entity. Consider **Luk 18:2**. As is typical for entity-central εἰμί thetics, it is the entity introduced by the subject ('a judge') that is more important in the following discourse. The location 'a city', which is secondary in comparison, I assume could be cooperatively taken by the hearer as a topic (an 'accommodated' topic). It belongs to the scene's background and is only mentioned once more in the parable (v 3). (See also the heavy possessive thetics with postverbal unidentifiable possessors: Luk 7:41 with εἰμί and Mat 18:12 with γίνομαι; see also heavy εἰμί clauses with ἰδού in §6.3.4.3, e.g. Luk 14:2.)

Luk 18:2 Κριτής τις ἦν ἔν τινι πόλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ φοβούμενος καὶ
judge a.certain 3S.was in a.certain city the God not fearing and

ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἐντρεπόμενος. 3 χήρα δὲ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ κτλ
man not respecting widow now 3S.was in the city that

NRS: [1] Then Jesus told them a parable… [2] …"<u>In a certain city there was a judge</u> who neither feared God nor had respect for people. [3] In that city there was a widow who kept coming to him and saying, 'Grant me justice against my opponent.'…"

Transitive verbs like 'planted' above in Luk 20:9 and 'asked' below in **Luk 18:18** are also non-prototypical, because they involve agentive subjects and prototypical thetic subjects are non-agentive (see §2.3.3). So it is doubtful that Luk 18:18 could have sentence-focus form. Still, we must admit that, in so far as it introduces a new entity ('a certain ruler') who then persists, it functions as a covert thetic. Moreover, since the object entity 'Jesus' is expressed by the topical pronoun αὐτόν, this clause serves to tell us 'what happened to Jesus next'. (See also 'a woman heard about him' in Mrk 7:25 and 'an angel of the Lord spoke to Philip' in Act 8:26.)

Luk 18:18 Καὶ ἐπηρώτησέν τις αὐτὸν ἄρχων λέγων, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, κτλ
and 3S.questioned a.certain him ruler saying teacher good

NRS: [18] <u>A certain ruler asked him,</u> [saying] "Good Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?" [19] Jesus said to him, "Why do you call me good?… [20] You know the commandments:…" [21] He replied, "I have kept all these since my youth."

But unlike Luk 18:18, there are transitive tokens where the unidentifiable subject entity barely persists or does not persist at all. Consider τις 'someone/a certain person' in **Luk 13:23**, which does not persist (the quoted complement renders the sentence heavy). Such an entity is of 'trivial importance' (Chafe 1994a:88-91)—it is a 'minor participant' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119-122). In fact, Chafe's spoken data seems to suggest there is some preference for treating trivial personal entities in this way: rather than being introduced by a dedicated thetic, they just appears on stage as an agent, especially of a speech verb. (See also Luk 9:57 and Luk 12:13 where the entity introduced by τις barely persists.)

Luk 13:23 εἶπεν   δέ   τις   αὐτῷ,   Κύριε,   εἰ   ὀλίγοι   οἱ   σῳζόμενοι;
           3S.said and   someone   to.him Lord   if   few   the.ones being.saved

> NRS: [While Jesus was in a village,] [23] [s]omeone asked him, "Lord, will only a few be saved?" He said to them, [24] "Strive to enter through the narrow door;…"

While discussing clauses with thetic function that lack sentence-focus form, mention can also be made of ἔχω **'have'**. As one would expect, the object of 'have' very often introduces a new entity. What is remarkable is that there are a few tokens where the subject is also unidentifiable, as in **Mat 21:28** (also Luk 13:6, Luk 15:11; see §6.3.4.2 on ἰδού…ἔχω: Mat 12:10, Luk 13:11 and Rev 12:3; related constructions involve non-specific subjects, as in Luk 15:4 (anchored), Luk 15:8, 1Co 7:12, 1Co 7:13, 1Ti 5:4, and 1Ti 5:16). Such heavy clauses are an economical means of introducing two entities that persist (especially in Luke). Note the GNT renders this heavy Greek clause by two light clauses.

Mat 21:28 ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν   τέκνα   δύο.   καὶ   προσελθὼν   τῷ   πρώτῳ κτλ
           man   3S.had   children two   and   having.approached the   first

> NRS: [28] "What do you think? <u>A man had two sons;</u> he went to the first and said, 'Son, go and work in the vineyard today.' [29] He answered, 'I will not'; but later he changed his mind and went. [30] The father went to the second and said the same;…"

> GNT: There was once a man who had two sons.

4.2.5 Subsequent predications and clause boundary issues

So far, we have concentrated on the thetic clauses themselves and not what happens in the discourse to the new entities once introduced. Subsection §4.2.5.1 is intended to fill out our understanding of what can follow a thetic and in what ways the new entity may (or may not) persist in the discourse. This background is helpful not only to gain a bigger picture of how thetics work in Greek, but also when considering other issues, including the sometimes difficult question of deciding where a thetic clause ends—taken up in subsection §4.2.5.3—and in identifying potential cases of the 'periphrastic' *εἰμί+participle* construction, §4.7.

4.2.5.1 A survey of subsequent predications—*What follows a thetic clause?*

Here follows a brief survey of the typical kinds of SPs (=subsequent predications) encountered in my data. Although some types have already been noted in passing, it is helpful to illustrate them here systematically. I begin with those types that typically follow prototypical entity-central thetics, where the newly introduced first order entity becomes the subject of the very next clause. We then move on to cases where the entity is referred to by a non-subject constituent, and then finally we consider cases where the subsequent discourse refers less directly, or not at all, to the new (and typically second order) entity. The section immediately following this one (§4.2.5.2) presents two large tables, one for εἰμί 'be' and one for γίνομαι 'happen/occur' thetics, where are listed all of the unambiguous thetic tokens in my data according to SP type.

As described in §2.3.6, by 'subsequent predication' I mean a clause or phrase that makes an assertion about the newly introduced entity and thus increases the hearer's knowledge about it. For this reason, a clause that expresses a presupposition (i.e. something that is *not* asserted), such as a restrictive relative clause (see Jhn 21:25 and Mrk 7:4 discussed in §4.3.1) or a relative clause expressing an open proposition in a constituent-focus sentence, does not count as a SP (e.g. Act 19:14 identifying who, Luk 13:14 identifying a quantity of days, Act 23:13 identifying a quantity of people).

As we have already seen, following a thetic clause may come a SP in the form of a subject-headed *relative clause.* Here the newly introduced entity is referred to by the subject relative pronoun and has a topic role—the relative clause asserts a comment about it. Consider, for example, the SP about 'a young boy' in **Jhn 6:9** and the SP about 'false teachers' in **2Pe 2:1**.[246] In these examples, the relative clauses have finite verbs but occasionally they are participial.[247]

Jhn 6:9　Ἔστιν παιδάριον ὧδε **ὃς ἔχει πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους καὶ δύο ὀψάρια·**
　　　　　3S.is　young.boy　here　who　3S.has　five　loaves　barley　　　and　two　fish

　　　　　NRS: There is a boy here <u>who has five barley loaves and two fish.</u>

2Pe 2:1　ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι,
　　　　　as　also　among　you　3P.will.be　false.teachers

　　　　　οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας κτλ
　　　　　who　　3P.will.secretly.bring.in　heresies　of.destruction

　　　　　NRS: But false prophets also arose among the people, just as there will be false teachers among you, <u>who will secretly bring in destructive opinions.</u>

Luk 17:12 illustrates an instance following a thetic with a verb other than εἰμί.

Luk 17:12　καὶ εἰσερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἴς τινα κώμην
　　　　　　and　entering　　　he　　into　a.certain　village

　　　　　　ἀπήντησαν (αὐτῷ) δέκα λεπροὶ ἄνδρες, **οἳ ἔστησαν πόρρωθεν**
　　　　　　met　　　　him　　ten　leprous　men　　who　stood　　from.a.distance

　　　　　　RSV: And as he entered a village, he was met by ten lepers, <u>who stood at a distance</u>

As it turns out, SPs expressed by relative clauses are not that common in my data, especially when the verb is not εἰμί. In fact, for γίνομαι thetics, there is at most only one case of a relative clause SP (Rev 16:18; see Table 8 in §4.2.5.2).

More frequent are SPs that stand in *apposition* to the thetic. The newly introduced entity counts as the subject and topic of the appositional clause (note, I do not mean an appositive relative clause but simply an unconjoined clause).

Appositional SPs can be divided into two groups, those with a *participle* and those without. The latter, which I will call *verbless*, involve verbless predicates.

Mrk 3:1 and **Luk 18:2** illustrate the *participial* type. In both, the participle is nominative ('N') and agrees in number and gender with the subject of the preceding thetic.[248] The newly introduced entity, expressed by Ø in the participle clause, counts as the clause's subject argument and topic. The NRS renders these participial SPs as relative clauses in English. (See §4.7 on why these tokens can hardly be confused with cases of periphrastic *εἰμί+participle*.)

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[246] As these two tokens illustrate, both relative pronouns, ὅς and ὅστις, occur in thetic SPs. Although there is some correlation in the NT between ὅς and definiteness (or specificity) and ὅστις and indefiniteness (or nonspecificity), there are many exceptions and much variation between authors (BDF §293; Zerwick §215-220; Smyth §2508). E.g. note that in analogous environments (beginning a parable) Mat 21:33 uses ὅστις (Ἄνθρωπος ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης ὅστις ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα) but Luk 16:1 ὅς (Ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν οἰκονόμον). The distinction does not seem important to theticity.

[247] Relative pronouns that govern a participle alone are probably quite rare (e.g. apparently Mrk 12:5; Boyer actually says they do *not* govern the participles).

[248] All of the participles in my database are nominative except Luk 2:13, which is a genitive, i.e. an attributive genitive participial (participia coniuncta): καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐγένετο σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν [and suddenly 3S.happened with the angel multitude.N.s.n of.army.G.s.f heavenly.G.s.f praising.G.p.m/n the.A God.A].

Mrk 3:1   καὶ   ἦν   ἐκεῖ   ἄνθρωπος   ἐξηραμμένην   **ἔχων**   τὴν   χεῖρα.
           and   3S.was there man.N.s.m withered.A.s.f having.N.s.m   the   hand.A.s.f

           NRS: Again he entered the synagogue, and a man was there <u>who had a withered hand.</u>

           GNT: …where there was a man <u>who had a paralyzed hand.</u>

Luk 18:2   Κριτής   τις   ἦν   ἔν τινι   πόλει
           judge.N.s.m a.certain 3S.was in a.certain city

           τὸν θεὸν   μὴ **φοβούμενος** καὶ ἄνθρωπον μὴ **ἐντρεπόμενος.**
           the God.A.s.m   not fearing.N.s.m   and man.A.s.m not respecting.N.s.m

           NRS: In a certain city there was a judge <u>who neither feared God nor had respect for people.</u>

Mat 15:30 and **Mat 3:1** (with a discourse-new proper name) illustrate participial SPs following verbs other than εἰμί. Some of the cited English translations also make use of participles.

Mat 15:30 καὶ προσῆλθον   αὐτῷ ὄχλοι   πολλοὶ **ἔχοντες**   μεθ' ἑαυτῶν χωλούς,
           and 3P.approached him   crowds great   having.N.p.m   with them   lame.ones

           NRS: Great crowds came to him, <u>bringing with them the lame,</u> the maimed,…

           CEV: Large crowds came and <u>brought many people</u> who were…

Mat 3:1   Ἐν   δὲ   ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ   βαπτιστὴς
           in   now the   days   those   3S.comes   John   the Baptist

           κηρύσσων   ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας 2 (καὶ) λέγων,   Μετανοεῖτε·
           proclaiming.N.s.m in the desert of   Judea   and   saying.N.s.m repent

           RSV: [1] In those days came John the Baptist, <u>preaching in the wilderness of Judea,</u> [2] "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

The *verbless* type of appositional SP is very common although sometimes difficult to identify. Following the introduction of 'a disciple' in **Act 9:36**, I consider ὀνόματι Ταβιθά 'by name Tabitha' to be the first SP, since it increases our knowledge about this new entity (it can also be rendered by a relative clause in English, e.g. NRS; the verbal clause αὕτη… is another SP). Again, in such verbless SPs, the newly introduced entity is expressed by Ø and counts as the subject and topic of the verbless clauses.

Act 9:36   Ἐν   Ἰόππῃ δέ   τις   ἦν   μαθήτρια **ὀνόματι Ταβιθά,** ἣ
           in   Joppa now a.certain 3S.was disciple   by.name Tabitha   which

           διερμηνευομένη λέγεται Δορκάς· αὕτη   ἦν   πλήρης ἔργων ἀγαθῶν κτλ
           being.translated means   Dorcas   this.N.s.f 3S.was full   works of.good

           NRS: Now in Joppa there was a disciple <u>whose name was Tabitha,</u> which in Greek is Dorcas. She was devoted to good works and acts of charity.

           GNT: In Joppa there was a woman <u>named Tabitha,</u>

Now some readers might wonder how we can know if ὀνόματι Ταβιθά 'by name Tabitha' is truly a SP—that is a separate information structure unit comparable to a minimal clause that functions as a separate assertion—rather than say an attributive modifier to be taken as a unit with μαθήτρια 'disciple'. This is a difficult question. Although I don't think we can be dogmatic, I offer the following reasons why this element and others like it should be considered separate. First, the didactic act of naming an entity is fundamentally different from introducing a new entity. Second, as mentioned in §2.2.6.6 and §2.3.5, it has been shown by Chafe and others that intonation units in spontaneous speech usually present only

one new idea, and so 'named Tabitha' would normally be spoken in an intonation unit separate from 'there was a disciple'. Finally, such minimal phrases may be piled up one after the other, and even if we wished to view the first as integrated into the original NP (e.g. μαθήτρια 'disciple'), the following certainly may not be so viewed. And that the following should not raises the question if the first really should. (Besides the examples illustrated here, see Act 10:1 in §4.5 where a NP introducing a new entity is followed by seven descriptive phrases.) See §4.2.5.3 for more discussion.

Consider also **Mrk 15:43** where participial ἐλθὼν 'having come' introduces discourse-new 'Joseph'. The verbless phrase, 'a prominent council member', certainly counts as a SP, as may also '(the one) from Arimathea' (some manuscripts lack ὁ); and the relative clause ὃς… counts as yet another. This token also illustrates how translators often find they have to restructure and reorder such thetics and their verbless SPs. The GNT mimics the Greek by beginning with a thetic ('Joseph…arrived') but makes the first SP an independent clause ('He was…'). The NRS does away with 'arrived'.

Mrk 15:43 ἐλθὼν   Ἰωσὴφ (ὁ) ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας **εὐσχήμων βουλευτής,**
           having.come.N.s.m Joseph the from Arimathea prominent council.member

           ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ,
           who also himself 3S.was awaiting the Kingdom of.the God

           τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλᾶτον καὶ ᾐτήσατο κτλ
           having.boldness 3S.went.in to the Pilate and asked.for

           NRS: Joseph of Arimathea, <u>a respected member of the council,</u> who was also himself waiting expectantly for the kingdom of God, went boldly to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus.

           GNT: It was toward evening when Joseph of Arimathea arrived. <u>He was a respected member of the Council,</u> who was waiting for the coming of the Kingdom of God.

There are yet other types of SPs where the new entity is expressed by the subject. For example, a *conjoined* clause occurs in **Mrk 8:1** (conjoining two participial clauses), and an *appositional verbal* clause occurs in **Luk 7:41**. In the latter, the subject 'the one (of them)' is a subset of the new group 'two debtors'. I assume that the syntactic relationship between these SPs and their thetic clauses is looser than in the previous types. Still, the new entities have the privileged status of being the subjects of a subsequent clause.

Mrk 8:1 Ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις πάλιν πολλοῦ ὄχλου ὄντος **καὶ**
        in those the days again large.G.s.m crowd.G.s.m being.G.s.m and

        μὴ ἐχόντων τί φάγωσιν, προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγει
        not having.G.p.m anything 3P.might.eat having.called.N.s.m the disciples 3S.says

        RSV: In those days, when again a great crowd had gathered, <u>and they had nothing to eat,</u> he called his disciples to him, and said to them,…

Luk 7:41 δύο χρεοφειλέται ἦσαν δανιστῇ τινι·
        two debtors.N.p.m 3P.were creditor.D.s.m to.a.certain.D.s.m

        ὁ εἷς ὤφειλεν δηνάρια πεντακόσια, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πεντήκοντα.
        the one 3S.was.owing denarii five.hundred the and other fifty

        NRS: [Jesus began to tell a parable, saying,] <u>A certain creditor had two debtors;</u> one owed five hundred denarii, and the other fifty.

In some SPs, the new entity is taken up in a role other than subject. Consider in **Jhn 3:1** the verbless clause with dative pronoun αὐτῷ. Although αὐτῷ is not the subject, it still

expresses the SP clause's topic. **2Pe 3:16** introduces a third order entity 'some hard-to-understand-ideas', which persists in the SP as an accusative (object) relative pronoun.

Jhn 3:1   Ἦν   δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων, **Νικόδημος   ὄνομα   αὐτῷ,**
           3S.was –   man   of the Pharisees   Nicodemus.N name.N to.him.D

           ἄρχων   τῶν   Ἰουδαίων·
           leader.N of.the Jews

           NRS: Now there was a Pharisee <u>named Nicodemus,</u> a leader of the Jews.

2Pe 3:16   ἐν αἷς   ἐστιν δυσνόητά   τινα,
           in which 3S.is hard.to.understand.N.p.n some.N.p.n

           ἃ   οἱ   ἀμαθεῖς   καὶ ἀστήρικτοι στρεβλοῦσιν κτλ
           which.A.p.n the.N ignorant.N and unstable.N   3P.twist

           NRS: [16] [Paul wrote you before…] speaking of this as he does in all his letters. There are some things in them hard to understand, <u>which the ignorant and unstable twist…</u>

We should also mention here thetics that introduce an unidentifiable time and that are followed by a SP which is a subordinate *temporal* clause describing the time. Consider **2Ti 4:3**. As will be shown in §4.8, times are a special type of second order entity. Their SPs are atypical in that, although the temporal relative pronoun ὅτε 'when' is a grammatical trace, it is not a logical argument of the verb.

2Ti 4:3   ἔσται   γὰρ καιρὸς **ὅτε   τῆς ὑγιαινούσης διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἀνέξονται**
           3S.will.be for time   when the healthy   teaching   not 3P.will.bear

           NLT: For a time is coming <u>when people will no longer listen to right teaching.</u>

Then there are thetics where the entity is not taken up in the immediately following clause but in a later one. For example, in **Luk 4:25** 'many widows' are introduced but they are not referred to again until several clauses later, and then in a non-subject role. For both of these reasons, this is not a prototypical first order thetic.

Luk 4:25   πολλαὶ χῆραι   ἦσαν   ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἠλίου   ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, ὅτε   κτλ
           many   widows 3P.were in the days   of.Elijah in the Israel   when

26   καὶ πρὸς **οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν** ἐπέμφθη   Ἠλίας εἰ μὴ εἰς Σάρεπτα
           and to   none   of.them 3S.was.sent Elijah.N except to   Zarephath

           τῆς   Σιδωνίας πρὸς γυναῖκα χήραν.
           of.the Sidon.G to   woman   widow

           NRS: [25] But the truth is, there were many widows in Israel in the time of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, and there was a severe famine over all the land; [26] <u>yet Elijah was sent to none of them except to a widow at Zarephath in Sidon.</u>

In each of the examples so far, the new entity has been an **argument** in the SP (whether expressed by Ø, a relative pronoun, a nominal, etc.), or at least it has had a grammatical trace in the SP as in the case of the 'time' thetic. Moreover, all of the entities were first order, except for 'time' (second order) and 'some hard-to-understand-ideas' (third order). Now we come to SPs of a special type, where one or more full **propositions** explain the content of a new idea. Viewed narrowly, these are not true subsequent predications because the introduced entities do not have a grammatical trace that is a topic expression (see §2.3.6). In my data, their thetics appear to introduce mostly entities of the, more or less, second order type, although one is clearly first order. Surprisingly, none of these thetics introduce third order entities, something which in §2.3.6 I suggested would seem most characteristic (in any case, thetics introducing third order entities are rare in the NT).

In **Jhn 18:39**, the so-called SP is a *subordinate* (ἵνα) clause that, much as a direct quote, explains the content of the new 'custom'. 'Customs' are not prototypical **second** order entities, let alone **third** order entities (see example (101) in §2.3.2). To the degree they are 'observable', they are second order but they are atypical because they do not (normally) 'occur'. Instead, they involve one or more activities that people habitually perform under certain circumstances. Now, the manner in which the entity in this example persists is **third-order-like**—it is propositional—and it has no grammatical trace that is a topic expression in the purpose clause. Moreover, the clause increases our knowledge about the custom, which now having been introduced can be viewed as an implicit discourse topic. Similar comments apply to the SPs in **Mat 25:6**, where the content of 'a shout', a more routine **second** order entity, is expressed by a direct quote, and in **Luk 23:38**, where what is written on 'an inscription', a **first** order entity, is quoted. What is relevant to the discourse is not the first order entity itself (a physical object) but the propositional message associated with it.

Jhn 18:39 ἔστιν δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῖν ἵνα ἕνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα·
3S.is but custom to.you that one I.should.release to.you during the Passover

NRS: But you have a custom <u>that I release someone for you at the Passover.</u>

Mat 25:6 μέσης δὲ νυκτὸς κραυγὴ γέγονεν, Ἰδοὺ ὁ νυμφίος, κτλ
mid- – night shout 3S.happened behold the bridegroom

NRS: But at midnight there was a shout, <u>'Look! Here is the bridegroom! Come out to meet him.'</u>

Luk 23:38 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος.
3S.was and also inscription over him the King of.the Jews this

NRS: There was also an inscription over him, <u>"This is the King of the Jews."</u>

So none of these new entities persist as arguments of the so-called SPs. Concerning the first and third tokens, this lack of persistence as an argument most likely accounts for why it is not the thetic subjects ('custom' and 'inscription') that are clause final but the adverbial (or oblique) phrases 'to.you' and 'over him' (see §4.10.4 on constituent order in the postverbal area; that 'shout' is preverbal is probably because the event is especially surprising; §4.10.3.5.3).

Another interesting type of introduction and persistence is illustrated by **Luk 22:24**. A noun like *dispute* may function as either a second or third order entity: to the degree its referent is 'observable' (Schmid's term), it is second order, but to the degree its referent is propositional, it is third order (see on *proposal* in example (94) in §2.3.2). The propositional nature of this token is shown by the SP, a nominalized clause that paraphrases the dispute. But the thetic clause itself treats this as a second order entity by introducing it by means of γίνομαι 'happen', which indicates an event happening on the event line. (See on example (98b) in §2.3.2.)

Luk 22:24 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία ἐν αὐτοῖς,
3S.happened then also dispute among them

τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.
the who of.them 3S.seems to.be greatest

NRS: A dispute also arose among them <u>as to which one of them was to be regarded as the greatest.</u>

Consider now the second order thetics in **Luk 1:14**, where 'joy and gladness' are introduced, and in **Luk 23:44** where 'darkness' is introduced. None of these entities persist.

The closest things to subsequent mentions are **indirect** references, that 'many will rejoice' and that 'the sun having been darkened'.

Luk 1:14   καὶ ἔσται   χαρά σοι   καὶ ἀγαλλίασις
           and 3S.will.be joy to.you and gladness

           καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται.
           and many   at   the birth   of.him 3P.will.rejoice

           NRS: You will have joy and gladness, and many will rejoice at his birth,…

Luk 23:44 Καὶ ἦν   ἤδη   ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο   ἐφ' ὅλην
           and 3S.was already about hour sixth and darkness 3S.happened over whole

           τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης 45 τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος,[249]
           the land until hour ninth   the sun   having.been.darkened

           NRS: [44] It was now about noon, and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon, [45] while the sun's light failed;…

But there are also occasional cases like **Jhn 3:23**, where a first order entity is introduced that does not persist. 'Water' does not persist except as an implicit instrument in baptism. This thetic has an explanatory function in the discourse: it is the presence of water in that place that makes baptism possible (see §4.10.3.5.2 on how anaphorically oriented explanatory thetics tend to have preverbal subjects).

Jhn 3:23   ἦν   δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνὼν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ, **ὅτι**
           3S.was and also the John   baptizing in Aenon near the Salim because

           ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν   **ἐκεῖ,** καὶ παρεγίνοντο   καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο·
           waters much 3S.was there and 3P.were.coming and 3P.were.being.baptized

           NRS: John also was baptizing at Aenon near Salim because water was abundant there; and people kept coming and were being baptized.

And finally, there are second order entities that *do* persist as arguments, although this is less common. **Act 11:28** introduces 'a great famine' that was about to take place. This persists immediately in a 'continuative' relative clause (see footnote 108 in §2.3.6).

Act 11:28 ἀναστὰς   δὲ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἄγαβος ἐσήμανεν διὰ   τοῦ
           having.arisen and one of them by.name Agabus 3S.indicated through the

           πνεύματος λιμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν   ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην,
           Spirit   famine great to.be.about to.be on all the inhabited.earth

           ἥτις ἐγένετο   ἐπὶ   Κλαυδίου.
           which 3S.happened during.[the.time] of.Claudius.

           NRS: One of them named Agabus stood up and predicted by the Spirit that there would be a severe famine over all the world; and this took place during the reign of Claudius.

To summarize, we have reviewed here the variety of types of SPs occurring in my data. In many, the new entity is an argument or has some grammatical trace (e.g. in relative, participial, and verbless clauses, conjoined clauses with finite verbs, etc.). Elsewhere, either no SP occurs (and so the entity does not persist) or the entity only persists as a proposition. Although there is the tendency for first order entities to persist (in which case the token is a prototypical entity-central thetic) and for second order entities either not to persist as arguments or only as propositions, nevertheless the final two examples revealed exceptions

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[249] See Marshall (1978) and others on why ἐκλιπόντος probably means 'be darkened' rather than 'eclipsed'.

('water' in Jhn 3:23 does not persist and 'famine' in Act 11:28 does). Third order entities, which are too rare in my data to make claims about, may persist as an argument (2Pe 3:16) or not at all (Act 13:15).

Finally, it would be ideal if we could identify the different use conditions for the different SPs. But this goal is beyond the scope of my study and an attempt would be necessarily tedious given the many factors involved. I will, however, make the following provisional observations.

First of all, for prototypical entity-central thetics, both subject-headed relative clause SPs (i.e. with a nominative relative pronoun) and appositional participial SPs are typical and both seem to be used in the kind of tight-knit bi-clausal *thetic+topic-comment* construction that Lambrecht calls a 'presentational relative construction' (see (139) in §2.3.6 and (117) in §2.3.3). Participial SPs are in fact more common for non-εἰμί thetics (see the tables for εἰμί and γίνομαι in the next subsection, §4.2.5.2; as mentioned earlier, relative SPs are scarce for γίνομαι).

What relative clause SPs offer the speaker that participial ones do not is more grammatical options and so a greater range of meaning relationships to the thetic. The relative can take an indicative verb that can have any person, number, and tense-aspect. For that matter, conjoined and appositional clauses with finite verbs also offer such options, if not more. A participial SP, in comparison, is more limited. Its subject must be the same as the thetic's subject, and fewer (tense)-aspect possibilities are available to the participle (the states of affairs predicated by participial SPs are typically cotemporaneous with the thetic). Verbless SPs are most limited. They typically provide supportive description about the new entities, and, as far as I can tell, never report events.

4.2.5.2 Some core data: tables of unambiguous εἰμί and γίνομαι thetics according to subsequent predication type

Below I present two tables that summarize all the unambiguous instances of εἰμί 'be' and γίνομαι 'happen/occur' thetics according to persistence type.[250] Only those tokens are included in which the thetic subject is anarthrous (various reasons for this have already been suggested; more are given in §4.8.2 on time thetics). Tokens with subjects modified by words like ἄλλος 'another' or adverbial καί 'also' are included (see §4.3.1). Except for time thetics, all subject entities of εἰμί tokens are clearly unidentifiable, and only in two possible γίνομαι tokens is the subject identifiable (Luk 3:2 and Act 7:31). No possible instances of periphrastic εἰμί are included (§4.7), nor are possible instances of time thetics involving simultaneous constituent-focus (§4.8.3). A few tokens are marked by '*', which indicates that the token involves either ἰδού or a perception report; although such thetics are treated in more detail in later chapters, they are included here (and in the constituent order section, §4.10) in order to give the reader the full picture.

Horizontally, the rows in the tables are listed according to the way the thetic subject persists: first as a subject argument in a subsequent predication, then as a non-subject argument, then propositionally, and finally where no explicit persistence occurs. Vertically, the third and fourth columns indicate the number of listed tokens introducing first order entities (=1oe) and other entity types. Column four thus combines tokens introducing second and third order entities, the distinction being hard to operationalize at times. The sixth column indicates how the new entity persists in the subsequent predication: if it persists as an

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[250] All these tokens would presumably have sentence-focus structure in Greek (e.g. subject-accented sentences where both subject and verb are in the focus domain). Tokens lacking a lexical subject are not included (εἰμί: Luk 24:29; Jhn 18:28; γίνομαι: Mrk 11:19). See §4.8.1.

argument, then it may be expressed as a 'rel. pro.' (relative pronoun), a NP (either lexical or pronominal), or Ø. Otherwise, it does not persist or it persists only propositionally. In the few tokens described as 'later', the next mention of the entity does not occur in the next clause but later in the discourse. Εἰμί tokens that are <u>underlined</u> are future forms and may be 'covert' γίνομαι tokens; <u>underlined</u> γίνομαι tokens introduce first order entities. These last two issues are taken up in §4.9. In the same section, other differences between εἰμί and γίνομαι are discussed that can be seen in these tables here (e.g. γίνομαι's preference for introducing second order entities). Given their special nature, (second order) time entities are flagged in the table, and third order entities are also flagged (=3oe). Any token that persists propositionally behaves to some degree as a third order entity, even if it is properly speaking not one.

Table 7. Thetics with εἰμί 'be', according to persistence type and entity type

sj.?	Εἰμί subject is… ➔ Persists in… ⬇	1oe	other	*Total*	Persistence type ⬇	Tokens
+	relative clause	7	3	*10*	rel. pro.	<u>Mat 12:11</u>; Mat 21:33; <u>Mat 24:21</u> (troubles; οἵα 'such that'); Mrk 15:42 (time); Luk 5:29; Luk 16:1; Jhn 6:9; <u>Act 11:28</u> (famine, infinitive); 2Ti 2:20 ('not only X but also Y'); <u>2Pe 2:1</u>
+	participial clause	7	–	*7*	Ø	Mrk 3:1; Luk 4:33; Luk 10:39; Luk 18:2; Jhn 2:6 (jars); Jhn 5:5; Act 21:23
+	arthrous participial clause	2	–	*2*	NP	Jhn 5:2 (pool); Gal 1:7
+	verbless	7	–	*7*	Ø	Mrk 1:23; Act 9:10; Act 9:36; Act 13:1; Act 16:1* (ἰδού); Act 21:9 (or participial clause); Tit 1:10
+	conjoined clause[251]	8	1	*9*	Ø or NP	Mat 22:25; Mrk 8:1; Mrk 12:20; Luk 4:27; Luk 16:19; Luk 18:3; Luk 20:29; Jhn 12:20; 1Co 14:10
+	appositional finite clause	2	3	*5*	NP	<u>Mat 24:7</u>; <u>Mat 24:40</u>; <u>Mrk 13:8</u> (later); <u>Mrk 13:8</u>; Luk 7:41
+	**total subject**	33	7	**40**		

(Table 7 is continued on the next page.)

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[251] Most conjunctions are καί. Jhn 12:20 involves οὖν. (Ἵνα occurs in Jhn 11:19, a non-εἰμί token not counted here.) Conjoined subsequent predications may be finite, participial, or verbless.

(Table 7 continues here.)

sj.?	Εἰμί subject is… ➔ / Persists in… ⬇	1oe	other	*Total*	Persistence type ⬇	Tokens
–	relative clause	3	3	**6**	rel. pro.	Luk 2:25* (ἰδού); Jhn 4:46; Jhn 18:1 (garden); Jhn 21:25 (the first rel. cl. is topical, the second ἅτινα… is asserted); 2Ti 4:3 (time, ὅτε 'when'); 2Pe 3:16 (3oe 'difficult ideas')
–	verbless	1	–	*1*	NP	Jhn 3:1
–	conjoined finite clause	3	–	*3*	NP	Luk 6:6 (persists as subject element, '*his* hand'); Luk 14:2* (later, ἰδού, taking ὑδρωπικὸς as a split subject element); Jhn 19:41 (garden)
–	thetic is subordinate, entity persists in finite clause	1	–	*1*	NP, Ø	Luk 10:6
–	other	2	3	*5*	NP (or propositional?)	Luk 4:25 (later); Luk 7:12 (later); Luk 12:55; Luk 21:11 (later); Luk 21:11
–	**total non-subject**	10	6	*16*		
Ø	purpose/manner clause	–	1	*1*	propositional	Jhn 18:39 (? 2oe 'custom')
Ø	appositional clause expresses content of entity	1	3	*4*	propositional	Mrk 7:4 (? 2oe 'many other things' i.e. traditions); Luk 23:38 (1oe 'inscription' behaves as 3oe); Jhn 7:12 (? 3oe 'murmuring'); Act 12:18 (2oe 'commotion'; or no persistence)
Ø	**total propositional**	1	4	*5*		
Ø	**no persistence**	14	33	*47*	–	For tokens, see footnote.[252]
	TOTALS	*58*	*50*	*108*		

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[252] The 47 tokens with no persistence can be divided into three groups:

I. Introducing **first order** entities, 14 tokens: Mat 12:6 (refers elliptically to 'Jesus'); Mrk 4:36; Luk 14:22 (atypical, 'empty space'); Jhn 3:23; Jhn 5:13; Jhn 6:10; Jhn 14:2; Act 7:12; Act 16:13; Act 17:1; Act 18:10; Act 19:38; Act 20:8; Rom 9:9.

II. Second order **time** entities (e.g. 'it was the Preparation day', 'there was a festival…'), 16 tokens: Luk 23:44; Luk 23:54; Jhn 1:39; Jhn 4:6; Jhn 4:35; Jhn 5:1; Jhn 5:10; Jhn 10:22; Jhn 13:30; Jhn 19:14; Jhn 19:14; Jhn 19:31; Jhn 20:19; Act 4:3; 1Jn 2:18; 1Jn 2:18 (the second occurrence of 'it is the final hour' might be viewed as an unusual type of persistence).

III. **Other entity types** (2oe or 3oe): 17 tokens: Mrk 14:2; Luk 1:14; Luk 14:10; Luk 21:23; Luk 21:25; Jhn 9:16; Jhn 20:1; Act 4:33; Act 13:15 ('an encouraging word' 3oe; implicitly persists in the command to speak and in Paul's speech); Act 25:5 ('something wrong with a person' ? 2oe); Rom 9:2; 1Co 1:11* (perception report); 1Co 12:4 ('spiritual gift' ? 2oe); 1Co 12:5; 1Co 12:6; 1Co 12:25 ('languages'); Eph 5:18 ('immorality' ? 3oe).

Table 8. Thetics with γίνομαι 'happen/occur', according to persistence type and entity type

sj.?	Γίνομαι subject is… →	1oe	other	***Total***	Persistence type	Tokens
	Persists in… ↓					
+	relative clause	–	1	**1**	rel.pro.	Rev 16:18 (special type of relative, 'occurred a great earthquake οἷος *such that* never occurred')
+	participial clause	4	2	**6**	Ø	All but one thetic is finite. <u>Mrk 9:7</u> (cloud 1oe); <u>Luk 2:13</u> (army, 1oe); <u>Luk 9:35</u>; <u>Luk 10:32</u> ('also', participial thetic); <u>Jhn 1:6</u>; Rev 11:15
+	verbless	1 ?	1	**2**	Ø	<u>Luk 1:5</u> (? or else a 'dislocated' thetic τις fragment); Act 2:2 ('like' phrase)
+	conjoined finite clause	3	-	**3**	Ø	<u>Mat 18:12</u>; <u>Luk 9:34</u> (cloud); <u>Rev 8:7</u> (hail & fire)
+	**total sj.**	8	4	**12**		
–	relative clause	–	–	**–**	–	–
–	conjoined finite clause	–	1	**1**	NP	Jhn 2:1 (NP 'there' = at the wedding)
–	other	–	2	**2**	NP	Jhn 13:2 (later); Rev 11:13 (later)
–	**total non-sj.**	–	3	**3**		
Ø	appositional clause expresses content of entity	-	11	**11**	proposi-tional	Mat 25:6 ('shout'); Mrk 1:11 ('voice'); Mrk 9:7; Luk 3:22; Luk 22:24 ('also'; 'dispute'); Act 6:1 ('complaint'); Act 7:31 ('(the) voice of the Lord'); Act 10:10 ('trance', or no persistence); Act 10:13 ('voice' also has one later mention); Act 19:34 (participial clause modifies 'all'); Rev 12:7.[253]
Ø	Purpose or Manner clause	-	2	**2**	proposi-tional	Act 14:5 ('attempt' 2oe); Act 27:42 ('plan' ? 3oe)[254]
Ø	**total proposit'l.**	-	13	**13**		
Ø	**no persistence**	1	92	***93***	–	For tokens, see footnote.[255]
	TOTALS	9	112	**121**		

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[253] In principle, this category could be extended to include more tokens from the 'no persistence' set: e.g. Jhn 10:19 (the content is expressed in a clause joined by δέ).

[254] Possibly also Act 15:39 fits here (with ὥστε 'so that'), which is listed below under 'no persistence'.

[255] The 93 γίνομαι tokens with no persistence can be divided into three groups:

I. A single token with a **first order** entity, <u>2Pe 2:1</u> ('also false prophets'). (Rom 11:5, 'a remnant of faithful', might also fit here, but 'according to grace' could be constituent-focus; possibly also 1Jn 2:18.)

II. Second order **time** entities (e.g. 'when it had become evening', 'when it became late in the day'): 31 tokens: Mat 8:16; Mat 14:15; Mat 14:23; Mat 16:2; Mat 20:8; Mat 26:20; Mat 27:1; Mat 27:57; Mrk 1:32; Mrk 4:35; Mrk 6:2; Mrk 6:21; Mrk 6:35; Mrk 6:47; Mrk 14:17; Mrk 15:33; Mrk 15:42; Luk 4:42; Luk 6:13; Luk 9:28; Luk 22:66; Jhn 6:16; Jhn 21:4; Act 5:7; Act 12:18; Act 16:35; Act 23:12; Act 27:27; Act 27:29; Act 27:33; Act 27:39. (I assume the 'when' clauses following Mrk 1:32 and Mrk 6:21 are not proper subsequent predications.)

III. **Other entity types**, most typically second order entities, e.g. 'earthquake', 'argument', 'riot', including atmospheric entities like 'darkness', 'thunder', 'storm', 'calm': 61 tokens: Mat 8:24* (ἰδού); Mat 8:26; Mat 9:16; Mat 13:21; Mat 26:5; Mat 27:24; Mat 27:45; Mat 28:2* (ἰδού); Mrk 2:21; Mrk 4:17; Mrk 4:37; Mrk 4:39; Mrk 15:33; Luk 1:65; Luk 3:2 ('[the/a] word of God'; could be 3oe but behaves like 2oe); Luk 4:25; Luk 4:36; Luk 6:48 ('flood'; maybe the near synonym 'the river' counts as a subsequent mention); Luk 8:24; Luk 15:10; Luk 15:14; Luk 23:19; Luk 23:44; Jhn 3:25 ('discussion' could be 3oe but behaves like 2oe); Jhn 6:17; Jhn 7:43; Jhn 10:19; Jhn 12:29; Act 2:43; Act 2:43; Act 5:5; Act 5:11; Act 5:12; Act 8:1; Act 8:8; Act 8:13* (perception report); Act 14:3; Act 15:2; Act 15:7; Act 15:39; Act 16:26; Act 19:23; Act 20:3 ('plot', could be 3oe but behaves like 2oe); Act 20:37; Act 21:30 ('a rushing together of people', 'people' persist); Act 21:40; Act 23:7; Act 23:9; Act 23:10; Act 24:2; Rom 11:25; 2Co 8:14; 1Ti 6:4; Heb 7:12 ('also'); Heb 7:18; Rev 6:12; Rev 8:1; Rev 8:5; Rev 11:19; Rev 16:2; Rev 16:18.

4.2.5.3 Difficulties in identifying clause breaks and other significant units

As I admitted in §4.2.5.1, it is not always easy to decide where one clause or information structure unit ends and another begins. This is especially so for phrases that get tacked on, sometimes in a long series (e.g. Act 10:1 in §4.5). I have assumed that, even though some of these might appear to be part of the thetic clause or the thetic subject NP itself, they may often be better counted as separate information structure units, analogous to separate clauses. For example, in §4.2.4, I gave reasons why 'with an unclean spirit' in **Mrk 5:2** should count as a significant information structure unit, equivalent to a SP. Reasons included that it is equivalent to the proposition 'he had an unclean spirit' (see the GNT) and that in ‖Luk 8:27 it is actually expressed by a participial clause, ἔχων δαιμόνια 'having demons'.

Mrk 5:2   εὐθὺς   ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ   τῶν μνημείων ἄνθρωπος |
            at.once 3S.met   to.him out.of the tombs   man

          ἐν   πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, 3 ὃς   τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν,
          with spirit   unclean   who the dwelling   had   in the tombs

         RSV: And when he had come out of the boat, there met him out of the tombs a man <u>with an unclean spirit,</u> who lived among the tombs;…

More problematic is the status of a locative like 'by (the) sea', which follows the possessive thetic in **Act 10:6**. 'A house by the sea' may be considered a single unit (*noun+attributive modifier;* see on examples (148) and (149) in §2.3.6). But, without being dogmatic, I would like to suggest that 'by the sea' be considered a separate unit, equivalent to a SP, and for translation purposes it may be paraphrased as a separate clause, which would unambiguously indicate a separate unit: 'which is by the sea' (for a somewhat similar problem, see §4.2.5.1 on ὀνόματι Ταβιθά 'by name Tabitha' in Act 9:36). Whatever the case, most English translations actually convert the clause-level possessive construction in Greek to a NP-level one ('whose house') and then add a copula for the locative, as illustrated by the NRS. This repackages the Greek thetic subject 'a house' as an identifiable English NP, 'whose house', which functions as an inferentially accessible sentence topic.

Act 10:6   ᾧ   ἐστιν οἰκία   **παρὰ θάλασσαν.**
           to.whom.D.s.m 3S.is house.N.s.f by   sea.A.s.f

         NRS: he is lodging with Simon, a tanner, whose house is by the seaside.

Split subjects that 'straddle' their verb should also be mentioned here (H. Dik [1995:79-80] calls these 'discontinuous constituents'). It is well known that in Greek a clause constituent (e.g. subject) may be split, where part precedes its verb and part follows (or straddles another constituent). This is clearly the case in **Act 9:36** where τις…μαθήτρια 'a certain disciple' is the subject of εἰμί, in **Act 19:34** where φωνὴ…μία 'one voice' is the subject of γίνομαι, and I think it is also true in **Mat 26:60** where πολλῶν…ψευδομαρτύρων 'many false witnesses' is the subject of the genitive participle.

Act 9:36   Ἐν Ἰόππῃ δέ **τις**   ἦν   **μαθήτρια** ὀνόματι Ταβιθά, κτλ
         in Joppa now a.certain 3S.was disciple   by.name Tabitha

         NRS: Now in Joppa there was a disciple whose name was Tabitha, which in Greek is Dorcas. She was devoted to good works and acts of charity.

Act 19:34 **φωνὴ** ἐγένετο   **μία** ἐκ πάντων ὡς   ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο κραζόντων,
         voice 3S.happened one from all   about for hours two crying.out,

         REB: But when they recognized that he was a Jew, one shout arose from them all: 'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!' and they kept it up for about two hours.

Mat 26:60 καὶ   οὐχ   εὗρον   **πολλῶν** προσελθόντων   **ψευδομαρτύρων**.
           and   not   3P.did.find many.G   having.approached.G false.witnesses.G

> NRS: [59] Now the chief priests and the whole council were looking for false testimony against Jesus so that they might put him to death, [60] but they found none, <u>though many false witnesses came forward.</u>

Although perhaps more debatable, I assume that the noun οἰκοδεσπότης 'landowner' in **Luk 16:1** and the adjective πλούσιος 'rich' in **Mat 21:33** and **Luk 16:19** are also best taken as (i) split subject elements rather than as (ii) SPs.[256] This is because the form *generic noun+modifier* (where the generic noun is ἀνήρ, ἄνθρωπος, γυνή etc. and the modifier is an adjective or noun) is a common enough idiom in Greek.[257] (See also Luk 14:2 with ἰδού, discussed in §6.3.4.3).

Mat 21:33 Ἄνθρωπος ἦν   οἰκοδεσπότης ὅστις ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα κτλ
           man   3S.was   landowner   who   3S.planted vineyard

Luk 16:1   Ἄνθρωπός τις   ἦν   πλούσιος ὃς   εἶχεν οἰκονόμον,
           man   a.certain 3S.was rich   who 3S.had steward

Luk 16:19 Ἄνθρωπος δέ τις   ἦν   πλούσιος, καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο   πορφύραν
           man   – a.certain 3S.was rich   and 3S.was.clothing.himself with.purple

Moreover, at the beginning of a discourse, it is common for part (or all) of the subject constituent to come preverbally, as illustrated in the above three tokens; but in mid-discourse, the subject is normally postverbal, as in **Mat 27:57** (see §4.10.3.3). That the imperfect verb ἦν (εἰμί 'be') sneaks in and divides the modifier from the first part of the NP may perhaps be due to it behaving as a postpositive. Contrast the non-split subject ἄνθρωπός τις εὐγενής ('a certain nobleman') in **Luk 19:12**, which comes at the beginning of a discourse and where the verb is not εἰμί. Still, subjects with verbs besides εἰμί may also be split (e.g. Act 19:34 with γίνομαι 'happen' cited above; Jhn 6:23 ἄλλα ἦλθεν πλοιά[ρια] 'other.N.n.p 3S.came boats.N.n.p'). Split constituents raise many questions that I cannot go into here.

Mat 27:57 ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, τοὔνομα Ἰωσήφ,
           came   man   rich   from Arimathea   by.name Joseph

Luk 19:12 Ἄνθρωπός τις   εὐγενὴς   ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακρὰν κτλ
           man   a.certain well.born.Adj 3S.traveled to   country distant

But it is less clear to me if θυγατέρες τέσσαρες παρθένοι in **Act 21:9** represents a single NP or if παρθένοι is really a SP (a verbless predicate nominal). (The participle προφητεύουσαι is, in any case, not periphrastic; Björck 1940:112.)

Act 21:9   τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν   θυγατέρες τέσσαρες παρθένοι   προφητεύουσαι.
           to.this * 3P.were   daughters four   virgins.N.p.f prophesying.N.p.f

More difficulties concerning identifying clause breaks are taken up in §4.7, which concerns possible instances of periphrastic *εἰμί+participle*.

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[256] A third analysis may be mentioned, that (iii) these clauses are predicate nominals ('A man was rich', 'A man was a landowner'). But this analysis seems least likely since such statements would be pragmatically bizarre. Still, the presence of τις might make such sentences more acceptable. (See my discussion of (46) *A boy is tall* vs. (47) *A boy in my class is tall* in §2.2.6.5 and L. 1994:166-7 on the same sentences.)

[257] Smyth §986 calls the use of a generic noun, like ἀνήρ or ἄνθρωπος, plus another noun 'attributive apposition'. See also BDF §242 and Hf&S §260j and §144b.

4.3 *S+BE* and constituent-focus, contrastiveness, polarity, and existence

> 'Calling me a raven, or thinking me one, you allowed me existence, which is the sum of what one can demand of his fellowbeings. Therefore, in return, I will give you a lesson:–No one can say he is himself, until first he knows that he *is,* and then what *himself* is. In fact, nobody is himself, and himself is nobody.' [George MacDonald, *Lilith,* p. 15]

This section digs into two extended issues involving εἰμί 'be' that were given only brief mention in the overview sections. Several items treated here involve special types of presupposed elements in εἰμί clauses. §4.3.1 deals with εἰμί clauses, some of which involve constituent-focus but others that are thetic. §4.3.2 treats non-copular uses of εἰμί that involve polar focus. Attention is also given to how non-copular εἰμί may be translated in English, including when it can be rendered 'exist'. §4.3.3 briefly treats a theologically potent clause, Jhn 1:1a.

4.3.1 *S+BE* with open propositions and other presupposed elements

In this section we consider certain types of *S+BE* tokens that also evoke something presupposed. (A few non-εἰμί tokens are also mentioned.) In one type, where the subject entity is *identifiable,* there is a topical locative and the subject identifies (usually nonexhaustively) who or what was in that location. These are clear instances of **subject-constituent-focus**; εἰμί and the locative together serve to activate a presupposed open proposition. In the other type, where the subject is *unidentifiable,* an addition-like presupposition is evoked by means of either a non-asserted relative clause or a word meaning 'also' or 'other'. The latter are probably seldom if ever instances of true constituent-focus, although they do resemble them to a degree. Despite the resemblance, I consider these to still be thetic.

We will first consider tokens with **identifiable subjects** that I take to be instances of constituent-focus. Some of these resemble the 'list' use of *there+be* (§2.3.7.5). They all involve locatives—thus *S+BE+LOC,* and such locatives are topical, since they help express the open proposition. Given that the subjects are identifiable and these clauses are neither existential nor thetic, I believe it follows that the locatives are true predicate elements.

Consider **Mat 27:56**. In the previous verse, v 55, 'many women' are introduced by an εἰμί thetic. This context makes relevant the open proposition 'X was among them' (i.e. paraphrasable as the wh-question 'Who was among them?'). Our token in v 56 therefore identifies by name three of these women (presumably Matthew does not mean this as an exhaustive set; although at least two of these women are discourse-new, the proper names are 'uniquely identifiable'). 'Among them' counts as the topical locative.

Mat 27:55 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, κτλ
3P.were and there women many from distance observing

56 ἐν αἷς ἦν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου
among whom 3S.was Mary the Magdalene and Mary the of.the James

GNT: [55] There were many women there, looking on from a distance, who had followed Jesus from Galilee and helped him. [56] Among them were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the wife of Zebedee.

It is worthwhile to compare John's version of the same passage, **Jhn 19:25**, which uses not εἰμί 'be' but ἵστημι 'stand'. Although this token lacks the introductory thetic clause ('there were many women there'), its (compound) subject can still have a constituent-focus interpretation. Since the preceding text concerns events and people about the cross, a

proposition like 'others ('X') were standing there' is predictable. Thus, the identification of these entities ('Mary...') is what is newsworthy.[258] Note that both this clause and that in Mat 27:56 above are rendered by inverted structures in the GNT (this indicates the subjects' newsworthiness and focality; see §2.3.3).

Jhn 19:25   εἰστήκεισαν   δὲ   παρὰ τῷ   σταυρῷ τοῦ   Ἰησοῦ ἡ   μήτηρ αὐτοῦ
             3P.were.standing.PluPrf but beside the cross   of.the Jesus   the mother of.him

             καὶ ἡ   ἀδελφὴ τῆς   μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, κτλ
             and the sister   of.the mother of.him

             GNT: Standing close to Jesus' cross were his mother, his mother's sister, Mary the wife
             of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene.

Consider next **Jhn 2:1b**. The introduction of 'a wedding' (a thetic γίνομαι clause) in 1a makes accessible a topical open proposition, 'X was at the wedding'. So the subject 'the mother of Jesus' functions not as a sentence topic but as a case of constituent-focus. A comparable English sentence would only be accented on the subject's head noun: *Jesus' MOTHER was there*. Note also that a similar open proposition 'X was invited' is relevant to v 2 where καί...καί, meaning 'also (both)', also favors a constituent-focus interpretation.

Jhn 2:1a   Καὶ τῇ   ἡμέρα τῇ   τρίτη γάμος   ἐγένετο   ἐν   Κανὰ τῆς   Γαλιλαίας,
            and on.the day   the   third wedding 3S.happened in   Cana   of.the Galilee

1b   καὶ ἦν   **ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ** ἐκεῖ·
            and 3S.was the mother of.the Jesus   there

2   ἐκλήθη   δὲ   καὶ   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν γάμον.
            3S.was.invited and both the Jesus   and the disciples of.him to   the wedding

            NRS: [1] On the third day there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee, <u>and the mother of Jesus
            was there.</u> [2] Jesus and his disciples had also been invited to the wedding.

Now consider **Act 27:2**. That the travelers have just set sail on a ship makes accessible the open proposition 'X was with us (on the ship)'. It is against this presupposition that 'X' is identified (nonexhaustively) as 'Aristarchus', who in turn is further described as 'a Macedonian of Thessalonica' (he is actually discourse-old; see Act 19:29 and Act 20:4). Although there were many others on this ship, Aristarchus is singled out (he figures elsewhere in the NT: Col 4:10; Phm 1:24). Some translations make the constituent-focus interpretation more explicit by adding *also* (e.g. NLT; and *auch* LUT). The NJB renders Aristarchus as a 'have' object, thereby making it focal.

Act 27:2   ἀνήχθημεν ὄντος σὺν   ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνος Θεσσαλονικέως.
            we.set.sail being with us   Aristarchus   Macedonian of.Thessalonica

            NJB: We boarded a vessel from Adramyttium bound for ports on the Asiatic coast and put
            to sea; we had Aristarchus with us, a Macedonian of Thessalonica.

            NLT: And Aristarchus, a Macedonian from Thessalonica, was also with us.

Now here is an important point. All four of the above tokens help build a scene by adding entities to it and in this way they resemble thetics. But the way they build the scene is not by *introducing* unidentifiable entities onto the stage (a thetic function) but by *identifying* ones who are already assumed to be present (a constituent-focus function). Mat 27:56 and Jhn 2:1b above in fact immediately follow thetics ('there were many women there', 'there was a

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[258] In principle, Jhn 19:25 could instead be analyzed as a thetic where both the subject and the verb 'stood' would be in the focus domain. Constituent order does not disambiguate these two interpretations.

wedding'). Some of these are readily rendered by English 'list' *there+be* structures (see §2.3.7.5): *there was (among them) Mary Magdalene…, there was (also) Aristarchus with us.*

For additional likely constituent-focus tokens with identifiable subjects, see Mat 27:61; Luk 8:1-3 (with unexpressed εἰμί 'the twelve [were] with him…'); Jhn 4:6 (all translations and commentaries consulted render πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ as definite 'Jacob's well'); Jhn 21:2 (presumably a complete list); probably 'the city Lasea' in Act 27:8 (with predicate complement 'near'); Rom 1:6 (καὶ ὑμεῖς 'also you'). Three tokens—1Ti 1:20, 2Ti 1:15, and 2Ti 2:17—have the topical relative pronoun ὧν (a partitive genitive; see §4.6 and BDF §164). These also translate well as 'list' *there+be* sentences. See §4.7 on Jhn 18:18 and Mrk 15:7 where εἰμί is probably periphrastic.[259]

So much for identifiable subject entities. Occasionally, we find *S+BE* clauses with **unidentifiable subject entities** and where the subject is modified by (i) a word like ἄλλος 'another' or adverbial καί 'also', and/or (ii) a relative clause that is not asserted (i.e. it is either known or to be cooperatively taken as such). As mentioned in §2.3.7.4 for comparable *there+be* English sentences, such elements evoke an '**addition**'-like presupposition, and in this way these sentences to a degree resemble (subject) constituent-focus (i.e. answering an implicit wh-question). Still, their basic function is thetic—they introduce an unidentifiable (i.e. hearer-new) entity into the discourse (these tokens are included in my core sample, Table 7, §4.2.5.2). Finally, to the degree that such thetics suggest a feeling of contrast, they may be characterized as **contrastive thetics** (§2.3.7.4).

Consider first **Jhn 21:25**. In the closing verse of his Gospel, John tells his reader that he could have narrated more of Jesus' deeds. The **relative clause** 'which Jesus did' is presupposed (we already know that Jesus did many things). But the subject still introduces something hearer-new into the discourse ('many other things') and so the clause is thetic. Still, the presupposed element evokes a feeling of contrast because something is being asserted that is parallel to earlier assertions. A similar construction occurs in **Mrk 7:4** where 'many other things' is introduced and enumerated.

Jhn 21:25 Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ **ἄλλα** **πολλὰ** ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
3S.is and also other.things.N.p.n many which did the Jesus

NRS: <u>But there are also many other things that Jesus did;</u> if every one of them were written down, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written.

Mrk 7:4 καὶ **ἄλλα** **πολλά** ἐστιν ἃ παρέλαβον κρατεῖν, βαπτισμοὺς
and other.things.N.p.n many 3S.is which 3P.received to.hold.to washings

ποτηρίων καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων (καὶ κλινῶν)
of.cups and pitcher and kettles and dining.couches

nab: [3] For they…do not eat unless they thoroughly wash their hands, thus observing the tradition of the elders. [4] And they do not eat anything from the market unless they wash it. <u>And there are many other traditions that they observe,</u> the washing of cups, pots, and bronze kettles.

In **Luk 23:38**, a **list** effect is created. In vv 35-38, three cases of mockery against Jesus on the cross are narrated. The first involves the authorities, the second the soldiers (with καί 'also'), and the third an inscription over Jesus' head (also with καί). At the clause level, the εἰμί clause in v 38 is a typical thetic. Still, at a higher level of discourse processing,

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[259] With ἔρχομαι 'come', see Luk 16:21 ('also/even the dogs came'); Jhn 19:39 ('also Nicodemus came'). Perhaps these are better described as information structure hybrids, i.e. thetic/constituent-focus combinations.

something approaching an open proposition seems implied. This can be paraphrased as 'What happened to Jesus was X', and the thetic would be instantiating an item in the list. (I am not sure what status 'over his head' has in the thetic; in any case, 'his' by itself is topical.) The GNT uses inversion here but does not translate καί and so presumably more effort on the reader's part is required to infer the list.

Luk 23:38 ἦν   δὲ **καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ** ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος.
         3S.was and also inscription over him   the King   of.the Jews   this

> NRS: [35] And the people stood by, watching; but the leaders scoffed at him, saying,… [36] The soldiers also [καί] mocked him,… [38] <u>There was also [καί] an inscription over him,</u> "This is the King of the Jews."

> GNT: Above him were written these words: "This is the King of the Jews."

Mrk 4:36 is a typical thetic except that the modifier ἄλλα 'other' evokes the presupposition that the afore-mentioned boat was there. These 'other boats' are not mentioned beyond this verse. What is suggested is that there was not just one but multiple boats of eyewitnesses present during the storm at sea.

Mrk 4:36 καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦν   ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ,
         and leaving the crowd 3P.take   him   as 3S.was in the boat

         καὶ **ἄλλα πλοῖα** ἦν   μετ' αὐτοῦ.
         and other boats   3S.were with him

> NRS: [36] And leaving the crowd behind, they took him with them in the boat, just as he was. <u>Other boats were with him.</u> [37] A great windstorm arose, and the waves…

For other εἰμί thetics that involve a presupposed element suggesting contrast or parallel processing, see Mat 12:6 ('something greater than the temple', where 'greater' implies a contrast); Mrk 15:40 ('also women'; but maybe periphrastic; §4.7); Luk 14:22 (ἔτι τόπος 'still room'); and 2Ti 2:20 ('not only X but also Y'). For tokens using verbs other than εἰμί, see Luk 3:12 ('came also tax collectors'); Luk 10:32 ('also a Levite'); Luk 22:24 ('happened also a dispute…'); Heb 7:12 ('occurs also a change of law'); Jas 2:2 ('if there should enter also a poor man'); Rev 6:4 ('came out another'); Rev 8:3 (preverbal 'another angel came'); Rev 12:3 ('appeared another sign'). See also §4.10.3.5.1 where tokens with preverbal subjects are discussed in relation to contrastiveness.

4.3.2 Non-copular εἰμί, the question of polar focus, and the senses 'be there/present' and 'exist'[260]

In §4.1, it was only briefly illustrated how non-thetic uses of non-copular εἰμί differed from thetic uses, both being instances of the *S+BE* clause. The goal of this section is to illustrate more of the non-thetic uses and to give more justification, both of functional and structural nature, for the thetic/non-thetic distinction. The end of this section discusses the appropriateness of different English renderings of this use of εἰμί, including 'be alive/live', 'be present/there', and especially 'exist', which has been an issue of debate. (As mentioned in §4.1, BDAG εἰμί §1 refers to such non-copular uses as 'predicative', i.e. εἰμί is by itself the

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[260] Polar assertion tokens with εἰμί are too few and too complex for me to attempt comments on constituent order.

predicate. Others call this the 'absolute' use).[261] Several examples in this section are especially complex since they involve an internal (or implicit) focus structure of a complement clause which is embedded in a larger sentence that makes the main assertion.

As we saw in §4.1, **Rev 17:8** illustrates two instances of non-copular εἰμί with topic-comment function. The subject, 'the beast which you saw', is the explicit clause topic for the first clause. It is also the topic of the second clause, where, given its fully activated status, it is minimally indicated by verb inflexion. The comments, that the beast 'was (once alive) and (presently) is not (alive)', increase the hearer's knowledge about the beast. **Mat 2:18** illustrates another instance of topic-comment structure, where the clause topic 'Rachel' is only indicated on the verb. (The different renderings of εἰμί in these passages, e.g. 'dead/are no more', 'exist' and 'be/alive/live', is taken up below.)

Rev 17:8   **τὸ θηρίον ὃ**   **εἶδες**   **ἦν**   καὶ **οὐκ ἔστιν** καὶ μέλλει   ἀναβαίνειν
          the beast   which you.saw 3S.was and not 3S.is and 3S.is.about to.come.up

          ἐκ   τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν   ὑπάγει,
          out.of the Abyss   and to   destruction 3S.goes

          NRS: [3] …I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast that was full of blasphemous names, and it had seven heads and ten horns. [4] The woman was clothed in purple and scarlet,… [7] But the angel said to me, "…I will tell you the mystery of the woman, and of the beast with seven heads and ten horns that carries her. [8] The beast that you saw was, and is not, and is about to ascend from the bottomless pit and go to destruction.…"

          GNT: That beast was once alive, but lives no longer;…

Mat 2:18   καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν   παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι   **οὐκ εἰσίν.**
          and not 3S.was.willing to.be.comforted because not 3P.are

          GNT: Rachel is crying for her children; she refuses to be comforted, for they are dead.

          NRS: …because they are no more.

We have already enumerated the different ways in which such topic-comment uses of non-copular εἰμί distinguish themselves from thetic uses (e.g. topical status of the subject, omission of the subject when its entity is fully activated, presumed mandatory accent of the predicate if the comment). Now, consider also the εἰμί clause in **Heb 11:6**. Since the fully active subject 'God' is only expressed on the verb, it is clearly topical.

Heb 11:6   πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ   τὸν προσερχόμενον τῷ   θεῷ ὅτι **ἔστιν**
          to.believe for it.is.necessary the approaching.one to.the God that 3S.is

          NRS: And without faith it is impossible to please God, for whoever would approach him must believe that he exists and that he rewards those who seek him. [Other translations with 'exist' include NIV, REB, RSV, and GNT.]

          CEV: We must believe that God is real…

But the information structure of this clause is complicated by the fact that it is a complement of the cognitive verb 'believe'.[262] Given the context, the entire proposition '(that) God

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[261] BDAG εἰμί §1 of course do not make the information structure distinction that this study features. §1 includes statements of (i) *existence* and *presence* (examples given by the editors include 'ἔστιν ὁ θεός *God exists*', ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν *there is no resurr[ection] of the dead*' [1Co 15:12], and 'πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί *before Abraham was born, I am'* [Jhn 8:58]) and (ii) examples of true thetics. The editors state that εἰμί is 'Freq. used to introduce parables and stories *(once) there was:* ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος *there was (once) a rich man',* (Luk 16:1). None of the examples they list under §1 involve clear instances of locatives. Tokens with locatives are treated in BDAG §3, where again, the information structure distinction is not considered.

is/exists' is knowledge-presupposed (it is a shared assumption between the speaker and hearer),[263] but it has not been activated in the discourse. As I understand things, the complement is part of a larger predicate-focus structure where 'the one approaching God' is the primary sentence topic and 'must believe that he exists' forms the focus domain. Moreover, the complement clause itself also has an **internal** (or implicit) focus structure, much as sentence-initial topical adverbial clauses have their own internal structures while simultaneously being topical scene-settings for the greater sentence (see (36) in §2.2.6.3). On the surface, the internal structure of 'that he exists' might seem to be simply a predicate-focus structure where ἔστιν 'is' forms the focus domain. However, given this proposition is taken for granted as a fact known by both speaker and hearer, it can be characterized, functionally at least, as a case of (positive) **polar focus**.[264] The clause implicitly asserts **the truth** of this proposition, paraphrasable as 'that he really does exist'. As suggested in §2.2.7.1 and §2.3.7.1, the locus of the focus of assertion would be the verb.

The complements of the verbs 'say' and 'acknowledge' in **Act 23:8** are also examples of internal polar focus. The first complement is a negated infinitival εἰμί clause and the second is the nominal τὰ ἀμφότερα 'both' (or 'all of these')[265] (which stands for full propositions). Besides having their own (implicit) internal structures, each complement fits into the greater assertions of their respective larger sentences, one informing us about the topic 'the Sadducees' and the other about 'the Pharisees'.

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[262] 'Believe' is 'non-factive' since its complement need not be true for the entire sentence to be true (Dik 1997a:108). Still, in this example, the writer assumes his average reader will assume it is true that God exists.

[263] See Lambrecht (1994:61-2) on the pragmatic differences between sentences like (i) *I didn't realize that you LIED to me,* (ii) *I didn't realize that YOU lied to me,* and (iii) *I didn't REALIZE that you lied to me.* Since 'realize' is a 'factive' verb, for each of (i) to (iii) to be true, their complements must also be true. That the complements are assumed true would be a '**semantic**' presupposition, and this semantic presupposition would be the same in (i) to (iii). In contrast, the **pragmatic** (information structure) presuppositions of (i) to (iii) differ in accordance to their different assertions.

[264] As illustrated in §2.2.7.1, polar focus is not limited to verbs like 'be'. I assume this use of εἰμί is related, but not identical, to what Kahn (2003:xviii, 1973/2003:331-370) calls the 'veridical' use of εἰμί, what he in fact considers a lexical sense (see also LSJ εἰμί A.III; BDAG do not list this as a distinct sense for Koine). But Kahn actually has in mind especially clause constructions like ἔστι ταῦτα 'That is true' and ἔστι οὕτω 'It's so' and nominalized uses like το ὄν or τὰ ὄντα 'the truth/the facts' (p. 334). According to Kahn (p. 337), an adverb like 'thus' in such clauses is not a predicate but a complement, since it refers to a complement clause of a verb of cognition or speech (which is sometimes explicit, e.g. ἔστι μὲν ταῦτα, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτως ὡς σὺ λέγεις 'These things are just as you say, Socrates', p. 336). From Aristotle on, this use has featured much among philosophers (p. 332, etc.).

[265] Although τὰ ἀμφότερα can refer to more than two things (BDAG, NRS), it normally means 'both'. What it refers to here depends on in what sense the Sadducees rejected belief in 'angel' and 'spirit' (there is no question that they rejected belief in the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the spirit or soul; see Mrk 12:18-27, Josephus' The Jewish War 2:162-165, and Antiquities 18:16). Many have asked (e.g. Marshall 1980) how could the Sadducees not believe in angels since they accepted the Pentateuch, which assumes the existence of angels? Various solutions have been suggested, one being that 'angel' and 'spirit' describe two modes of the resurrection (e.g. where people would have angel-like bodies or be in an interim spirit-like stage before the final resurrection)—in which case τὰ ἀμφότερα would mean 'both'. Another solution, one where τὰ ἀμφότερα could mean 'more than two', is that neither angels nor spirits exist that could converse with Paul in the manner claimed. See Parker (2003) and Juhász (2002) and references therein.

Act 23:8 Σαδδουκαῖοι μὲν   γὰρ λέγουσιν **μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν** μήτε
          Sadducees   on.one.hand for 3P.say   not to.be.Inf resurrection nor

          ἄγγελον μήτε πνεῦμα, Φαρισαῖοι δὲ   ὁμολογοῦσιν   **τὰ ἀμφότερα.**
          angel   nor   spirit   Pharisees on.other.hand 3P.acknowledge both

> NRS: The Sadducees say that <u>there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit;</u> but the Pharisees acknowledge all three.

For the internal structure of these complements, the Sadducees and Pharisees are both portrayed as presupposing semantically complete propositions minus their truth value. These truth-neutral propositions may be paraphrased as yes-no questions like *Is there a resurrection?* etc. The Sadducees deny the truth of these propositions, that is, they assert that they are not true; but the Pharisees assert they are true. (See also Paul's positive assertion in Act 24:15.)

Act 19:2 involves a complement of 'hear' and the greater sentence asserts something about the speakers 'we'. Here the internal structure of the complement is different since the speakers make no commitment to the truth of the presupposed proposition (whether or not there is a Holy Spirit). It seems to me that the implicit internal structure is (by default) positive polar focus. (Maybe Luk 1:45 is similar.)

Act 19:2 Ἀλλ' οὐδ' **εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔστιν** ἠκούσαμεν.
          but   not   if Spirit   Holy   3S.is   we.heard

> NRS: He said to them, "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you became believers?" They replied, "No, we have not even heard that <u>there is a Holy Spirit."</u>

It is interesting to note that (but hard to explain why), in non-copular εἰμί clauses involving presupposed complete propositions, the subject, if expressed, is (normally?) **anarthrous**.[266] This was illustrated in the last two examples where the referents are presumably *identifiable* (πνεῦμα ἅγιον '(the) Holy Spirit' in Act 19:2; by ἀνάστασιν '(the) resurrection' etc. in Act 23:8; see also examples below, including especially πνεῦμα '(the) Spirit' in Jhn 7:39 and θεός 'G/god' in Psa 14:1). But the subject may also have *unidentifiable* ('indefinite') or *generic* reference. For example, in **1Co 15:44**, there are two *S+BE* clauses that are readily rendered by English *there+be* with indefinite subjects: 'if there is a physical body, there is also a spiritual body' (note that these are not complement clauses like our preceding examples; the second is a main clause and so makes an unmitigated assertion; the first, as a topical setting to the second, has an internal structure). Despite the structural resemblance to thetics, these clauses do not function to introduce either 'a natural body' or 'a spiritual body' into the discourse. (Note also that, unlike typical first order thetics, there are no subsequent predications.) In fact, such 'bodies' have already been suggested in the discourse. Paul's point is rather that there *are* spiritual bodies, and to make this point he uses a comparison: If physical bodies exist, then so do 'also' (καί) spiritual ones; if the one is true, so must the other be true. (His Corinthian audience is willing to accept that there are both physical and spiritual *realms* and that there are *physical bodies*, but the existence of *spiritual* bodies is contrary to their worldview.)

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[266] Compare also Aristophanes' Clouds 366 (cited by Kahn 1973:300) where Zeus is clearly identifiable and discourse-old, but anarthrous: *Strepsiades:* 'But Zeus [=ὁ Ζεύς] on Olympus, by Earth, is he no god?' *Socrates:* ποῖος Ζεύς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις· **οὐδ' ἔστι Ζεύς** 'What Zeus? Don't be silly; *there is no Zeus'* (italics and bolding are mine).

1Co 15:44 εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα   ψυχικόν,   ἔστιν   καὶ   πνευματικόν.
            if 3S.is body   natural   3S.is   also spiritual

> NRS: It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body. <u>If there is a physical body,</u>
> <u>there is also a spiritual body.</u>

> GNT: There is, of course, a physical body, so there has to be a spiritual body.

Note that in this last token, assuming the subject noun phrases alone would be stressed (e.g. *if there is a NATURAL body…*), there would be no structural difference between these clauses and thetics. So, in this context, the clause form is underspecified and the difference in function is only discernable from context.

Consider also **1Co 15:12-13**, which comes earlier in the same chapter of 1 Corinthians. This passage involves a negated state of affairs, which occurs twice, and where the subject is anarthrous (ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν 'resurrection of.dead.ones', a second order entity). (As embedded clauses, they have internal negative polar focus.) Although in English this is readily rendered by *there+be* clauses—'there is no resurrection of the dead', I think the meaning of the Greek is just as well represented by a clause with a definite subject—'the resurrection of the dead does not exist'. In any case, it is again the entire proposition minus its polarity that is presupposed and it is its truth that is at stake. The Corinthians wish to say that there is no such thing as a physical resurrection of dead.

1Co 15:12 Εἰ δὲ   Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται   ὅτι ἐκ   νεκρῶν   ἐγήγερται,
            if now Christ   3S.is.being.preached that from dead.ones 3S.has.been.raised

πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν   ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι **ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν   οὐκ ἔστιν;**
how 3P.say   among you some that resurrection of.dead.ones not 3S.is

εἰ δὲ   ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν   οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ   Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·
if and resurrection of.dead.ones not 3S.is neither Christ   3S.has.been.raised

> NRS: [[3-9] Paul first explains that after Christ died and rose from the dead, he then appeared to Cephas, the other apostles and many others.] [12] Now if Christ is proclaimed as raised from the dead, how can some of you say <u>there is no resurrection of the dead?</u> [13] <u>If there is no resurrection of the dead,</u> then Christ has not been raised; [14] and if Christ has not been raised, then our proclamation has been in vain…

We can also mention here two possible instances in **1Jn 5:16-17**—'there is a sin (not) to death', which occurs twice (I am assuming that (οὐ) πρὸς θάνατον '(not) to death' functions as an adjectival modifier of the subject ἁμαρτία 'sin' and not the predicate of ἔστιν).

1Jn 5:16 καὶ δώσει   αὐτῷ ζωήν, τοῖς   ἁμαρτάνουσιν μὴ πρὸς θάνατον.
           and 3s.will.give to.him life   to.the.ones   sinning   not to   death

ἔστιν ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον· οὐ περὶ   ἐκείνης λέγω ἵνα ἐρωτήσῃ.
3S.is sin   to   death   not concerning that   I.say that you.should.ask

17 πᾶσα ἀδικία   ἁμαρτία ἐστίν, **καὶ ἔστιν ἁμαρτία οὐ πρὸς θάνατον.**
     every unrighteousness sin   3S.is and 3S.is sin   not to   death

> NRS: [16] If you see your brother or sister committing what is not a mortal sin, you will ask, and God will give life to such a one–to those whose sin is not mortal. <u>There is sin that is mortal;</u> I do not say that you should pray about that. [17] All wrongdoing is sin, but <u>there is sin that is not mortal.</u>

> REB: [16] There is such a thing as deadly sin,…

These are less straightforward. It might be possible to construe these as thetics. That the first instance functions thetically might seem so given the subsequent predication where this 'sin'

is topical ('I do not say you should pray περὶ ἐκείνης about *that*'). But since the existence of 'a sin to death' has already been hinted at, it seems instead that this first instance functions to affirm the true existence of what John's readers might be inclined to doubt, namely that there indeed exists a special class of sin, 'a sin to death'. (See the REB's idiom 'There is such a thing as X', which is colloquial for 'exists'.) This assertion, in turn, might lead the readers to wonder about the nature of other sins. In case of doubt, John then asserts (v 17) that all wrongdoing is sin but there exists also 'a sin *not* to death'. (Perhaps the tokens in Mat 19:12, if not true thetics, fit here, which explain the three types of 'eunuchs' that exist.)

Finally, we can mention here some passages that involve constituents in addition to the subject and εἰμί. These additional constituents are typically **adverbial constituents**, which are not predicates of εἰμί, but modify the proposition as a whole.

For example, in **Rev 4:11**, the adverbial phrase διὰ τὸ θέλημα 'by your will' is not the predicate of either ἦσαν '3P.were/existed' or ἐκτίσθησαν '3P.were.created'. It is rather a clause level modifier, indicating the manner in which all things came into existence. This adverbial phrase in fact is a case of preverbal **constituent-focus**. The previous clause 'because you created all things' establishes as a conversational topic the existence of creation and God as creator. And then the adverbial phrase identifies X in the (compound) open proposition 'all things existed/were and were created (by means of X)'.[267]

Rev 4:11	λαβεῖν	τὴν	δόξαν	καὶ	τὴν	τιμὴν	καὶ	τὴν	δύναμιν,	ὅτι	σὺ	ἔκτισας
	to.receive	the	glory	and	the	honor	and	the	power	because	you	created

	τὰ	πάντα	καὶ	**διὰ**	**τὸ θέλημά σου**	**ἦσαν**	καὶ	ἐκτίσθησαν.
	the	all.things	and	because.of	the will of.you	3P.were	and	3P.were.created

> NRS: You are worthy, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and <u>by your will they existed</u> and were created.

> REB: …by your will they were created and <u>have their being!</u>

Even more frequently we encounter **time** adverbials that modify the state of affairs by delimiting it. This is illustrated by οὔπω 'not yet' in **Jhn 7:39** and ἔκπαλαι 'long ago' in **2Pe 3:5** (where 'by the Word of God' may be a second adverbial). Concerning 2Pe 3:5, translations are divided on whether anarthrous 'heavens' and 'earth' should be taken as unidentifiable (e.g. NRS) or identifiable (e.g. NIV).[268] But in Jhn 7:39, anarthrous πνεῦμα has just been identified, so even if *there+be* is used, πνεῦμα functions as a uniquely identifiable proper name.[269] So it seems to me that an equally appropriate rendering would be 'the Spirit was not yet present (in this world)' (but no English translation that I know of does this).[270]

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[267] See also 1Co 16:2 τότε λογεῖαι γίνωνται '(lest when I come,) THEN there would be collections' (with γίνομαι) where 'then' is constituent-focus, identifying when collections would be made. And see 1Co 11:19 δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι 'for there indeed must be divisions among you', where I take δεῖ 'must' as the focus of assertion and the otherwise εἰμί thetic to be presupposed.

[268] The tokens in 2Pe 3:5-6 are difficult for several reasons. Given the tendency for subjects in this set of tokens to be anarthrous when either identifiable or unidentifiable, we cannot be dogmatic about the status of 'heavens' and 'earth'. What seems certain is that, in relation to the matrix clause (loosely rendered 'they deliberately ignore the fact that'), the complement (ὅτι 'that') clauses are knowledge-presupposed and so probably outside of the focus of assertion. But as for their internal information structure, the context (see v 7) suggests 'by God's Word' is constituent-focus for both complement clauses.

[269] Compare 'Back then there was not yet any Santa Claus', or 'Back then Santa Claus wasn't around yet.'

[270] This passage is problematic. See the alternative manuscript readings.

Jhn 7:39   τοῦτο δὲ   εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ὃ   ἔμελλον   λαμβάνειν
           this   but 3S.said about the Spirit   which 3P.were.about to.receive

           οἱ   πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτόν· **οὔπω γὰρ ἦν   πνεῦμα,** ὅτι κτλ
           the.ones having.believed in   him   not.yet for 3S.was Spirit   because

           NRS: Now he said this about the Spirit, which believers in him were to receive; <u>for as yet
           there was no Spirit,</u> because Jesus was not yet glorified.

2Pe 3:5   λανθάνει   γὰρ αὐτοὺς   τοῦτο θέλοντας
           3S.is.hidden for from.them this   [they].wanting.[it.so]

           ὅτι **οὐρανοὶ ἦσαν   ἔκπαλαι** καὶ γῆ   ἐξ   ὕδατος
           that heavens 3P.were long.ago and earth out.from water

           καὶ δι'   ὕδατος συνεστῶσα   τῷ   τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ,
           and through water   having.been.formed by.the of.the God   word

           NRS: They deliberately ignore this fact, that <u>by the word of God heavens existed long ago</u>
           and an earth was formed out of water and by means of water

           NIV: …that <u>long ago by God's word the heavens existed</u> and the earth was formed…

Interim summary: Let's sum up things for the non-thetic uses of non-copular tokens reviewed so far. The first couple of examples (Mat 2:18, Rev 17:8) were characterized as being routine topic-comment clauses with topical subjects. Others were characterized as having (positive or negative) polar focus structure, whether this involved an unmitigated assertion or only an internal (implicit) structure (since the clause was a subordinate complement or a circumstantial clause). In these, both the subject and verb were considered in some sense presupposed. Then were illustrated a few non-copular tokens involving additional adverbial elements, and in at least one the adverb was a case of constituent-focus (Rev 4:11). Finally, we noticed that in many of the polar type which could be described as 'existential', the subject was usually anarthrous whether or not the entity was identifiable.

Having now surveyed the variety of non-thetic uses of non-copular *S+BE* encountered in the NT, I wish to briefly comment on the different translations or **'senses'** of this use of non-copular εἰμί. I am using 'sense' in a non-technical way, because it is beyond my present goals to tackle questions of what could be distinct 'emic' senses for native Koine Greek speakers. What follows is therefore necessarily superficial, where different 'senses' reflect, first of all, different renderings in English. But I hope my comments will be of interest to translators and lexicographers. A main point to be addressed is if and when it is appropriate to use 'exist'.

I will first reiterate the different renderings encountered in the translations cited so far in this section. We have seen *there+be* occasionally used, both when the subject is unidentifiable or generic ('a natural body', 1Co 15:44; 'a sin to death', 1Jn 5:16) but also when it is not (e.g. in the negated state of affairs 'as yet there was no Spirit' in Jhn 7:39). We have also encountered 'exist' (Rev 4:11, Heb 11:6, 2Pe 3:5), 'be' (Rev 4:11, Rev 17:8) and 'alive/dead' (Rev 17:8, Mat 2:18). What we should note, however, is that often more than one rendering was suitable and translations vary for the above-cited tokens.

To these renderings can be added ones like 'be here/there/present' (compatible with BDAG's 'be on hand'). This is illustrated by the participial clauses in **Act 13:1** (which tends to evaporate in translation, e.g. NRS) and **Mat 6:30** (contrast REB 'be there' with NIV 'be here' and NRS 'be alive'). This sense also occurs in Classical Greek (see Kahn 2003:xxi, xxxviii, 1973/2003:224, and Ruijgh 1979:57-8, who reviewed Kahn 1973).

Act 13:1 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ **κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν** προφῆται
3P.were now in Antioch among the being.A.s.f church.A.s.f prophets

καὶ διδάσκαλοι ὅ τε Βαρναβᾶς καὶ Συμεὼν κτλ
and teachers the both Barnabas and Simeon

nab: Now in Antioch, <u>in the church that was there,</u> there were prophets and teachers, including Barnabas and Simeon…

NRS: Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets and teachers: Barnabas…

Mat 6:30 εἰ δὲ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ **σήμερον ὄντα** καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον
if and the grass.A of.the field today being.A and tomorrow into oven

βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν, οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς,
being.thrown.A the God.N thus clothes not much more you

NRS: But if God so clothes the grass of the field, <u>which is alive today</u> and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, will he not much more clothe you–you of little faith?

REB: …which is there today… NIV: …which is here today…

A rendering like 'be there/present' would also be possible in other passages reviewed so far. I already suggested this as a possibility for Jhn 7:39 ('the Spirit was not yet present'). It would also be possible, even if inelegant, for the token in **Mat 23:30**, which we could render 'If we had been present…'. But this passage also illustrates BDAG's §4 use of εἰμί, 'to be alive in a period of time, live, denoting temporal existence' (in fact all English translations I have consulted use 'alive/live' in Mat 23:30). 'Live/be alive' is of course especially apt when the subject entities are human (the NRS also uses it for 'grass' in Mat 6:30). And when such clauses are negated 'be dead' is possible, as in **Mat 2:18** repeated here (contrast the NRS's 'they are no more').

Mat 23:30 **Εἰ ἤμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,** οὐκ ἂν ἤμεθα
if we.were in the days of.the fathers of.us not would we.have.been

αὐτῶν κοινωνοὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τῶν προφητῶν.
with.them partners in the blood of.the prophets

NRS: and you say, <u>'If we had lived in the days of our ancestors,</u> we would not have taken part with them in shedding the blood of the prophets.'

Mat 2:18 καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι **οὐκ εἰσίν.**
and not 3S.was.willing to.be.comforted because not 3P.are

GNT: Rachel is crying for her children; she refuses to be comforted, <u>for they are dead.</u>

NRS: …<u>because they are no more.</u>

In the end, 'be alive' and 'be there/present' are very close, and, in English at least, the contexts where each can be used overlap considerably, and in such contexts 'exist' is also sometimes appropriate. BDAG actually list Rev 17:8 discussed above (NRS, 'The beast that you saw was, and is not…') as an instance of 'exist', but the GNT renders this with 'alive' ('That beast was once alive, but lives no longer').

Now this leads us to what is an important theological question, whether or not, or to what degree, εἰμί can refer to pure existence or be appropriately translated by 'exist'. In other words, is it **unqualified existence** that is meant in the statements quoted earlier by BDAG, such as ἔστιν ὁ θεός 'God exists' or ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν 'there is no resurrection of the dead'?

There has been some confusion whether or not εἰμί in the NT or LXX can indicate pure existence, and some of this confusion can be traced to the philosopher, Kahn, who I have referred to before in this study. Kahn made a careful and rich study of εἰμί in Ancient Greek, using Homer's Iliad and Odyssey as his primary corpus as it is both sufficiently large and early (Kahn 1966, 1973, 2003). Kahn hoped to catalogue how εἰμί was used in early Greek— that is, in the pre-philosophical literature—in order to shed light on 'the ontological doctrines of Parmenides, Plato, and Aristotle', since they differ from modern ontologies (2003:viii, 1973/2003:9). An important fact for Kahn is that Aristotle, when he discussed the different uses of εἰμί, did not 'make any place for a sense of *einai* which we would recognize as distinctively existential' (1966:249). So Kahn wondered what was the raw linguistic material—the 'system of uses' of εἰμί—that the ancient philosophers had in hand that could have influenced their doctrines (1973/2003:1-3; 1966:245).

Kahn's study is instructive because he attempts to find an overarching point of similarity between the various uses, including what philosophers have considered two irreconcilably dissimilar uses, the existential (in the broad sense) and the copular. He concludes that the various non-copular uses, including all cases translatable by *there+be* (whether thetic or not—thus 'existential' uses in the broad sense), are no more basic to εἰμί than the copular uses are. Moreover, he hopes to have shown that the existential uses can be derived transformationally from the copular use—but, as pointed out in §4.1, he is not successful. His goal in fact is to challenge a long established assumption that in Greek and Indo-European languages generally the meaning 'exist/be present' came first and the copular use developed later (2003:viii). He would prefer to leave both coexisting together and is reluctant to say which came first. Although Kahn's study and goals deserve serious attention, I am left feeling that he unjustifiably forces the resemblance between the copular and non-copular uses.[271] Nor are all of Kahn's reviewers convinced by his conclusions. Ruijgh (1979) still wished to see 'be present/there' as the most basic meaning of εἰμί.

Finally, Kahn (1973/2003:231, 2003:xi-xii) argues that 'exist' is seldom (if ever) an appropriate translation of εἰμί, at least in Classical Greek. He fears that 'all contemporary uses are conditioned by the discussion of existence in medieval and modern philosophy, and in particular by the systematic treatment of the questions of "Does God exist?" and "How can His existence be proved?" […]' (p. 231). But Kahn does recognize a colloquial use of 'to exist' in English, something that is even more common in French, and he also concedes that this term is most 'relevant […] when we are discussing the problem of *whether x exists or not:* when we are denying the existence of some subject or asserting it in the face of possible denials' (p. 231, italics are Kahn's).

So we may ask what relevance Kahn's work should have for Bible translators and theologians? Can εἰμί refer to pure existence or be appropriately translated by 'exist' in the NT or OT (LXX)?

McGaughy (1972:119-125), who only had access to Kahn's introductory 1966 article, implies that εἰμί can never be used in this way in the NT. For him, what I am calling the non-copular use of εἰμί is really a *predication* of something being in some location (i.e. a predicate locative), and therefore such statements are not about existence (in the modern

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[271] For example, some aspects of 'the interdependence of predicative and existential uses' that Kahn suggests (2003:x-xii) seem forced or irrelevant.

sense of the word) but about location. More recently, Pilgrim (2002:129-32, 134, 210) for similar reasons rejects an existential reading of 1Co 8:6.[272]

Now in §2.3.7.2, I took the position that statements about existence like *There is a God* are primarily about reality (i.e. truth) where reality is perceived as a metaphorical location in mental space (and I suppose Kahn would accept this—see 1966:257-8). But to me it seems wrong to equate either mental space or its metaphorical interpretation with a grammatical structure (e.g. a predicate locative) when there is no corresponding form. I have already mentioned in §4.1 how the various 'existential' uses of εἰμί cannot be derived in a straightforward manner transformationally from predicate locative constructions. In the end, while I accept that an abstract location is implied in the non-copular uses of εἰμί, Kahn and McGaughy must concede that there is no predicate locative and that the verb is not unambiguously 'copular'.

Perhaps Kahn has been aware that some theologians have misapplied to the Bible his statements from either his 1966 article or his 1973 book. With the reprinting of his larger 1973 work (*The verb 'be' in ancient Greek*) in 2003, he wrote a new introduction in which he makes it clear that he does *not* mean his comments to apply to the Bible.

> [Concerning] the unqualified assertion or denial of existence for individuals and kinds of things, where *einai* is construed "absolutely," [that is] with no locative or nominal complements: *Zeus is not. The gods are. Centaurs are not.* […] The absence of any predicative complement makes this use of *einai* syntactically parallel to the modern verb *to exist.* I find no examples of this sentence type in Homer. [It] appears in Greek literature only with the rise of theological scepticism in the age of the Sophists, in the second half of the fifth century B.C. In Greece, at any rate, this use of *einai* to mean something like "exist" presupposes a climate of theoretical speculation and an attitude of doubt concerning objects of traditional belief (like the doubt expressed in the biblical verse, "The fool hath said in his heart, 'There is no God.'"). [Kahn 2003:xxiv-xxv]

The Bible verse about the fool's thought that Kahn refers to occurs in **Psa 14:1** and Psa 53:1. Kahn implies this is an 'unqualified […] denial of existence'. Now some theologians doubt that this fool could be a theoretical atheist and assume his was only a practical atheism: It is the fool's wicked and lawless life that make it *seem* he is asserting that no God existed.[273] But whether the fool's statement is meant literally or not is beside the point. That the proposition could be uttered at all shows that it could be intellectually entertained. As Barr (1961:62) points out about the Hebrew of this verse (אֵין אֱלֹהִים 'not.exist God'), it would be out of place to render this 'God is not present' (as if a specific location was meant).

Psa 14:1   εἶπεν   ἄφρων ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ **οὐκ ἔστιν θεός**[274]
           3S.said fool   in heart   of.him not 3S.is God

In fact, such unqualified assertions are not that rare in the Old Testament and such theological speculation is not at all foreign. To Kahn's example, we can add **Psa 89:2** (with time adverbials; 90:2 in the Hebrew). This statement is essentially an insistence of God's eternal existence. Since the subject is identifiable, a translation like 'you are there' would be possible, but 'you exist' is also appropriate.

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[272] 1Co 8:4-6 is indeed a difficult passage with εἰμί ellipsis and given the locatives 'in heaven or on earth' it may be that these are implied in vv 4 and 6. Still, it seems odd to me (as I will argue below) that in the Judeo-Christian context Pilgrim insists that v 6 cannot be an unqualified assertion about God's existence.

[273] See Barr (1961:62), who is summarizing and correcting the position of others. Barr himself, in contrast, felt it was mistaken to assume that 'mere existence' was a foreign concept for the authors of the Hebrew scriptures.

[274] Notice that, as we saw above in comparable polar sentences, the subject (θεός 'G/god') is anarthrous.

Psa 89:2   πρὸ   τοῦ   ὄρη   γενηθῆναι καὶ πλασθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν
           before of.the mountains to.be.born and to.be.formed the earth and the

           οἰκουμένην   καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος **σὺ   εἶ.**
           inhabited.world and from the ages   until the ages   you 2S.are

    NRS: Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever you had formed the earth and the
    world, from everlasting to everlasting you are God. [LXX reads: …you are.]

Note that the LXX uses non-copular εἰμί. This is interesting because the Masoretic Text has
an equative predicate nominal clause: אַתָּה אֵל 'you [are] God'.[275] Although the LXX
rendering might be viewed as a mistake from the Masoretic perspective, its meaning is not far
off and it is in fact instructive for us. Understood as an exhaustive statement of identification,
the equative clause אַתָּה אֵל 'you [*alone* are] God' implies both the negated 'there is no other
God besides you' and the positive 'you (alone) exist (as God)'. That the Hebrew audience
would and could infer such implicatures is suggested by **Isa 45:22**, where a statement of
identification is followed by one of existence: 'I am God and there is no other (no other
exists).'

Isa 45:22   :אֲנִי־אֵל וְאֵין עוֹד

           ʾănî ʾēl wəʾên ʿôḏ

           I God and-not.exist other

Isa 45:22   ἐγώ   εἰμι   ὁ   θεός   καὶ   οὐκ   ἔστιν   ἄλλος
            I   am   the God   and   not   3S.is   other

    More impressive are the many statements in Isaiah chapters 40 to 46, such as **Isa 44:6**
(44:8, 45:18, etc.). In these chapters, the Lord claims to be God alone and the sole creator of
everything (40:28; 44:24; 45:12). He challenges the very existence of the idols and gods of
the nations, insisting to Israel that there never was any god before him nor shall be afterwards
(**Isa 43:10**, paired with γίνομαι). In fact, the nations themselves will come to acknowledge
the one true God and be saved (45:14, 22; so the Lord is not a mere local divinity). Verses
44:9-20 in particular ridicule the idea of an idol being a god, narrating how a man would
build from wood or metal something which he as its creator would then worship and beg,
saying, 'Rescue me, since you are my god' (v 17).

Isa 44:6   ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα πλὴν   ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν θεός.
           I   first   and I   hereafter besides me   not 3S.is god

    nab (LXX): Thus says God, Israel's king and redeemer, God Sabaoth: I [am] the first and
    I [am] the hereafter, there is no god besides me.

Isa 43:10 ἵνα γνῶτε   καὶ πιστεύσητε   καὶ συνῆτε   ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι
           that you.may.know and you.may.believe and you.may.grasp that I   am

           ἔμπροσθέν μου οὐκ ἐγένετο   ἄλλος θεὸς καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔσται.[276]
           before   me not 3S.came.to.be other god and after me not 3S.will.be

    nab (LXX): Be my witnesses as I [am] witness, says the Lord God, and the servant who I
    have chosen, that you may know and believe and understand that I am [or: I am he, or: I
    exist]: before me no god came to be and after me there shall be none [or: none shall be].

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[275] In Hebrew, predicate nominals/adjectives/locatives lack a copula when referring to the present time.

[276] Or perhaps inceptive future 'will come to be'; see §4.9.3.

Dating individual Psalms is notoriously difficult. But chapters 40 to 55 in Isaiah (i.e. 'Second Isaiah') are typically dated around 538 B.C.E, when Cyrus of Persia allowed the Jewish exiles to return to Jerusalem. If this date is valid, then it would show that unqualified statements about the existence of God and non-existence of other gods were being contemplated and asserted by the Jews at least 80 to 100 years before the Sophists.

Finally, as we have seen from other examples earlier in this section, in the NT we encounter several unqualified statements about the existence of God (Heb 11:6; Mrk 12:32; 1Co 8:4-6 may belong here too), the resurrection (Act 23:8; 1Co 15:12; also Mat 22:23 etc.) and probably of (certain kinds of) spirits or angels (see footnote 265 on Act 23:8).

The upshot of all this is that, while we should not read into the Bible the subtleties of a modern philosophical ontology, there should be no doubt that questions about the existence and reality of first order personal entities like 'God' and second order entities like 'the resurrection' were important to both NT and OT audiences, and that 'unqualified assertions and denials of existence' are common enough and often expressed by εἰμί.

4.3.3 John 1:1a Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος

The first clause of John's Gospel, **Jhn 1:1a**, is theologically potent and analytically challenging. I shall first consider topic-comment and polar focus readings of the clause, and then the clause's relationship to theticity.

Jhn 1:1   Ἐν   ἀρχῇ   ἦν   ὁ   λόγος, καὶ ὁ   λόγος ἦν   πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
in   beginning 3S.was the Word   and the Word 3S.was with the God

καὶ θεὸς ἦν   ὁ   λόγος.
and God 3S.was the Word

NRS: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

GNT: In the beginning the Word already existed; the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

Since at least John Chrysostom (fourth century), the consensus has been that this is a statement about existence, in particular, eternal or 'pre-existence'.[277] The adverb 'in the beginning' is, of course, a temporal 'locative', which qualifies the existence. But if something was in a state of existence at the very beginning of everything, it may be inferred first that it also existed before the beginning, and then that it *always* existed. This final implicature is reflected in the GNT (and NLT).[278]

Taking εἰμί here to have the sense 'exist' (or even, abstractly, 'be there/present') makes good sense in light of other tokens discussed in the previous section. What is less clear to me is if we should take this as a case of *topic-comment* structure or *polar verb focus*. (I doubt that constituent order can disambiguate these two readings.) Under a topic-comment

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[277] Chrysostom (Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος) Homily III; Brown 1966:4; Carson 1991; Morris 1995; Beasley-Murray 1999.

According to traditional exegesis, a constituent-focus interpretation of v 1a answering the question 'who' or 'what was in the beginning?' would be irrelevant. It is, in any case, not suggested by the textual context, which, as the first sentence of the book, is zero (even if it might have been a relevant question for the original readers).

As many have noted (Brown 1966:4), Chrysostom was well aware of the different uses of ἦν in this sentence, what we would call (1a) non-copular existential, (1b) predicate locative, and (1c) equative predicate nominal.

[278] See also the PDV: "Au commencement, la Parole existait déjà" and BFC: "Au commencement de toutes choses, la Parole existait déjà". Of the some 20 English translations at my disposal, most have the traditional and somewhat archaic sounding structure, 'In the beginning was the Word' (e.g. NRS).

interpretation, 'the Word' (which is arthrous and identifiable but discourse-new) would be cooperatively taken as the clause topic. Under a polar interpretation the entire proposition (including the temporal) would be topical (i.e. presupposed), and the assertion could be implicitly corrective (e.g. *In the beginning the Word DID exist*). This latter interpretation fits the themes developed later in John's Gospel about Christ's divine claims and his relationship to the Father, and so we can assume that such questions were very relevant, if not hot topics, among his readers. But note that the topic-comment reading is also compatible with (i.e. it does not cancel) the polar one, and so, even if we do not read this as having (corrective) polar focus, the polar reading may be read as an implicature.

What is however conspicuous about this token, is that, as the first clause of a discourse, it comes where one would expect a first order thetic introducing a main character. What excludes it from being a prototypical εἰμί thetic is of course that 'the Word' is identifiable (constituent order may also speak against a thetic reading, since, as the first clause of a discourse, the subject would typically precede the verb; §4.10.3.3). Still, given its position in the discourse as well as the adverbial scene-setting 'in the beginning', a thetic reading may be read at least as an implicature. Perhaps such a bizarre thetic reading would be stronger in this form: 'In the beginning *there* was the Word'. But no English translation uses this wording.

4.4 'Thetic τις' introducing specific, unidentifiable entities

Of the various uses of the particle τις, one especially relevant to this study (and to translators) is where it is used to activate an entity that is *unidentifiable* and *specific*. What is of interest to us is, first, that this use of τις occurs often, but not exclusively, in thetics. The second point of interest is that, although this use often occurs in true sentence-focus thetics, especially where τις modifies the subject, it also occurs in non-sentence-focus clauses, including 'heavy' ones, and it may also modify non-subject constituents. As a matter of convenience, I will call this use of τις—to activate an unidentifiable entity with specific reference—'thetic τις'. The reader, however, should keep in mind that 'thetic τις' need not occur in a true sentence-focus construction. The clearest uses of thetic τις only introduce first order entities, as will be shown below.

In the following discussion, we will not be concerned with τις's non-specific use (to refer to someone/something or anyone/anything) as long as the idea referred to does not persist in the discourse (in which case it is treated as though it were specific/referential).[279] Examples like προφήτης τις 'a prophet' in **Luk 9:19** will not be considered, because it may well be that the speakers have no specific prophet in mind (nor does the idea persist). Nor will we concern ourselves with interrogative τίς (with accent, e.g. τίνα in **Luk 9:18**). My comments will also be limited to instances with a *singular* entity *that is not anchored,* so little will be said about τις's partitive use (where it refers to a member of a hearer-old set) even though this use can also coincide with thetic function (e.g. Act 6:9). Finally, this section only deals with occurrences of τις in complete clauses. The next section (§4.5) treats occurrences of τις with left-detached constituents that function like thetic clauses.

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[279] Thus, assuming τινι ἀνθρώπῳ 'to any man' in Mat 18:12 refers to a non-specific entity, it is still relevant to my study, since it persists ('if *any man* comes to own a hundred sheep and one of them wanders off, will he not leave the ninety-nine…'). Given this persistence, it 'exists' or is 'specific' or 'referential' in the imagined discourse. See T. Payne (1997:264) on the difference between 'objectively referential' and 'discourse referential'.

Luk 9:18   **Τίνα**   με λέγουσιν οἱ ὄχλοι εἶναι;
           whom.A   me 3P.declare the crowds to.be

19   οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν, Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἠλίαν,
      they and having.answered 3P.said John   the Baptist   others but Elijah

      ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι **προφήτης τις**   τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη.
      others and that prophet.N   a.certain.N of.the ancients 3S.rose.again

      NRS: [18] …[Jesus] asked [his disciples], "Who do the crowds say that I am?" [19] They answered, "John the Baptist; but others, Elijah; and still others, that <u>one of the ancient prophets has arisen.</u>"

We have already encountered thetic τις being used adjectivally to modify thetic subjects in true sentence-focus clauses (e.g. Luk 20:9 'a certain man'; Luk 18:18 'a certain ruler'). Similarly, we encountered it being used pronominally in Luk 13:23 and Luk 9:57, 'a certain (person)'. And in **Luk 18:2**, repeated here, we encountered its adjectival use where it modified both the subject and the locative.

Luk 18:2   Κριτής τις   ἦν   ἔν τινι   πόλει
          judge.N a.certain.N 3S.was in a.certain.D city.D

          NRS: <u>In a certain city there was a judge</u> who neither feared God nor…

Before turning to the heart of the matter, a borderline use should be mentioned. If thetic τις serves to activate unidentifiable entities, how should we explain tokens like **Luk 23:26** (and Act 10:5) where τις modifies a proper name (Σίμωνα in an object phrase), since names typically have uniquely identifiable reference? This use is noted in the lexicon by LSJ: 'with pr[oper] names τις commonly signifies *one named* so-and-so'. Thus, it can be viewed here as an abbreviation for something like ἄνθρωπόν τινα ὀνόματι *X* 'a certain man named X'. In other words, τις still indicates that the entity being introduced is unidentifiable to the hearer even though simultaneously named. (See §4.5 for left-detached proper names with τις.)

Luk 23:26 Καὶ ὡς ἀπήγαγον   αὐτόν, ἐπιλαβόμενοι **Σίμωνά** **τινα**   Κυρηναῖον
          and as 3P.led.away him   having.seized Simon.A a.certain.A Cyrenian.A

          ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ   ἐπέθηκαν   αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν κτλ
          coming.A from countryside 3P.put.upon him the cross   to.carry

          RSV: And as they led him away, they seized <u>one Simon of Cyrene,</u> who was coming in from the country, and laid on him the cross, to carry it behind Jesus.

          CEV: …some soldiers grabbed hold of <u>a man</u> from Cyrene named Simon.

No doubt, many translators have felt that this 'abbreviated' Greek idiom was inappropriate for their audience; for example, the CEV's has used a fuller rendering (supplying 'named'). In contrast to Luke's abbreviated form, we find a fuller form in parallel **Mrk 15:21**, where (following Z&G) τινα goes with παράγοντά (rather than Σίμωνα) and means 'a certain one who was passing by' (for similar orders with τινα in object complements, see Act 9:33, Act 10:5 and Act 10:11).

Mrk 15:21 Καὶ ἀγγαρεύουσιν   **παράγοντά τινα**   Σίμωνα Κυρηναῖον
          and 3P.compell.to.serve.Pres passing.by.A a.certain.A Simon.A Cyrenian.A

          ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ,   τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ῥούφου, κτλ
          coming.A from countryside the father of.Alexander and of.Rufus

          NRS: They compelled <u>a passer-by,</u> who was coming in from the country, to carry his cross; it was Simon of Cyrene, the father of Alexander and Rufus.

Now to turn to one of our main concerns. Assuming a common use of τις is to introduce specific unidentifiable entities, *what difference does* τις *make when it occurs in a thetic?*

A reasonable hypothesis would be that τις's presence indicates that the new entity will be important in the subsequent discourse (i.e. akin to Dik's 'New Topic', 1997a:213). Levinsohn (2000:134, note 1) considers this possibility for *adjectival* τις, citing Hopper and Thompson (1984:719) who 'have shown that, in many languages, the presence versus absence of words like "one" or "a certain", in connection with the introduction of a participant, depends on whether or not "it figures in the discourse as a salient [i.e. important, nab] participant"' (Levinsohn explaining and quoting Hopper and Thompson). But Levinsohn observes that important (or 'major') participants in the NT, while often modified by adjectival τις, often occur without it (he notes two examples where important participants are introduced without τις, Luk 5:27, where 'a tax collector' is the object of 'see', and Jhn 4:7, where 'a woman' is the subject of 'comes').[280] Levinsohn in fact says 'I do not discern a discourse explanation for its presence or absence.' The above applies to adjectival τις. When used as an *indefinite pronoun*, it introduces a minor participant, according to Levinsohn (e.g. Act 5:25).

My findings to a large degree support Levinsohn's observations, for both adjectival and pronominal uses of thetic τις (I am assuming that by 'participant' he means a personal entity and that his 'major participant' can be roughly equated with significant persistence in the discourse). But since Levinsohn's brief comments (relegated to a footnote) do not distinguish subject from non-subject occurrences, and especially subjects of thetic clauses, I will attempt to supplement his points with more particulars. In what follows, I will show how τις correlates with importance (as evidenced by persistence), entity type (it probably always modifies a first order entity), and, in informationally heavy clauses, the notion of 'control' (related to 'agent-worthiness').

As an overview of τις's uses with thetic **subjects**, consider Table 9 below, which lists relevant tokens in my data. Each introduces a singular entity by means of a subject modified by τις. The subjects are all nominative except where noted (there are six 'acc'[usative] tokens that occur as subjects of object complements). Tokens in column 1 are typical εἰμί thetics, and most tokens in column 2—with intransitive verbs—are typical thetics. Tokens in column 3 involve predicates not typical for thetics: all are transitive verbs and some introduce more than one entity (and so many would *not* qualify as sentence-focus constructions). Although not included here, some cases of anchored singular subjects (e.g. 'one of the disciples') and plural subjects (nearly all of which are anchored) would fit here. But anchored singular and plural subjects raise complications which time does not permit me to treat here, the most difficult being that anchored subjects can often be construed as topic expressions.[281]

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[280] In a similar way, Kahn (1973:251) notes that in Homer 'first-order' entities (persons and places) are often, but not always, introduced in 'existential' εἰμί clauses. He does not attempt to explain when τις might occur.

[281] Consider Luk 11:1 with transitive 'said': εἶπέν τις τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν [3S.said a.certain of.the disciples of.him to him] 'one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray…"' Τις instructs the hearer that the entity is unidentifiable, but it is anchored to 'Jesus' disciples', a known group that is on stage (since the new entity does not persist, it is 'trivial'). Because of this semi-given status, it seems to me it could be interpreted as a topic expression (comparable to a double accented English paraphrase: *One of his DISCIPLES SAID to him*). I will not try to solve this problem here. (For similar reasons, Luk 9:57 and Luk 13:23 in column 3 of Table 9 are also borderline.)

Table 9. Τις used with 'thetic-like' subjects

	(1)—with εἰμί 'be'	*(2)—with intransitive verb*	*(3)—with other verb* [x. = τις modifying a subject noun]
preverbal subject (22x)	Luk 14:2 (§6.3.4.3); Luk 16:1; Luk 16:19; Luk 18:2; Act 9:36 (split subject); Act 16:1; Act 16:9 (periphrastic?);[282] Act 25:14 (periphrastic?)	Mrk 14:51 (x. followed him—not a typical thetic verb); Luk 10:25; Luk 10:30; Luk 10:31; Luk 10:33; Luk 18:35; Luk 19:12 (x. traveled to a far country—not a typical thetic verb).	Mrk 9:38 and ‖Luk 9:49 (both acc. pronoun; we saw someone casting out demons in your name); Luk 14:16 (x. was preparing a dinner); Luk 15:11 (x. had two sons); Luk 20:9 (x. planted a vineyard); Luk 21:2 (he saw a certain poor widow putting in two small copper coins); Act 7:24 (he saw someone being mistreated)
postverbal subject (19x)	Jhn 4:46; Jhn 5:5; Jhn 11:1; Act 9:10	Mrk 15:21 (acc., proper name); Luk 8:49 (pronoun); Act 5:25 (pronoun); Act 5:34; Act 10:11 and ‖Act 11:5 (both acc., non-human); Act 20:9; Act 21:10 (pronoun?); Act 27:27 (acc., non-human)	Luk 8:27 (x. met him); Luk 9:57 and Luk 13:23 (pronouns, someone said to him);[283] Luk 13:6 (pronoun, someone had a fig tree); Luk 18:18 (x. questioned him); Luk 22:56 (x. seeing him)

Table 9 shows that preverbal subjects occur only slightly more often than postverbal ones. The two orders can be explained according to the factors discussed in §4.10 for other thetics.

Table 9 also shows that thetic τις subjects occur most frequently in Luke's writings (*Luke* and *Acts*) and so τις's use can be at least partially attributed to style or register. Out of 41 tokens, 22 are in Luke, 13 in Acts, 3 in John, and 3 in Mark. Luke's preference is also apparent when comparing some parallel passages. Where Luk 8:27 has ἀνήρ τις 'a certain man', Mrk 5:2 has simply ἄνθρωπος 'a man'. Compare also τις…ἄρχων 'a certain ruler' in Luk 18:18 with (pronominal) εἷς 'one' in Mat 19:16 and Mrk 10:17. In contrast to Luke's use of τις, Matthew and Mark prefer εἷς 'one', which is common in the LXX and considered Hebraic by some.[284]

Closer examination of the tokens in the table reveals some strong tendencies but few infallible rules. There are no tokens occurring in the expository discourses of the NT such as the Epistles. Most occur in narrative, especially in narrative background. But tokens involving active verbs or pronominal τις may narrate events on the event line of a narrative (see Luk 13:23 illustrated in §4.2.4).

Probably more important is the fact that there is hardly a token where thetic τις modifies anything but a first order entity (the closest exception being an 'insurrection'—a second order entity—in Luk 23:19—but see footnote 285 why this token is not in the table). The picture

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[282] If εἰμί in Act 16:9 and Act 25:14 is periphrastic (*periphrastic εἰμί+intransitive participle*), these tokens would function like those with an intransitive verb in column (2).

[283] In harmony with Levinsohn's point (2000:134) that pronominal τις does not introduce major participants, it makes sense that most entities so introduced hardly persist in the narrative (e.g. Luk 9:57 and Luk 13:23). This is also true of most anchored instances (which are not included in the table): Luk 11:1 ('one of his disciples said to him'); Luk 11:27 ('a women in the crowd lifted up voice'); Luk 11:45 ('one of the lawyers answered'); Luk 14:15 ('one of those at table with him'). A significant exception would be the new referent in Luk 7:36 ('one of the Pharisees') who persists for many sentences and is later named (Simon).

[284] For example, Johannessohn (1942:66-9) considers this Hebraic. For more instances of this use of εἷς 'one', whether as pronoun or adjective, see Mat 8:19; Mat 9:18; Mat 18:24; Mat 26:69; Mrk 12:42; Rev 18:21; see also Rev 8:13 and Rev 19:17 in perception reports.

suggested here is that τις-subjects are used primarily for **first order entities**. And most entities persist for several clauses and many are described—and even named—before an event is narrated about them. Such description and naming underscores their importance. Pronominal uses are the exception, since they are not described and typically do not persist for more than one additional clause.[285] But see Luk 13:6 below where the pronoun introduces an important entity.

Moreover, nearly all of the subject entities are **human** (39 out of the 42 tokens).[286] Tokens are rare that introduce an **inanimate** thing, as in like **Act 10:11** (the accusative NP is the subject of an embedded object complement clause). Outside of the NT we find other inanimate entities being introduced, like the places 'Thryoessa' and 'Crete' in the passages from Homer cited earlier (in footnote 239). An example from Koine in an εἰμί thetic is found in **JWR 7:305** (in Josephus' The Jewish War). Here an important geological formation is introduced, 'a certain projection of rock', which is both described and named ('White'). It was on this strategic rock that the Roman general Flavius Silva built his assault ramp and finally took Masada.

Act 10:11   καὶ   θεωρεῖ   τὸν   οὐρανὸν   ἀνεῳγμένον   καὶ   καταβαῖνον
            and   3S.sees   the.A   heaven.A   having.been.opened.A   and   descending.A

            σκεῦός τι   ὡς   ὀθόνην   μεγάλην   τέσσαρσιν   ἀρχαῖς   κτλ
            thing.A a.certain.A   like   linen.cloth.A   large.A   by.four   corners

            NRS: [10] …[Peter] fell into a trance. [11] He saw the heaven opened and something like a large sheet coming down, being lowered to the ground by its four corners. [12] In it were all kinds of four-footed creatures and reptiles and birds of the air.

Jwr.7:305   ἦν   τις   ἐξοχὴ   πέτρας   εὐμεγέθης   τῷ   πλάτει   κτλ
            3S.was   a.certain   prominence.N.s.f   of.rock   very.large   to.the   wide

            Λευκὴν   δ'   αὐτὴν   ὠνόμαζον
            White.A.s.f   and   her.A.s.f   3P.called

            [The Roman commander Silva] undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would permit the banks he planned to raise; [305] for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill from the west, <u>there was a certain eminency of the rock,</u> very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada; it was called the White Promontory. [Whiston, BibleWorks]

Given the attention dedicated to them, such inanimate entities are obviously important in the discourse. As with humans that are introduced with τις, so these take center stage for a time, even if they are no more animate than a rock.[287] That so many human tokens occur in the NT must simply be because the NT largely concerns itself with people (as opposed to other first order entities needing introduction). In Koine versions of Aesop's Fables, humans

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[285] There are three passages not included in the table where τις modifies a noun but no entity persists. Moreover, it is not clear if the speaker has a specific entity in mind for any of them. See Luk 9:8 and Luk 9:19 ('one of the prophet's arose') and also Luk 23:19 with a subordinated accusative participle clause and second order entity (διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην 'because.of a.certain.A insurrection.A having.happened.A').

[286] By using 'human' here, I mean that none of these personal entities are supernatural.

[287] It is nonetheless noteworthy that some of the inanimate entities introduced with τις are portrayed in animated terms. In Act 10:11, the sheet-like thing 'descends' from heaven, and in Act 27:27 'a certain land' 'approaches' the sailors: (ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται) προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν '(the sailors thought that) a certain land (was) approaching them' (the land is not mentioned again until v 39 where they learn where their ship had run aground). Perhaps such animate-like portrayal makes such entities better candidates for being marked by τις.

share the stage with animals and both may be introduced with τις (e.g. for animals, see 'a certain old ox' in Babrius 10 and 'a certain old ram' in Babrius 93, in Perry 1990).

So far, we have considered only tokens where τις is or modifies the subject's head noun. It seems that the subject is the preferred grammatical role for τις-entities that persist. When thetic τις occurs with a **non-subject constituent**, such as a location, or a possessive phrase, including one modifying the subject but itself not the subject's head, the tendency for the entity to persist is not as strong (but the NT data is skimpy). Consider the following non-nominative examples.

In **Luk 17:12**, an unimportant location, 'a village', is activated as an indirect object, but it does not persist (see also Luk 10:38 and Luk 17:12). But a more significant location is introduced in **Act 27:8**, which is briefly described and named. ('In a certain τις city' in Luk 18:2, cited above, is trivial, though mentioned once more.) The locatives in both examples are **accusative**.

Luk 17:12 καὶ εἰσερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τινα κώμην ἀπήντησαν (αὐτῷ) κτλ
and entering he into a.certain.A village.A met him

RSV: And as he entered a village, he was met by ten lepers, <u>who stood at a distance</u>

Act 27:8 μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινὰ
with.difficulty and sailing.past it we.came to place.A a.certain.A

καλούμενον Καλοὺς Λιμένας ᾧ ἐγγὺς πόλις ἦν Λασαία.
being.called Fair Havens to.which near city 3S.was Lasea

NRS: Sailing past it with difficulty, <u>we came to a place called Fair Havens,</u> near the city of Lasea.

There are only a handful of possessor phrases with τις that introduce an entity in the NT. The two **dative** phrases introduce humans that persist, as illustrated in **Mat 18:12**, but so do the nominative subjects in their clauses (the same is true for Luk 7:41, 'If to a certain creditor [dat.] were two debtors [nom.]').

Mat 18:12 ἐὰν γένηταί τινι[288] ἀνθρώπῳ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ πλανηθῇ
if 3S.happened to.a.certain.D.s man.D.s.m 100.N sheep.N.p.n and 3S.wandered

ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐχὶ ἀφήσει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη κτλ
one of them not 3S.will.leave the ninety- nine on the hillsides

NRS: <u>If a shepherd has a hundred sheep,</u> and one of them has gone astray, does he not leave the ninety-nine on the mountains and go in search of the one that went astray?

One of the three instances with a **genitive** possessor does not persist. In **Act 19:14**, 'of a certain high priest (named) Sceva', although named, is mentioned no further (I actually take this token to be an instance of subject-constituent-focus and likely periphrastic; see §4.7). It is his sons, expressed by the subject head noun, who persist in the discourse. But in the other two instances, the genitive possessors do persist (as well as the entities introduced by the subject head nouns). See Luk 7:2 ('a sick slave [nom.] of a certain centurion [gen.] was about to die') and Luk 20:28 ('if a brother [nom.] of someone [gen.][289] dies childless').

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[288] Although Luk 7:41 is a hypothetical 'if' clause and τινι 'to a certain/any (creditor)' is technically unspecific, the entity still persists and so is treated as discourse referential/specific. See footnote 279.

[289] Although τινος in Luk 20:28 is technically unspecific (because it is hypothetical), the entity persists.

Act 19:14 ἦσαν   δέ τινος   Σκευᾶ   Ἰουδαίου   ἀρχιερέως
          3P.were   – of.a.certain.G.s Sceva.G.s.m Jewish.G.s.m chief.priest.G.s.m

           ἑπτὰ   υἱοὶ   τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.
           seven.N   sons.N   this.A 3P.doing

> NRS: [13] Then some itinerant Jewish exorcists tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul proclaims." [14] Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this. [15] But the evil spirit said to them in reply, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?"

So to repeat our conclusion, what is shown by the above instances of thetic τις with locations and possessors that do not persist is simply that *not all cases of entities introduced by thetic τις are important.*

Finally, concerning the informationally heavy tokens that introduce more than one entity, one might ask: (i) *Why is it that often only one of the new entities takes thetic τις?* And (ii) *why is the τις-constituent sometimes not the subject?* Although more data than the NT would be needed to tackle this issue, for the handful of heavy tokens in the NT at least, it seems the τις entity is always the one that is, or prototypically would be, **'in control'** (to be explained shortly). The tokens are listed in the following tables. The phrases in italics are modified by τις.

	τις modifies the subject head noun (always nominative):
Luk 13:6	*A certain (person)* had a fig tree.
Luk 14:16	*A man* prepared a big banquet.
Luk 15:11	*A man* had two sons.
Luk 20:9	*A man* planted a vineyard.
Luk 19:12	*A nobleman* went into a far country.

	τις modifies a noun other than the subject head (possessor: dative or genitive):
Mat 18:12	If *to a man [dat.]* belonged one hundred sheep [nom.].
Luk 7:41	*To a creditor [dat.]* were two debtors. (The creditor is legally in control as the passage indicates—all entities persist)
Luk 7:2	A sick slave [nom.] *of a certain centurion [gen.]* was about to die.
Luk 12:16	The land [nom.] *of a rich man [gen.]* produced-plentifully. ('The land', although subject, does not persist!).[290]
Luk 20:28	If a brother [nom.] *of someone [gen.]* dies childless.
Act 19:14	Seven sons [nom.] *of a certain high priest (named) Sceva [gen.]* were doing this.

By 'control' I mean something related to what has been called 'agent-worthiness'.[291] When two or more entities are expressed in a single clause, very often one is in control of, or acts on, the other (e.g. in *John ate the apple* and *The mother fed the child*, the entities 'John' and 'the mother' are 'in control'). And even when neither acts on the other, one may make a more natural *starting point* for the utterance, because that entity would typically be in control given the nature of the world or human convention. Thus, for the above Greek data, a father

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[290] Contrast Jhn 4:46 where two entities are introduced in two separate informationally 'light' clauses: ἦν τις βασιλικὸς οὗ ὁ υἱὸς ἠσθένει 'was a.certain royal.officer of.whom the son 3S.was.ill'. First, the possessor who is the father is introduced in an εἰμί thetic, and then his son who is ill is introduced in a relative clause.

[291] See T. Payne (1997:150-1) on 'agent-worthiness' and the related notions of 'inherent topic-worthiness' and what Kuno (1976 and 1987) calls 'empathy' and what Dik (1997a:65, 252, 254, 277f) calls 'vantage point' and 'perspective'. These concepts have been used, for example, to explain why one entity is chosen as grammatical subject, among other things. Although these concepts bear some relationship to topicality, they are distinct.

would typically be in control of his children ('a man τις had two sons'; 'seven sons *of a certain priest* τινος—as mentioned above, the father/priest does not persist). For this reason the father might make a more natural cognitive starting point. Similarly, a creditor has legal power over his debtors (the passage in fact implies this). And even the dead brother, according to Mosaic Law, had a legal claim on his living brother to raise children in his name by his widow if he had no heir.

Admittedly, given only 11 tokens in the NT, not much should be made of this claim about 'control' and τις assignment. Indeed, I suspect with more Koine data we would eventually find exceptions (e.g. in a rare context we might find instead a son 'in control' of his aging father and thus the more natural starting point).[292] But as has been shown in other languages, notions related to 'in control', like 'agent-worthiness' and 'empathy', do play a role in grammar and, while related to topicality, they are by no means equivalent to it.

To sum up §4.4, the use of thetic τις in the NT, which is rarer outside of Luke's writings, presents a mixed picture. When used pronominally, it usually (but not always) introduces a trivial entity. When used adjectivally to modify the subject's head noun, it invariably introduces an important first order entity that will persist. But when it modifies something other than the subject's head noun, the entity need not be important. So what marks an entity as explicitly 'important' is the constructional combination of adjectival τις plus subject.

Τις's presence in thetics introducing first order entities is optional and so its absence should not be taken to mean an entity is unimportant.

When considering how to do justice to thetic τις in other languages, translators may need to pay most attention to where τις modifies the subject in prototypical entity-central thetics (with εἰμί and intransitive verbs) since it is especially in these that τις indicates an important entity. In non-prototypical thetics, especially where more than one entity is introduced and τις does not occur with the subject, translators must be more discerning, since τις may modify an entity that is relatively trivial.

4.5 Left-detached NPs: +/– identifiable, +/– τις

Here we consider a marginal construction as a topic promoting device. The construction in mind is a left-detached (extra-clausal) NP with either an identifiable or unidentifiable entity (see §2.2.6.6 on how left-detachment and thetics are both 'topic promoting' devices). From the linguistic literature on left-detachment, it appears that instances activating an *identifiable* entity would be more typical cross-linguistically, while ones activating an *unidentifiable* entity would be exceptional (Lambrecht 2001b does not even discuss the latter). The former use is typically classified as a form of 'topicalization'. The latter use could be said to function even more like a thetic even though, in form, a left-detached NP is not a sentence-focus construction—it is not even a clause; I called this a **fragment thetic** earlier (see example (52) §2.2.6.6). Given its thetic-like function, for some goal languages it may require being translated by a bona fide thetic construction. The English translations cited below illustrate a variety of restructurings.

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[292] The 'in control' hypothesis for τις assignment in clauses activating two or more unidentifiable entities is also borne out by a handful clauses from 'Syntipas's' (prose) version of Aesop's Fables (Perry 1952; I believe this is very late Koine, but I do not know a date): Syntipas 29 ('a donkey and a horse [nom.] belonged to a τινι man [dat. possessor]'; the man barely persists); 34 ('a dog' nom., 'a well' [acc.] of a τινος gardener [gen. possessor]'); 40 ('a bull' nom., 'a τινα lion' acc. object; the lion does not persist); 62 ('a cicada/grasshopper' nom., 'a τινα man' acc. object; the story is from the cicada's 'vantage point'). A fifth token, Syntipas 5, appears exceptional ('a τις weasel [nom.] entered into a blacksmith workshop'), but since 'blacksmith' does not persist, it potentially has non-specific reference.

The discussion that follows begins with the more typical type, (1), which activates a discourse-old (and hearer-old) entity. The discussion then turns to relatively less identifiable types, where either (2) a hearer-new entity is introduced via a proper name, which by definition is uniquely identifiable, or (3) a hearer-new entity is introduced via an indefinite common noun (e.g. 'a man'). Type (2) may or may not be modified by τις 'a certain'; the clearest instances of type (3) are modified by τις.

(1) A NP that expresses a **uniquely identifiable** entity, such as a proper name, may be left-detached and serve to activate an entity, so that it may be a topic for what follows. The entity may be **hearer-old** or intended to be cooperatively taken as such. Consider in **Act 13:9** the sentence-initial NP, Σαῦλος 'Saul' (who is hearer-old and discourse-old). The NP is set off from the rest of the sentence by an intervening (verbless) naming construction ('who [is] also [called] Paul'). This NP stands in *apposition* to what follows, and the comma[293] after the postpositive δέ in the UBS text suggests a pause (a pause and special intonation pattern typically accompany left-detachment in other languages; §2.2.6.6). This NP is therefore *not syntactically integrated* into the rest of the sentence (i.e. it is not a constituent of the main finite verb). A similar situation holds for Στέφανος in **Act 6:8** (but the UBS text has no comma);[294] the intervening phrase 'full of grace and power' sets the initial NP off from the indicative verb ἐποίει (Stephen was just introduced into the general scene in v 5). The English translations illustrated here, which are of the dynamic and less-literal type, nonetheless show that these Greek constructions can be rendered literally.

Act 13:9   Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ   καὶ   Παῦλος, πλησθεὶς   πνεύματος
             Saul   but the.one also.[called] Paul   having.been.filled Spirit

             ἁγίου   ἀτενίσας   εἰς αὐτὸν 10 εἶπεν,
             with.Holy having.gazed at him   3S.said

GNT: [7] …The governor called Barnabas and Saul before him because he wanted to hear the word of God. [8] But they were opposed by the magician Elymas… [9] <u>Then Saul</u>—also known as Paul—was filled with the Holy Spirit; he looked straight at the magician [10] and said, "You son of the Devil!..."

NLT: <u>Saul,</u> also known as Paul, was filled with the Holy Spirit,…

Act 6:8   Στέφανος δὲ πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει   τέρατα κτλ
           Stephen   and full   of.grace and power   3S.was.performing wonders

GNT: [5] …so they chose Stephen,…Philip, Prochorus… [6] The group presented them to the apostles, who prayed and placed their hands on them. [7] And so the word of God continued to spread. The number of disciples in Jerusalem grew larger and larger, and a great number of priests accepted the faith. [8]<u>Stephen,</u> a man richly blessed by God and full of power, performed great miracles and wonders among the people.

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[293] Such commas are later editorial additions that reflect the sensitivities of the text's editors.

[294] Nor does the Byzantine Textform have a comma after Στέφανος δὲ.

   (2) Next consider cases where a uniquely identifiable entity is expressed by a **proper name** that is nonetheless hearer-new.[295] **Act 10:22** and **Act 4:36**[296] (with resumptive αὐτῷ in v 37), without τις, introduce hearer-new entities.[297]

Act 10:22 Κορνήλιος ἑκατοντάρχης, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν,
           Cornelius centurion   man righteous and fearing   the God

           μαρτυρούμενός   τε ὑπὸ ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων,
           being.well.spoken.of and by   all   the   nation of.the Jews

           ἐχρηματίσθη   ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἁγίου μεταπέμψασθαί σε κτλ
           3S.was.directed by   angel   holy   to.summon   you

           GNT: [21] [Upon meeting some newly arrived strangers, Peter asked them,] "…Why have you come?" [22] "Captain Cornelius sent us," they answered. "He is a good man who worships God and is highly respected by all the Jewish people. An angel of God told him to invite you to his house, so that he could hear what you have to say."

           REB: 'We are from the centurion Cornelius,' they replied, 'a good and religious man, acknowledged as such by the whole Jewish nation.…'

Act 4:36   Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ὁ   ἐπικληθεὶς   Βαρναβᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅ
           Joseph and the.one having.been.named Barnabas by   the apostles   which

           ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον υἱὸς παρακλήσεως,   Λευίτης, Κύπριος τῷ γένει,
           3S.is being.translated   son of.encouragement Levite   of.Cyprus by.nationality

37   ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ ἀγροῦ πωλήσας ἤνεγκεν τὸ χρῆμα κτλ
           belonging   to.him field having.sold 3S.brought the money

           NRS: [The believers were selling their property and giving it to the apostles to help the poor among them] [36] There was a Levite, a native of Cyprus, Joseph, to whom the apostles gave the name Barnabas (which means "son of encouragement"). [37] He sold a field that belonged to him, then brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet.

           GNT: [36] And so it was that Joseph, a Levite born in Cyprus, whom the apostles called Barnabas (which means "One who Encourages"), [37] sold a field he owned,…

As in the previous examples, so in these two the sentence-initial NPs presumably stand in apposition to what follows and so, again, they are not syntactically integrated (for what it's

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[295] These sentence-initial NPs resemble in many respects what traditional grammars call 'anacoluthon', 'hanging nominative' ('nominativus pendens'), 'absolute nominative', 'casus pendens' (among other things). Discussions in the standard grammars vary on these topics and cover a variety of phenomena (see e.g. Smyth §§3004-8; BDF §466). But most grammarians have in mind at least Zerwick's definition (§25) for some instances: 'It consists in the enunciation of the logical (not grammatical) subject at the beginning of the sentence, followed by a sentence in which that subject is taken up by a pronoun in the case required by the syntax.' (Our definition of left-detachment in §2.2.6.6 and §4.5 is similar.) The constructions I am discussing in this section usually do not involve a 'resumptive' pronoun in the main clause, since the entity is nearly always the main clause's subject. But see resumptive αὐτῷ in Act 4:37.

[296] More than Act 10:22, which begins a quote, the narrative token in Act 4:36 introducing 'Joseph alias Barnabas' feels to me like the tokens marked by τις (e.g. Act 19:24 and Act 22:12). If we ask why 'Joseph' is not modified by τις, one explanation might be that τις would give this entity too much attention. As Levinsohn suggests (2000:229 note 7), two verses later (Act 5:1) the narrative switches attention to ἀνὴρ τις Ἀνανίας ὀνόματι 'a certain man named Ananias' who has a more dramatic role in this part of Acts. (Incidentally, Levinsohn treats these sentence-initial NPs as 'points of departure'. My claim is that, whether or not they are called points of departure, they are more thetic-like, since they introduce hearer-new entities and, in cases like Act 5:1, are marked by 'indefinite' τις.)

[297] Act 18:8 (introducing Crispus, with only one intervening description) probably also fits here. See also Mrk 10:46 where a kinship NP precedes the proper name: ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος, τυφλὸς προσαίτης, ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν 'the son of.Timaeus, Bartimaeus, blind beggar, 3S.was.sitting by the road'.

worth, the UBS text has a comma after Κορνήλιος ἐκατοντάρχης but none after Ἰωσὴφ δὲ).[298] Although 'Cornelius' is known to the reader, he is new to the hearer (Peter). 'Joseph', however, is new to the reader. Since these proper names are uniquely identifiable, one could argue that the entities are to be interpreted as 'accommodated' topics, that is, the hearer is to cooperatively take them as hearer-old. Still, as we typically find with thetics, subsequent predications follow that serve to describe the new entity (e.g. 'a righteous man', 'named Barnabas…'). Thus, the discourse treats the entities as if they were brand new and functioning as thetics. It is also noteworthy that three of English renderings cited here begin with a clause that puts the first nominal in a focus position. For Act 10:22, the REB makes 'Cornelius' an object, and the GNT's rendering suggests a thetic reading: *CORNELIUS sent us.* In Act 4:36, the NRS begins with a *there+be* thetic, but the GNT copies the Greek structure, adding a comma after *Joseph.*[299]

Now consider **Act 22:12** and **Act 19:24** where proper names are modified by 'thetic τις' (§4.4). Although the proper names are uniquely identifiable, τις explicitly marks the entities as hearer-new. (The Greek UBS text, Byzantine Textform, and the NRS use commas).[300] The NRS imitates the Greek structure in both passages but the GNT and REB use thetics.

Act 22:12 Ἀνανίας δέ τις,   ἀνὴρ εὐλαβὴς κατὰ   τὸν νόμον,
Ananias and a.certain man devout   according.to the law

μαρτυρούμενος   ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων,
being.well-spoken.of by   all   the living.[there] Jews

NRS: [12] A certain Ananias, who was a devout man according to the law and well spoken of by all the Jews living there, [13] came to me; and standing beside me, he said,…

GNT: [12] In that city was a man named Ananias, a religious man who obeyed our Law and was highly respected by all the Jews living there. [13] He came to me,…

Act 19:24 Δημήτριος γάρ τις   ὀνόματι,[301] ἀργυροκόπος, ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς
Demetrius for a.certain by.name   silversmith   making shrines of.silver

Ἀρτέμιδος παρείχετο   τοῖς   τεχνίταις οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐργασίαν,
of.Artemis 3S.was.providing for.the craftsmen no small profit

NRS: [24] A man named Demetrius, a silversmith who made silver shrines of Artemis, brought no little business to the artisans. [25] These he gathered together, with the workers of the same trade, and said, "Men, you know that we get our wealth from this business.…"

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[298] In the 'Byzantine Textform' (Robinson & Pierpont, 2005), a comma occurs after both Κορνήλιος ἐκατοντάρχης and Ἰωσὴφ δὲ.

[299] For a comparable token in Classical Greek, see the introduction of Ἐπιάλτης in Herodotus 7.213 (mentioned in passing by H. Dik [1995:233, note 222], who does not note that this is left-detached).

[300] Although rare in the NT, Josephus often uses left-detached names with τις (but parallel LXX versions, when existent, do not!). See, for example, Josephus' Antiquities 4:14 (Κορῆς τις Korah, vs. Num 16:1), 5:33 (Ἄχαρος δέ τις Achan, vs. Jos 7:1), 5:243 (Ζάβουλος δέ τις Zebul), 8:355 (Ναβώθης δέ τις Naboth, vs. 1Ki 20:1), 9:248 (Ὠδηδὰς δέ τις Oded), 12:160 (Ἰώσηπος δέ τις Joseph, not in the Bible), etc.

[301] The form *name+τις+ὀνόματι* is rare in the NT and in Josephus. It occurs apparently only here (Act 19:24) and in Antiquities 11:145 (not after a full stop but sentence-initially: Ἀχόνιός τις ὀνόματι πρῶτος τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν προσελθῶν κτλ 'Achonios a.certain called prominent of.the Jerusalemites having.come…'). Rutger Allan has suggested to me an alternative interpretation for these two passages: In Josephus, τις might go not with the proper name but with πρῶτος τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν (thus 'a certain prominent one of Jerusalem'); similarly in Act 19:24 τις might go with ἀργυροκόπος ('a certain silversmith'). But I think that such interpretations are less likely in Koine (contrast Act 19:24 where τις clearly modifies a common noun: ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, 'a certain man in Caesarea named Cornelius').

REB: <u>There was a man named Demetrius,</u> a silversmith who made silver shrines…

To sum up, type (2), with hearer-new proper names, can be described as a hybrid construction, especially when optional thetic τις occurs. Like prototypical left-detachment, the entity is uniquely identifiable, but given the presence of one or more subsequent predications and the optional presence of τις, the discourse treats these left-detached names as functionally thetic.

(3) Left-detached NPs involving a **common noun** modified by τις occur more frequently in the NT than (2) (it is especially in Luke's writings that (3) occurs).[302] Compared to (2), type (3) resembles a prototypical εἰμί thetic even more, given it introduces an **unidentifiable** entity. I will call this construction the '**left-detached thetic τις NP**'.[303]

Consider τις γυνή 'a certain woman' in **Act 16:14**. The UBS text has a comma only after Λυδία, but given the separate function of the naming construction ὀνόματι Λυδία, I think it should be viewed as separate (i.e. as the first subsequent predication).

Act 16:14   καί   τις   γυνὴ   ὀνόματι   Λυδία,   πορφυρόπωλις   πόλεως   Θυατείρων
            and   a.certain   woman   by.name   Lydia   dealer.in.purple.cloth   of.city   of.Thyatira

             σεβομένη   τὸν   θεόν,   ἤκουεν,   ἧς   ὁ   κύριος   διήνοιξεν   κτλ
             worshiping   the   God   3S.was.listening   of.whom   the   Lord   3S.opened

NRS: [13] …we sat down and spoke to the women who had gathered there. [14] <u>A certain woman</u> named Lydia, a worshiper of God, was listening to us; she was from the city of Thyatira and a dealer in purple cloth. The Lord opened her heart to listen eagerly to what was said by Paul.

GNT: <u>One of those who heard us was Lydia</u> from Thyatira, who was a dealer in purple cloth. She was a woman who worshiped God, and the Lord opened her mind…

As we found with typical entity-central thetics, following the initial indefinite NP come descriptive phrases—subsequent predications. These descriptive phrases dislocate the initial indefinite NP from the sentence's main verb (ἤκουεν 'she was listening'), which here is finite and resumes the narrative's event line. Notice also the significant restructuring by the NRS and GNT. The NRS has moved the main verb 'was listening' in front of two descriptive phrases; the GNT has dropped 'a woman' and instead embedded the main verb in the subject ('one of those who heard us') which belongs to an equative clause.

Act 10:1[304] wins the prize in the NT for having the greatest number of intervening descriptive phrases—at least seven—before returning to the narrative event line (εἶδεν 'he saw', v 3). Most English translations render the initial NP plus locative as a *there+be+locative* thetic, as in the NRS below (the NLT has 'In Caesarea *there lived* a Roman army officer'). In its attempt at an acceptable English construction, the NRS also introduces a full stop in v 3 plus a temporal point of departure 'one afternoon'.

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[302] I am not aware of any clear examples of type (3) that lack τις. It is doubtful if 'a woman' in Luk 8:43 (‖Mrk 5:25) or 'an angel of the Lord' in Act 5:19 would qualify, since these NPs may be constituents of the participles.

[303] Mrk 14:47 is the closest thing I have found in the NT to an analogous construction with ('thetic') εἷς 'one'.

[304] Levinsohn (2000:134) calls this a point of departure even though 'a certain man' is unidentifiable.

Act 10:1f Ἀνὴρ δέ   τις   ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἑκατοντάρχης
           man   now a.certain in Caesarea   by.name Cornelius   centurion

           ἐκ   σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, 2 εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν
           from cohort   the being.called Italian   devout and fearing   the

           θεὸν σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν   ἐλεημοσύνας   πολλὰς τῷ
           God with all   the house of.him practicing charitable.giving much   to.the

           λαῷ   καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντός, 3 εἶδεν   ἐν ὁράματι
           people and praying   the to.God always   3S.saw in vision

           φανερῶς ὡσεὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην τῆς ἡμέρας ἄγγελον τοῦ   θεοῦ κτλ
           clearly   about around hour ninth of.the day   an.angel of.the God

           NRS: [1] <u>In Caesarea there was a man</u> named Cornelius, a centurion of the Italian Cohort,
           as it was called. [2] He was a devout man who feared God with all his household; he gave
           alms generously to the people and prayed constantly to God. [3] One afternoon at about
           three o'clock he had a vision in which he clearly saw an angel of God coming…

The way left-detached thetic τις NPs are used resembles in most respects the way εἰμί thetics are used, but one clear difference is that, in the NT at least, the former never begin a discourse. Instead, as illustrated by Act 10:1 and Act 16:14 above, the construction is employed only after the discourse is on its way.

Consider another possible instance in **Luk 16:20**. If we assume that πτωχὸς…τις 'a certain poor (man)' is also an instance (and thus a separate phrase from ὀνόματι Λάζαρος), then this would be the only instance I have found that comes on the heels of an εἰμί thetic, that is, **Luk 16:19** (with a split subject ἄνθρωπος τις…πλούσιος 'a certain rich man'; this εἰμί clause begins a brand new discourse). For this reason, we might instead analyze 'a certain poor (man)' in v 20 as an instance of εἰμί ellipsis. In any case, the clear instances of left-detached thetic τις NPs resemble left-detachment more than they do εἰμί ellipsis.

Luk 16:19 **Ἄνθρωπος δέ   τις   ἦν   πλούσιος,** καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο
           man   now a.certain 3S.was rich   and 3S.was.clothing.himself

    19-20 πορφύραν   καὶ βύσσον εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς. 20 **πτωχὸς**
           with.purple and linen   being.merry   every.day opulently   poor.one

           δέ   τις   ὀνόματι Λάζαρος ἐβέβλητο   πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ
           and a.certain by.name Lazarus 3S.had.been.laid at   the gate   of.him

           NRS: [19] <u>There was a rich man</u> who was dressed in purple and fine linen and who feasted
           sumptuously every day. [20] <u>And at his gate lay a poor man</u> named Lazarus, covered with
           sores,…

For more instances of left-detached thetic τις NPs, see Jhn 11:49 (anchored NP 'a certain one of them'), Act 3:2, Act 5:1, Act 14:8, and Act 18:24. There are two more tokens like Luk 16:20 above where only a naming construction (ὀνόματι+*name*) dislocates the τις NP from what is the main (finite) verb: Luk 10:38 and Act 8:9. Luk 10:33 would not fit here if the participle ὁδεύων 'traveling' is part of the NP (e.g. 'a certain Samaritan traveler').

A related construction might be where a fragment thetic follows ἐγένετο 'and it came about that' (Act 16:16 and possibly Luk 1:5; see footnote 375 in §4.9.2). Act 19:31, with an anchored plural subject (τινὲς καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν 'also some of the Asiarchs') is also related; it is the only comparable plural instance in the NT that I have found.

4.6 Copular possessive constructions: *S+BE+DAT* versus *S+BE+GEN*

There are several possessive constructions in Greek, the most pervasive being the use of the genitive at the NP level. But there are also a handful of possessive constructions that operate at the clause level. For example, the verb ἔχω 'have' is very often used to indicate possession (where the subject is prototypically an animate possessor) and its object often introduces a new entity (see §4.2.4 for thetic-like uses). There are also a few clause level possessive constructions that make use of copula-like verbs, especially εἰμί, but also γίνομαι and ὑπάρχω (Smyth §1303 and 1476-1480; Hf&S §176b and 159b).[305]

This section is devoted to the information structure differences between the following two clause level constructions (tokens with verbs other than εἰμί will be occasionally noted):

Subject NP[Possessee]+εἰμί+Genitive NP[Possessor]   (=S+BE+GEN)
Subject NP[Possessee]+ εἰμί+Dative NP[Possessor]   (=S+BE+DAT)

The use of the genitive at the clause level obviously resembles the NP level use. The use of the dative NP fits a common cross-linguistic pattern where the possessor is a quasi-locative.

Some grammarians have attempted to capture the functional difference between *S+copular-verb+GEN* and *S+copular-verb+DAT*, a difference that applies equally to Classical and Koine. Smyth §1480 states:

> the dative of the possessor denotes that something is at the disposal of a person or has fallen to his share temporarily. The genitive of possession lays stress on the *person* who owns something. The dative answers the question *what is it that he has?,* the genitive answers the question *who is it that has something?*[306]

In what follows, I shall attempt to add precision to characterizations like Smyth's by pointing out the strong correlations between the two constructions and certain information structures and the existential/non-existential distinction (indeed, the second half of Smyth's characterization, which he paraphrases as 'what' and 'who' questions, suggests an information structure distinction). I do not claim that information structure and the existential/non-existential distinction explain *all* the differences between these constructions, but they are an important element.[307]

In searching the NT for examples of these constructions, I only considered entities to be possessors if they were functionally animate (most are human but a few are divine or animal; and a couple are personifications). I then categorized them according to the identifiability status of the subject (e.g. '–id'=unidentifiable). The four possible combinations are listed in Table 10 together with comments about their frequency and function. This categorization

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[305] Compare Latin where the possessive genitive may be used on either the NP or clause levels (i.e. predicatively and attributively) but the possessive dative is confined to the clause level. See Hengeveld (1992:104) and Bolkestein (1983) and (2001).

[306] Hf&S §176b say the copula+*dative* of possession emphasizes *the possession* ('Besitz') while the copula+*genitive* of possession emphasizes the possessor ('Besitzer'). BDF §189 make a similar but not altogether identical claim (examples of the predicate genitive are given in §162.7). They say that, as in Classical, so generally in the NT, 'the genitive is used when the acquisition is recent or the emphasis is on the possessor…and the dative when the object possessed is to be stressed'.

Grammars that discuss the dative of possession may explicitly (Smyth §1474-1480, Dana and Mantey §92.3) or implicitly (BDF §188-189; Hf&S §176) make a conceptual connection between the 'dative of possession' and the dative of 'interest' and/or 'advantage or disadvantage'.

[307] For example, some of the differences can be explained in terms of the non-information structure semantics of the constructions. See e.g. Bolkestein 1983 and 2001 on comparable constructions in Latin, where the dative possessor is taken to be a semantic experiencer that is nearly always human (2001:275).

applies specifically to tokens with εἰμί as copula, which are by far most common, although examples with the other two copular verbs will occasionally be cited below.

Table 10. Possessive εἰμί constructions

	FORM		FUNCTION
common	S +id.	GEN	The *default* construction.
			Most typically S is topical and GEN is in the focus domain.
?	S –id.	GEN	This construction apparently never occurs.
common	S –id.	DAT	An 'existential' possessive construction:
			(i) Thetic S is part of the focus domain and DAT is topical and identifiable (rarely unidentifiable).
			(ii) When negated, asserts what did not belong to the topical DAT possessor.
			(iii) When the identity of what is possessed is being questioned, S is interrogative.
? rare	S +id.	DAT	Fairly rare, marginal. Never thetic or existential.
			Most typically S is topical and DAT is in the focus domain.

What is noteworthy is that the second category is apparently unattested in the NT and the fourth is rare and marginal. It is only the first and third categories that are common. Thus, when the possessor is genitive, the subject is probably always identifiable (first category), and when the possessor is dative, the subject is nearly always unidentifiable (third category). Moreover, dative possessors are almost always identifiable and most genitive ones are too, and both types of possessors tend to be pronouns (especially when dative).[308]

Finally, what is most relevant to us is the strong correlation between the third category $S_{[-id]}+BE+DAT$ and 'existential' function, of which many instances are thetic. Thetic $S_{[-id]}+BE+DAT$ is thus a sister construction to thetic $S_{[-id]}+BE$. Moreover, εἰμί in this construction is non-copular, and so the dative is not a copular predicate (for the same reasons that comparable locatives in $S+BE$ are not; see §4.1). In contrast, the genitive possessors clearly are copular predicates.

4.6.1 $S_{[+id]}+BE+GEN$, the default construction: very common.

We can consider $S_{[+id]}+BE+GEN$ to be the default construction, not only because it is most common, but also because the subject is usually the clause topic. It also seems to occur in more syntactic contexts and in more types of information structures than the other forms. But it is hard to find tokens where the subject is clearly focal; a couple of possible tokens are mentioned below.

Most typically, the **genitive** possessor is in the focus domain either (i) as part of a focal predicate (predicate-focus), or (ii) itself comprising the entire focus domain.

In **Act 23:6,** the subjects express (contrastive) topics and the (contrastive) predicate genitives are in the focus domain. In **Mrk 12:7,** the clause-initial genitive ἡμῶν 'ours' is focal (and perhaps emotively emphatic); the topic 'the inheritance' is inferentially accessible (‖Luk 20:14 has a subjunctive of γίνομαι instead of future εἰμί). And in **Jhn 19:24**, the interrogative τίνος 'whose' in the embedded question is construed as focal.

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[308] For example, the genitive possessor in Jhn 19:24 is the unidentifiable wh-word τίνος 'whose'.

Act 23:6 Γνοὺς   δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι τὸ ἓν μέρος ἐστὶν **Σαδδουκαίων**
having.known now the Paul   that the one party 3S.is of.Sadducees.G

τὸ δὲ ἕτερον **Φαρισαίων** ἔκραζεν   ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ,
the and other   of.Pharisees.G 3S.was.crying.out in the Sanhedrin

NRS: [Paul is defending himself before the chief priests and council in Jerusalem.] When Paul noticed that <u>some were Sadducees and others were Pharisees,</u> he called out in the council, "Brothers, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees. I am on trial concerning the hope of the resurrection of the dead."

Mrk 12:7 Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ   κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν,
this   3S.is the heir   come let.us.kill   him

καὶ **ἡμῶν** ἔσται   ἡ κληρονομία.
and ours.G 3S.will.be the inheritance

NRS: But those tenants said to one another, 'This is the heir; come, let us kill him, <u>and the inheritance will be ours.'</u>

Jhn 19:24 Μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν   περὶ αὐτοῦ **τίνος**   ἔσται·
not let.us.split it   but let.us.cast.lots for   it   whose.G 3S.will.be

NRS: [Having crucified Jesus, the soldiers were dividing up his clothes among themselves.] [23] …now [Jesus'] tunic was seamless, woven in one piece from the top. [24] So they said to one another, "Let us not tear it, but cast lots for it <u>to see who will get it."</u>

There are several other tokens where the genitive NP is focal. Examples include: Mrk 9:41; Mrk 10:14; Luk 18:16; Rom 14:8 (BDF §189); 1Co 1:12; 1Co 3:4; 1Co 3:21;[309] 2Co 10:7; Gal 3:29; Rev 11:15. 1Th 5:5 and 1Th 5:8 (belonging to personified 'night' and 'day', which, though anarthrous, are uniquely identifiable); probably also ones like Mat 5:3, Mat 5:10 and Mat 19:14, assuming the subject is not focal.

Rom 8:9 (mentioned by BDF §162.7) is probably best viewed as a case of (negative) polar focus, so the genitive would be in the presupposition. Alternatively, the genitive belongs to a larger focal predicate.

Rom 8:9 εἰ δέ τις   πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει,   οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν **αὐτοῦ**.
if but anyone Spirit of.Christ not 3S.have he   not 3S.is of.him.G

NIV: You, however, are controlled not by the sinful nature but by the Spirit, if the Spirit of God lives in you. And if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, <u>he does not belong to Christ.</u>

$S_{[+id]}$+BE+GEN occurs in different types of **relative clauses**. The relative clause in **Act 21:11**, with a genitive relative pronoun, is *restrictive,* serving to sufficiently identify 'the man' (see also Act 27:23). At the sentence level, this clause does not assert anything and so is informationally neutral. The relative clause in **Luk 5:3** is *appositive* (see §2.3.6 and footnote 108 on various types of relative clauses). It asserts (parenthetically) that the particular boat belonged to Simon. 'Of Simon' is in the focus domain and the nominative relative pronoun expresses the topic.

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[309] I have some hesitation about ὑμῶν 'yours' in 1Co 3:21. Perhaps one could argue that the clause-initial subject πάντα 'all (things)' is instead focal. But this would require an awkward switch in vv 22-23, where ὑμῶν and the genitive names, Χριστοῦ and θεοῦ, are clearly focal.

Act 21:11   Τὸν   ἄνδρα **οὗ**   ἐστιν ἡ   ζώνη αὕτη, οὕτως δήσουσιν ἐν
            the.A man.A whose.G   3S.is the belt.N this.N thus   3P.will.bind in

            Ἰερουσαλὴμ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ παραδώσουσιν εἰς   χεῖρας ἐθνῶν.
            Jerusalem   the Jews   and will.deliver   into hands   of.Gentiles

> NRS: [Agabus took Paul's belt, tied up his own feet and hands with it, and said,] "Thus says the Holy Spirit, 'This is the way the Jews in Jerusalem will bind the man <u>who owns this belt</u> and will hand him over to the Gentiles.'"

Luk 5:3   ἐμβὰς   δὲ   εἰς ἓν   τῶν πλοίων, ὃ   [ἦν   **Σίμωνος**,]_FD
            embarking   and into one of.the boats   which.N 3S.was of.Simon.G

> REB: He got into one of the boats, <u>which belonged to Simon,</u> and asked him to put out a little way from the shore;…

Clear instances of possessive $S_{[+id]}$+BE+GEN where the subject is focal are hard to find. We cannot count the (appositive relative) clause in **2Ti 2:17** (also 2Ti 1:15 and 1Ti 1:20). Although the compound subject ('Hymenaeus and Philetus') is focal and the genitive pronoun is topical, this example is excluded because the pronoun is not possessive but partitive. So the partitive subject is clearly not so restricted. (All three passages are explicitly listed as partitive by Hb&S and 1Ti 1:20 by BDF §164; many English translations use an inverted locative structure, e.g. NRS, or another structure that puts the proper names in the predicate, e.g. GNT.)[310]

2Ti 2:17   ὁ   λόγος αὐτῶν   ὡς γάγγραινα νομὴν   ἕξει.
            the word   of.them as gangrene   spreading.[effect] 3S.will.have

            ὧν   ἐστιν Ὑμέναιος καὶ Φίλητος, οἵτινες κτλ
            of.whom.G.p 3S.is Hymenaeus and Philetus who.N.p

> NRS: [16] Avoid profane chatter, for it will lead people into more and more impiety, [17] and their talk will spread like gangrene. <u>Among them are Hymenaeus and Philetus,</u> [18] who have swerved from the truth by claiming that the resurrection has already taken place.

> GNT: Two men who have taught such things are Hymenaeus and Philetus.

But **Rom 9:4**, also an appositive relative clause (εἰμί is unexpressed), *is* possessive. In principle, it could be a case of subject focus (see the inversion in the NRS), but translations like NIV, where 'theirs' would necessarily be stressed, suggest that even here the genitive could be focal.[311]

Rom 9:4   οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται, **ὧν**   ἡ   υἱοθεσία καὶ ἡ   δόξα
            who   3P.are Israelites   of.whom.G.p the sonship.N and the glory.N

> NRS: [3] For I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my own people, my kindred according to the flesh. [4] They are Israelites, <u>and to them belong the adoption,</u> the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises;…

> NIV: <u>Theirs</u> is the adoption as sons; <u>theirs</u> the divine glory,…

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[310] Tokens like Luk 20:33 (with γίνομαι, τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνή; 'whose wife will she be?') and ‖Mat 22:28 (with εἰμί) do not belong here. The focal genitive is part of the predicate NP. On Luk 20:33, see Z&G and BDF §164.1.

[311] Nor is the subject 'all' in Luk 4:7 (ἔσται σοῦ πᾶσα '3S.will.be yours.G all.N.f.s') a clear example of subject focus, since it may only be an emphasized topic and the predicate 'yours' the actual focus of assertion (the Devil is tempting Jesus with all the glory of the world that he has just shown him if he will only worship him). Moreover, this final position of 'all', following the predicate complement, is very common in copula clauses for identifiable topical subjects.

Perhaps it is significant that no clear instances of possessive $S_{[+id]}+BE+GEN$ with subject focus can be found, although I cannot offer a reason why in theory they could not occur.

4.6.2 $S_{[-id]}+BE+GEN$: no clear examples

I have not found any clear instances of $S_{[-id]}+BE+GEN$. Sentences like those in **Luk 1:33** and **Act 27:42**, while both are existential and the latter is a prototypical thetic, would not qualify because (i) the genitives are not possessive (the latter at least is probably a subjective genitive), and (ii) the genitives function as NP level modifiers rather than as clause level predicates. So these are instances of $S+BE$ with a complex S. (Levinsohn 2000:229 also implies τῶν…στρατιωτῶν βουλή in Act 27:42 is one NP.)

Luk 1:33   καὶ **τῆς   βασιλείας**   αὐτοῦ   οὐκ   ἔσται   τέλος.
and of.the.G   Kingdom.G   of.him   not   3S.will.be   end.N

NRS: He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, <u>and of his kingdom there will be no end.</u>

Act 27:42   **τῶν**   δὲ   **στρατιωτῶν** βουλὴ   ἐγένετο   ἵνα   τοὺς   δεσμώτας
of.the.G   now   soldiers.G   plan.N   3S.came.about   that   the   prisoners

ἀποκτείνωσιν,   μή   τις   ἐκκολυμβήσας   διαφύγῃ.
3P.should.kill   lest   anyone   having.swum.away   should.escape

NRS: [42] <u>The soldiers' plan</u> was to kill the prisoners, so that none might swim away and escape; [43] but the centurion, wishing to save Paul, kept them from carrying out their plan.

It is, by the way, interesting to note that the genitives in these examples are both clause-initial and pragmatically marked. Levinsohn (2000:229) takes 'of the soldiers' in Act 27:42 as a contrastive point of departure, that is, it is a contrastive topic; the soldier's evil plan contrasts with the centurion's good intentions. Likewise 'His Kingdom' in Luk 1:33 seems marked. It may be emphatic and/or it may implicitly contrast with all other kingdoms.

4.6.3 $S_{[-id]}+BE+DAT$, a dedicated 'existential' possessive construction: common

The possessive construction $S_{[-id]}+BE+DAT$ stands out as a dedicated existential. In my data, tokens that are positive and declarative are all thetic. They introduce something into the discourse in relation to an animate entity that (in some sense) possesses the new entity. When negated, the construction asserts what did not belong to someone, and as a question, it queries the identity of what belongs to someone. The unidentifiable subject is presumably always in the focus domain and the dative possessor is nearly always pronominal (and thus identifiable) and topical (but see Luk 7:41 below for an accommodated topic).

Luk 10:39 illustrates a typical positive token and **Luk 1:7** a typical negated one.

Luk 10:39   καὶ **τῇδε**   ἦν   ἀδελφὴ   καλουμένη   Μαριάμ,
and to.this.D.s.f   3S.was   sister   being.called   Mary

NRS: [38] …he entered a certain village, where a woman named Martha welcomed him into her home. [39] <u>She had a sister named Mary,</u> who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to what he was saying.

Luk 1:7   καὶ   οὐκ   ἦν   **αὐτοῖς**   τέκνον,   καθότι   ἦν   ἡ   Ἐλισάβετ στεῖρα,
and   not   3S.was   to.them.D.p   child   because   3S.was   the   Elizabeth   barren

NRS: [6] [Aaron and Elizabeth] were righteous before God, living blamelessly according to all the commandments and regulations of the Lord. [7] <u>But they had no children,</u> because Elizabeth was barren, and both were getting on in years.

Other typical positive tokens include: Luk 1:5 (with ellipsis, γυνὴ αὐτῷ 'a wife [was] to him'); Luk 8:42; Jhn 18:39; probably Jhn 19:40; Act 4:37 (ὑπάρχω); Act 10:6; Act 18:10; Act 21:9; Act 21:23; Rom 9:9; possibly 1Co 8:6 (but the dative may be benefactive). Other typical negated tokens include: Luk 2:7; Luk 12:24 (possessor is 'ravens'); Act 7:5; Act 8:21; Act 25:16; 1Co 9:16.

The use of *S+BE+DAT* where the subject involves a wh-word, as in **Luk 6:32,** is rare (Mat 19:27 is another; BDF §189). Since wh-words are model instances of constituent-focus, the subject alone is in the focus domain. Still, the basic construction is existential (the subject is unidentifiable and the clause may be paraphrased as 'There is no credit to you', i.e. 'You have no credit').

Luk 6:32   εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς   ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία   **ὑμῖν**   χάρις   ἐστίν;
           if you.love the.ones loving   you   what.kind.N to.you.D credit.N 3S.is

> NRS: If you do good to those who do good to you, <u>what credit is that to you?</u> For even sinners do the same.

As mentioned before, **Luk 7:41** is atypical as a thetic, because it is informationally heavy: in addition to the subject 'two debtors', it also activates the unidentifiable dative entity, 'a creditor'. Since it is the subject entities 'two debtors' that are immediately taken up as the new topics in the subsequent predications, the dative 'a creditor', even though unidentifiable, for all practical purposes functions as an accommodated topic. (See also Mat 18:12, with γίνομαι, which introduces '(to) a man' and 'a hundred sheep'.)

Luk 7:41   δύο χρεοφειλέται ἦσαν **δανιστῇ**   **τινι·**
           two debtors.N.p.m 3P.were creditor.D.s.m to.a.certain.D.s.m

           ὁ   εἷς ὤφειλεν   δηνάρια πεντακόσια, ὁ   δὲ ἕτερος πεντήκοντα.
           the one 3S.was.owing denarii five.hundred the and other fifty

> NRS: [Jesus began to tell a parable, saying,] <u>A certain creditor had two debtors;</u> one owed five hundred denarii, and the other fifty.

Similarly, **Act 28:7**, with ὑπάρχω, introduces two hearer-new entities, the subject 'lands' (i.e. an estate) and dative 'the leader of the island'. This token differs from typical εἰμί tokens in that it is the dative 'leader' that features in the subsequent discourse, not the subject 'lands' (except implicitly, since the lands are the leader's means for taking in 276 refugees).

Act 28:7   Ἐν δὲ τοῖς   περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον **ὑπῆρχεν** χωρία
           in now the.[areas] around the place that   3S.was   lands.N.p.n

           τῷ   πρώτῳ   τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίῳ, ὃς ἀναδεξάμενος   κτλ
           to.the leader.D of.the island by.name Publius who having.welcomed

> NRS: Now in the neighborhood of that place were lands belonging to the leading man of the island, named Publius, who received us and entertained us hospitably for three days.

A few tokens introduce second order entities (that do not persist). Perhaps they are better classed as benefactive rather than possessive. In any case, they are thetic. Consider the introduction of 'glory' in **Luk 14:10**. (See also 'joy' and 'gladness' in Luk 1:14, 'grief' in Rom 9:2, and one token with γίνομαι in Act 15:2 introducing 'a dispute and debate'.)

Luk 14:10 τότε ἔσται   **σοι** δόξα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν   συνανακειμένων σοι.
           then 3S.will.be you.D glory before all   the.ones reclining.together you.D

> NRS: But when you are invited, go and sit down at the lowest place, so that when your host comes, he may say to you, 'Friend, move up higher'; <u>then you will be honored in the presence of all who sit at the table with you.</u>

Luk 9:13 (clearly possessive) is somewhat marginal. It is negated and specifies a quantity of items, ('not more than five loaves…'), but it inferentially computes as a positive thetic assertion, 'we have (at least) five loaves and two fish'.

Luk 9:13 Οὐκ εἰσὶν **ἡμῖν** πλεῖον ἢ ἄρτοι πέντε καὶ ἰχθύες δύο,
             not 3P.are to.us.D more than loaves five and fish two

> NRS: [13] But he said to them, "You give them something to eat." They said, <u>"We have no more than five loaves and two fish</u>–unless we are to go and buy food for all these people."

4.6.4 *S[+id]+BE+DAT:* a marginal and rare category

Grammars cite examples of *S[+id]+BE+DAT* that are also possessive. Some proposed cases are questionable and may be better viewed as benefactive datives (i.e. 'dative of advantage', BDF §188). But there are a few tokens that are clearly possessive. In the end, we must ask what does this construction do that *S[+id]+BE+GEN* cannot do (or that ἔχω 'have' cannot do)? Presently, I cannot answer this, although some tokens may be Hebraisms.[312]

Of the few possible tokens, none are 'existential' or thetic. In most the subject is topical and the dative is focal. This is illustrated by **Luk 12:20** (cited by Robertson 1934:541, BDF §189.2, Hf&S §176b, and Hb&S), where the dative is a wh-word, τίνι. As many translations suggest, future ἔσται could be a disguised γίνομαι, meaning 'who will get/acquire…' (GNT, NLT, REB, NIV; see §4.9.3). In contrast to this token, it may be significant that in Jhn 19:24 (discussed earlier in this section) the genitive τίνος 'of whom' occurs in a subordinate question.

Luk 12:20 ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας, **τίνι** ἔσται;
            what now you.prepared to.whom.D 3S.will.be

> NRS: But God said to [the rich man], 'You fool! This very night your life is being demanded of you. <u>And the things you have prepared, whose will they be?'</u>

Act 2:39 is another proposed example, cited by Robertson (1934:541) and BDF §189.2. But the benefactive reading of dative ὑμῖν makes more sense (meaning 'for you'; so Hb&S; see NRS, CEV, and NIV).[313] In any case, the subject is also topical (it refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit and forgiveness mentioned in the previous verse, besides other Gospel blessings). And the clause-initial dative is in the focus domain; 'to you' together with the conjoined NPs 'to your children', etc. identify who the promise is for.

Act 2:39 **ὑμῖν** γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν
           you.D for 3S.is the.N promise.N and the.D children.D of.you and all.D

            τοῖς εἰς μακράν, ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.
            the.ones.D at distance whomever.A 3S.may.call.to Lord the God of.us

> NRS: [38] …Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ so that your sins may be forgiven; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. [39] <u>For the promise is for you,</u> for your children, and for all who are far away, everyone whom the Lord our God calls to him.

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[312] BDF §189.2 also note the exceptional nature of the tokens I have collected (Luk 12:20, Act 2:39, and Rom 7:3) since, by their definitions, it is the subject possessee and not the dative possessor that should be 'emphasized' (see footnote 306).

[313] As suggested to me by Rutger Allan, the intended recipient/benefactor of a promise is expressed by the dative, both for the noun (e.g. Rom 4:13, ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ 'the promise to Abraham') and the verb (e.g. Heb 6:13, Τῷ…Ἀβραὰμ ἐπαγγειλάμενος '(God) having promised to Abraham'; see also BDAG).

For other likely occurrences of possessive $S_{[+id]}$+*BE*+*DAT,* see Jhn 17:6;[314] Jhn 17:9; Act 7:44 (cited by Hb&S);[315] Act 19:25 (benefactive or possessive for Hb&S); Rom 7:3 (γίνομαι; the dative is a Hebraism according to BDF; possessive for Hb&S).

4.6.5 Summary

At the beginning of this section, Smyth's (§1480) portrayal of the difference between possessive *S*+*BE*+*GEN* and *S*+*BE*+*DAT* was mentioned (one that was to varying degrees reflected by Hf&S §176b and BDF §189, footnoted there):

> the dative of the possessor denotes that something is at the disposal of a person or has fallen to his share temporarily. The genitive of possession lays stress on the *person* who owns something. The dative answers the question *what is it that he has?,* the genitive answers the question *who is it that has something?*

From the NTG data presented here, we can now say that the difference between the two most common constructions, $S_{[+id]}$+*BE*+*GEN* and $S_{[-id]}$+*BE*+*DAT,* is that the former involves a subject that is always in the presupposition (i.e. in some sense topical), and the latter is a dedicated existential construction that is often thetic. Smyth's portrayals of 'laying stress' and 'answering certain questions' can be now reinterpreted in terms of the range of information structures these constructions are capable of having and prototypically have. For example, most typically 'the genitive of possession' is in the focus domain, and in this sense we can agree with Smyth that it is 'stressed'. The danger in Smyth's portrayals is that they give the impression that these constructions primarily serve to answer wh-questions (*what is it that…? who is it that…?*), something that is seldom the case.

4.7 Periphrastic-εἰμί+participle *versus* non-periphrastic-εἰμί+participial clause[316]

This section takes up some unfinished business in §4.2.5.3, which dealt with difficulties in identifying clause breaks. It concerns εἰμί sentences that, because they might be 'periphrastic', were routinely discarded from my counts of εἰμί thetics in Table 7. For example, we will look at sentences like that in **Act 25:14** and consider if this is (a) two clauses, where ἐστιν 'is' belongs to the first clause and the participle καταλελειμμένος 'left behind' is the predicate word of a SP (=subsequent predication), or if this is (b) one single clause, where ἐστιν καταλελειμμένος comprises a periphrastic verb form (i.e. one verb phrase). Structure (a) is reflected by 'There is a man who has been left behind as a prisoner by Felix', and (b) by 'A man was left behind by Felix as a prisoner'.

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[314] GNT: 'I have made you known to those you gave me out of the world. They belonged to you [σοὶ ἦσαν yours.D 3P.were], and you gave them to me.' BDF §162.7 indicate that one manuscript has genitive σοῦ in place of σοί. Of course σοί could also be a *nominative* plural possessive pronoun (Hb&S).

[315] Levinsohn (2000:193) takes the subject 'the tent of testimony' in Act 7:44 to be the topic, an interpretation suggested also by the CEV ('The tent where our ancestors worshiped God was with them in the desert'). But it occurs to me that the subject may instead be in the focus domain, e.g. 'Our fathers *(also)* had the tent of witness.' Most English translations in fact render the subject as an object of 'have' (RSV: 'Our fathers had the tent of witness in the wilderness'). In any case, Stephen's speech suggests a contrast between this holy tent and (a) the previously mentioned 'Tent of Moloch' and other pagan cultic objects the Israelites had in the wilderness, and also (b) 'the Temple' in Jerusalem (it is to a large degree because of Stephen's opinion of the Temple that he is on trial).

[316] I am indebted to Dr. Heinrich von Siebenthal for his helpful discussion about periphrasis in Greek.

Act 25:14 Ἀνήρ τίς **ἐστιν καταλελειμμένος** ὑπὸ Φήλικος δέσμιος, κτλ
        man a.certain 3S.is left.behind.Prf.ps by Felix   prisoner

The challenge of correctly identifying the periphrastic *εἰμί+participial* construction is well known. The problem is acute for thetics since a participial SP can be easily confused with a periphrastic participle. In this section, I shall first outline the problem and then attempt to shed light on it by isolating different factors that can help disambiguate these two constructions.

Classical Greek made use of certain periphrastic verb forms that combined a finite form of εἰμί with especially the *perfect* participle, and certain tense-aspects were, in fact, exclusively expressed periphrastically (Smyth §599-601; BDF §352-3), in which case there was no choice between a periphrastic form and a simple form.[317] By NT times, the *present* participle was also widely employed in analogous constructions (BDF §353 and Björck 1940 also note parallel cases in Classical Greek).

Grammars typically suggest that, when there was a choice between using a periphrastic and simple form, the periphrastic ones could have special functions, although there is some vagueness about the functions the grammars propose. According to Dana & Mantey §203, the periphrastic perfect and pluperfect (both formed with a perfect participle) can have 'intensive' or 'consummative force', while the periphrastic forms of the present, imperfect and future (all three formed with a present participle) can emphasize the duration of a state of affairs.[318]

This '**durative**' function is also assumed by BDAG (εἰμί §11.e): 'in many cases [periphrastic *εἰμί+participle*] serves to emphasize the duration of an action or condition' (citing e.g. Mrk 1:22 ἦν διδάσκων 'he customarily taught'; Luk 23:8 ἦν θέλων 'he cherished the wish'; ἦσαν νηστεύοντες 'they were keeping the fast' Mrk 2:18). Björck 1940 (followed by Aerts 1965) adds precision by identifying what I assume is one subtype of this 'durative' use, which pertains especially to the periphrastic imperfect (*imperfect εἰμί+present participle*): to report a state of affairs with progressive aspect that functions as background to a punctual event—I will henceforth call this Björck's '**background-progressive**' function.[319]

Besides such 'durative' functions, BDAG (εἰμί §11.f) say periphrasis can serve 'to emphasize the adjectival idea inherent in the ptc. rather than the concept of action expressed

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[317] By NT times, tense-aspects exclusively expressed periphrastically include 'the future perfect and (as already in classical in the passive) the perfect subjunctive (optative), except of course for εἰδῶ (subjunctive of οἶδα)' (BDF §352; see also Dana & Mantey, §203). Besides these, there is a strong preference in classical and later times for using the periphrastic forms instead of the simple perfect and pluperfect indicative forms when the verb is middle or passive; in fact, this is always so for third person plural forms when the stem ends in a consonant or adds σ (Smyth §405, §408). Thus, simple *pluperfect* forms of middle/passive indicative verbs are very rare (there are only 7 tokens in BART; Jhn 9:22 probably does not belong here).

[318] Wenham (1965:156) states that at least the imperfect and future forms 'tend to emphasize the continuity of the action.' By 'durative' I suspect grammarians have in mind not just progressive states of affairs but also iterative ones (multiple, bounded, and separate events). See e.g. Mrk 13:25 'the stars will be falling' (multiple events) and Luk 21:17 'you will be hated' (process), both listed by Dana & Mantey §203.

[319] Inspired by Jespersen, Björck (1940:41-55) has in mind a comparable use of 'progressive' *-ing* in English. In *He was writing when I entered,* the phrase *was writing* indicates a progressive state of affairs that (in Jespersen's words) acts as 'a temporal frame encompassing' the punctual event *I entered*. Björck's use of *(umgebender) Rahmen* '(surrounding) frame/backdrop' and *Hintergrund* 'background' (pp. 46, 96) is compatible with how I and Levinsohn use the term 'background' (but see Levinsohn's discussion on the only partial correlation between imperfect forms and background in narrative; 2000:173-5). See also Jespersen's discussion (1924:276-9) where he placed emphasis on the function of such tense-aspect forms in discourse (e.g. narrative) in contrast to linguists who overemphasized the inherent aspectual meaning of such forms.

by the finite verb' (citing e.g. Rev 1:18 ζῶν εἰμι 'I am alive'; Luk 2:51 ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος 'he was obedient'; Mrk 10:22 ἦν ἔχων κτήματα πολλά, 'he was very rich'; Luk 19:17 ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων 'you shall have authority'). Such an 'emphatic' function probably overlaps with a use mentioned by Zerwick §360 (where Luk 2:51 is also listed), for whom presumably any of the periphrastic forms can be a 'stronger' or 'more picturesque' alternative, especially suited to 'dramatic and rhetorical' contexts—below I will call this the '**highlighting**' function.[320]

The difficulty of identifying precise functions of periphrasis is also betrayed when grammarians confess that for many instances no special nuance can be detected and that the periphrastic from is apparently being used synonymously for the non-periphrastic one. This, they suggest, may be especially so in certain parts of the NT where the periphrastic forms were used under influence of analogous constructions in Aramaic (BDF §353; Hf&S §203; Zerwick §360-1; Dana & Mantey §203.i; Moulton 1908:225-7).[321]

Grammarians also note difficulties in identifying instances of the periphrastic constructions (Hf&S §235; Wallace 1996:647 note 83; Boyer 1984:167, 172).[322] So naturally they do not always agree on which passages are periphrastic (for disagreements on individual tokens in Classical Greek, see e.g. Kahn 1973, Aerts 1965 and Björck 1940). For example, Zerwick's grammar (1963) and Zerwick & Grosvenor's grammatical analysis of the NT (=Z&G 1993) do not always agree (see Jhn 11:1 below).

Formal definitions of periphrasis in these grammars are also fuzzy at times. Consider, for example, Zerwick's claim (§362; also BDF §353.1) that periphrasis occurs nine times in John, but then qualifies his claim by saying that εἰμί in John 'almost always retains a more or less independent force'! Perhaps in a similar vein, Aerts wavers and speaks of 'contamination' (1965:11) and 'weakening of the independence of' εἰμί (p. 9) for a few borderline instances. But such portrayals are unhelpful.

Along these lines I will mention here why I feel Kahn's term 'periphrastic-existential' and his accompanying analysis is unfortunate for thetics like **Iliad 11.722** (1973:139-41).

Iliad	**ἔστι**	δέ	τις	ποταμὸς	Μινυήϊος
11.722	3S.is	–	a.certain	river.N.s.m	Minyeios

	εἰς	ἅλα	**βάλλων**		ἐγγύθεν	Ἀρήνης
	into	sea	emptying.Pres.N.s.m		near	Arene

There is a river Minyeios, which empties its water in the sea beside Arene. [Lattimore, as cited in Kahn]

Kahn's suggestion is driven by his view that many existentials are underlying predicate locatives. Since 'there is a river Minyeios' cannot (or would not normally) stand by itself as a complete sentence, and since a locative 'near Arene' comes in the participial clause, he wishes to view this as a kind of periphrasis even though he admits this use of 'periphrasis' diverges from the traditional one. But as I have argued, thetics do not require an overt

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[320] As von Siebenthal puts it (p.c.), it may be that some periphrastic forms function to intensify the *representation* of an otherwise durative state of affairs.

[321] Aerts 1965 argues that the Greek of the LXX (which often uses periphrasis to translate Hebrew HYH+participle) influenced Luke's style of Greek. Others are more cautious about assuming Semitic influence: e.g. von Siebenthal p.c., Björck 1940.

[322] Definitions of periphrasis also vary. For example, some include under this term participles that function as predicate adjectives and so-called 'impersonal' constructions (Burton §432). Björck (pp. 28-29, 41) does not consider these uses to be true periphrasis. These uses are seldom relevant to thetic tokens, but see Jhn 11:1 below.

locative. By my analysis, this sentence is composed of a routine εἰμί thetic (which does not serve to predicate but to introduce the entity) plus a SP (which predicates something about the newly introduced entity).

So regarding thetic sentences, the central issue is to know when a participle functions as part of the verb phrase and when as a SP.[323] What criteria can we appeal to?

First of all, we should *not* assume that any possible instance of periphrasis is one. This applies especially to those cases where the combination of εἰμί and a participle *could* form a tense-aspect that occurs predominantly or exclusively in the NT periphrastically, such as the perfect and the pluperfect especially with middle/passive verbs (see footnote 317). This is because all types of participles, including perfect middle/passive ones, can function as SPs. Although rare, SPs with *perfect* middle/passive participles *do* occur following thetics with verbs other than εἰμί. Consider **Jhn 1:6** and **Mrk 14:51** (Luk 16:20, a 'left-detached thetic τις NP', could also be cited here, and possibly Rev 8:7 'mingled with blood'). Instances with active perfect participles also occur on rare occasion, as in **Luk 1:11** (and Luk 13:6 with 'have').

Jhn 1:6   Ἐγένετο[324]   ἄνθρωπος, | **ἀπεσταλμένος**   παρὰ   θεοῦ,
            3S.appeared   man   having.been.sent.Prf.ps   from   God

             ὄνομα   αὐτῷ   Ἰωάννης·
             name   to.him   John

             NIV: There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.

Mrk 14:51   Καὶ   νεανίσκος   τις   συνηκολούθει   αὐτῷ | **περιβεβλημένος**
             and   young.man   a.certain   3S.was.following.with   him   having.been.clothed.Prf.ps

             σινδόνα   ἐπὶ   γυμνοῦ,   καὶ   κρατοῦσιν   αὐτόν·
             with.linen.garment   over   naked.body   and   3P.seize   him

             NRS: A certain young man was following him, wearing nothing but a linen cloth. They caught hold of him.

Luk 1:11   ὤφθη   δὲ   αὐτῷ   ἄγγελος   κυρίου |
             3s.appeared   and   to.him   angel   of.Lord

             ἑστὼς   ἐκ   δεξιῶν   τοῦ   θυσιαστηρίου   τοῦ   θυμιάματος.
             standing.Prf.act   on   right.side   of.the   altar   of.the   of.incense

             NRS: Then there appeared to him an angel of the Lord, standing at the right side of the altar of incense.

Present participles in SPs occur very frequently. Unambiguous instances with verbs other than εἰμί are illustrated by **Mat 3:1** and **Mat 26:7** (both present active).[325]

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[323] BART, as one witness to the number of instances of εἰμί periphrasis in the NT, tags 235 instances of εἰμί as periphrastic (there are even more participles, since εἰμί can introduce more than one participle; this figure includes adjectival uses of participles). We might not always agree with BART's tags, but, in any case, of these proposed 235 instances, the subject is non-lexical in about 135 (i.e. it is a ratified topic or nonreferential) and of the remaining 100, only about 30 count as either thetic or 'existential' (in the broad sense, including partitive uses, e.g. Mat 18:20).

[324] Although some grammarians assume γίνομαι can occasionally function as a periphrastic auxiliary, this interpretation is irrelevant here.

[325] Tokens with present passive participles, other than the verb 'called', are rare. See καταφερόμενος ὕπνῳ 'being overcome with sleep' in Act 20:9, which is the second of two SPs.

Mat 3:1   Ἐν   δὲ   ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ   βαπτιστὴς
           in   now   the   days   those   comes   John   the Baptist

           κηρύσσων   ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας 2 (καὶ) λέγων, Μετανοεῖτε·
           proclaiming.Prs.act in the desert of.the Judea   and   saying repent!

           RSV: ¹ In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea,
           ² "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Mat 26:7   προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ γυνὴ **ἔχουσα**   ἀλάβαστρον   μύρου   βαρυτίμου
           approached him   woman having.Prs.act alabaster.flask of.ointment of.expensive

           NRS: …a woman came to him with an alabaster jar of very costly ointment,…

           GN: Während des Essens trat eine Frau an Jesus heran. Sie hatte ein Fläschchen mit…

Therefore, when trying to decide cases like **Luk 2:8** and **Act 25:14** where εἰμί also occurs, it is not enough to consider only the (tense)-aspect and mood of a participle.

Luk 2:8   Καὶ ποιμένες **ἦσαν** ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ **ἀγραυλοῦντες**
           and   shepherds 3S.were in the region the same living.outside.Pres.act

           καὶ **φυλάσσοντες**
           and   keeping.Pres.act

           REB: Now in this same district there were shepherds out in the fields, keeping watch
           through the night over their flock.

           CEV: That night in the fields near Bethlehem some shepherds were guarding their sheep.

Act 25:14 Ἀνήρ τίς   **ἐστιν καταλελειμμένος** ὑπὸ Φήλικος δέσμιος, περὶ οὗ   κτλ
           man   a.certain 3S.is left.behind.Prf.ps by   Felix   prisoner   about whom

           REB: ¹⁴ …'There is a man here', he said, 'left in custody by Felix; ¹⁵ and when I was in
           Jerusalem the chief priests and elders of the Jews brought a charge against him,
           demanding his condemnation.…'

           ELB: Ein Mann ist von Felix gefangen zurückgelassen worden,…

So what other criteria can be considered for these last two tokens? An obvious one is to consider if εἰμί can be construed as an independent non-copular verb, whether thetic, 'existential' (e.g. translatable by *there+be*), or otherwise (e.g. 'be there/present'). This consideration is made by BDF (§353.2), Björck (1940:14, 50) and Aerts (1965:7-12, 17). But the fact that it can be so construed, doesn't mean it must be. This is because, as we will see below, periphrasis can occasionally coincide with theticity. BDF actually cite Luk 2:8 above as non-periphrastic[326] and, as the REB rendering suggests, 'in that region' can be taken as a topical locative of an εἰμί thetic. Aerts (p. 53) and Björck (p. 113) also cite Luk 2:8 as a case where εἰμί is independent, but Björck hesitates a bit,[327] and Hb&S cite it as periphrastic. In the end, we must admit that, in principle at least, ἦσαν and the locative could be doing double duty for two periphrastic participles. The CEV reflects periphrasis.

Act 25:14 above is trickier (Hb&S alone note it, for whom it is periphrastic). What speaks for periphrasis is the perfect passive participle. But if periphrastic, then the style is heavy (perhaps formal): the clause would be activating several ideas—hearer-new 'a certain man',

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[326] BDF explain that the εἰμί clause establishes an entity's 'presence' and the participle its 'activity'.

[327] Perhaps Björck hesitates because his background-progressive function would also fit here: The presence and actions of the shepherds functions as background to the appearance of the angel (v 9). But since first order thetics by definition function as background statements in narrative and since a participial SP may also do the same, this by itself is not a compelling reason to interpret the sentence as periphrastic.

hearer-old 'Felix' and 'left behind (as a prisoner)'. The German ELB uses a single heavy, subject-initial clause. That ἐστιν καταλελειμμένος are contiguous does not prove they are periphrastic. As the first utterance of a (quoted) discourse, it is normal for the subject to be preverbal, which explains why ἐστιν follows (§4.10.3.3). Moreover, non-periphrastic εἰμί thetics are especially common in discourse-initial position. Whatever the correct analysis of the Greek might be, most English (and German) translations use 'lighter' constructions, as illustrated by the REB where 'a man' is introduced by *there+be*.

In what comes next, I shall consider the following factors in my analysis of potential instances of periphrasis: constituent order; inherent aspectual meaning of different verbs and how this relates to durative and progressive aspect; the highlighting function; various information structure categories; and the use of locatives. Most of these factors have limited application, and so for many tokens a multi-pronged argument is needed.

4.7.1 Constituent order

Constituent order is usually not very helpful in identifying the periphrastic construction. In looking at the clear instances, both with and without a lexical subject, it is true that, more often than not, εἰμί and its participle come very close to each other, with either nothing intervening or only words that modify the predicate (postpositive conjunctions can of course occur between εἰμί and the participle).[328] Still, most grammarians assume that several words, including part or all of the subject (against Porter 1994:45),[329] *can* intervene (e.g. Zerwick §362; Dana & Mantey §203; Hf&S §203). Consider, for example, the intervening discourse-old and topical subject 'his father and mother' in **Luk 2:33** (periphrastic for Moule 1988:17, Z&G, Hb&S, and Björck p. 46).

Luk 2:33 καὶ **ἦν** ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ **θαυμάζοντες**
and 3S.was the father of.him and the mother being.amazed.Pres.act

ἐπὶ τοῖς λαλουμένοις περὶ αὐτοῦ.
at the.things being.spoken about him

NRS: And the child's father and mother were amazed at what was being said about him.

But there is one order that seems to be indicative of the periphrastic construction, and that is when the subject *follows* the participle. This is illustrated in the second instance of periphrasis in **Mrk 10:32**, where the subject and topic changes from 'they' to Jesus alone. Other non-thetic tokens include Jhn 3:24, Jhn 13:23 (see §2.2.6.1 on anchored subjects), and Act 26:26. But when the participle is an independent predicate, such as when it belongs to the

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[328] For Luke's writings, Björck (1940:51) suggests a default constituent order for periphrasis with background-progressive aspect: *copula–participle–modifier* (where the modifier, his 'Bestimmung', can be an object or adverbial). But it is only a tendency and he admits exceptions (pp. 52, 113-4) where adverbials intervene (e.g. Act 16:12, Luk 11:1, and thetic Act 2:5).

[329] Surprisingly, Porter claims the subject cannot intervene. So he translates καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν in Luk 1:21 by two clauses 'the people were there, expecting Zacharius' (1994:45). But for Z&G, Moule (1988:17), Björck (1940:46), Hb&S, and von Siebenthal (p.c.), this sentence is periphrastic ('the people *were waiting* for Zacharius'). Porter's analysis suggests that the εἰμί clause serves to situate 'the people' in the scene. This analysis is unlikely, since, among other reasons, 'the people' were already introduced in v 10 (which is another periphrastic sentence with intervening subject element).

SP following a thetic (whether with εἰμί or other verb), this order would be strange.[330] Thus, when the participle is independent, it presumably always follows the thetic subject.

Mrk 10:32 Ἦσαν   δὲ   ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα,
           3P.were and on the road going.up   to   Jerusalem

           καὶ **ἦν** **προάγων** αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
           and 3S.was leading   them   the Jesus

           καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο,   οἱ   δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο.
           and 3P.were.astounded the.ones and following 3P.were.afraid

    REB: They were on the road going up to Jerusalem, and <u>Jesus was leading the way;</u> and the disciples were filled with awe, while those who followed behind were afraid.

Thus, thetic sentences like that in **Luk 5:17** (introducing 'Pharisees and law-teachers') can be judged to be periphrastic on more or less constituent order grounds alone. This reading also makes sense if we take both this clause and ἦν διδάσκων to have a background-progressive function, setting the stage for the coming main events (Björck p. 44). This order with the background-progressive function also occurs in **Act 2:5**, where a locative also intervenes (see §4.10.4 on the order *V–Adverb–S*). To the degree translators might be imitating the Greek structure, some English translations reflect periphrasis (REB, RSV, CEV, NIV, GNT), while others do not (NRS). Luk 15:1, also with this order, might also count as thetic.[331]

Luk 5:17   Καὶ ἐγένετο   ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν   διδάσκων,
           and it.happened on one of.the days   and he   3S.was teaching

           καὶ **ἦσαν** **καθήμενοι** Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι
           and 3P.were sitting.down Pharisees and teachers.of.the.law

           οἳ ἦσαν   ἐληλυθότες ἐκ πάσης κώμης
           who 3P.were [=had] come.Prf.N.p from every village

    NRS: One day, while he was teaching, <u>Pharisees and teachers of the law were sitting</u> nearby (they had come from every village…); and the power of the Lord was with him to heal. [18] Just then some men came, carrying a paralyzed man on a bed.

Act 2:5   **Ἦσαν** δὲ   εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ **κατοικοῦντες** Ἰουδαῖοι,
           3P.were now in   Jerusalem   living   Jews

           ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν.
           men   devout   from every   nation –   under the heaven.

    REB: Now there were staying in Jerusalem devout Jews drawn from every nation…

    NRS: Now there were devout Jews from every nation under heaven living in Jerusalem.

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[330] Given Lambrecht's prediction that a thetic subject remain relatively close to its verb, we would not expect an intervening assertion, such as a SP. The only possible exception with a participial SP is Act 2:3 (without periphrasis): καὶ ὤφθησαν αὐτοῖς διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς 'and 3P.appeared to.them being.divided.Pres.ps.N.p.f tongues.N.p.f as fire.' This analysis is implied by Hb&S. Alternatively, the participle can be interpreted as an adjectival modifier of the subject.

[331] Of the eight tokens listed here, both thetic and non-thetic, Z&G explicitly list as periphrastic Mrk 10:32, Luk 5:17, and Luk 15:1, and Wallace lists Mrk 10:32 and Jhn 3:24. They are silent on the rest. Björck explicitly lists as periphrastic Mrk 10:32 (p. 48); Luk 2:33 (p. 46); Luk 5:17 (p. 44); Luk 15:1 (p. 45); Act 2:5 (p. 114). Hb&S list all eight as periphrastic.

More important than arguments based on constituent order are ones that explain *why* a periphrastic form would be used, or not used, in a given context. Such arguments explain the *function* of forms. We will now turn to issues of aspect and highlighting.

4.7.2 Aspect versus 'highlighting'

If one use of periphrasis is to indicate durative aspect, then we would not normally expect this use to occur with verbs that are inherently stative.[332] Thus, there would be little sense in taking **Mrk 3:1** to be periphrastic with the meaning 'a man *was having* a withered hand' (see also Luk 4:33 'having a demon'[333] and Jhn 5:5 'having thirty eight years in his sickness,' i.e. 'being sick'). Nor would it make sense to interpret ἦν...μὴ φοβούμενος in **Luk 18:2** to mean 'a judge *was not fearing* God' (Björck, p. 113, explicitly lists this as non-periphrastic). Instead, both are clearly non-periphrastic thetic *S+BE+LOC* clauses. (That Luk 18:2 is non-periphrastic is further suggested by the parallel introduction in v 3 of 'a widow' in another *S+BE+LOC* clause.) I have not noticed any grammarian suggest otherwise for these tokens.[334]

Mrk 3:1   καὶ **ἦν**   ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἐξηραμμένην **ἔχων** τὴν χεῖρα.
and 3S.was there man   withered   having the hand

NRS: Again he entered the synagogue, and a man was there who had a withered hand.

Luk 18:2   Κριτής τις   **ἦν**   ἔν τινι   πόλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ **φοβούμενος** κτλ
judge a.certain 3S.was in a.certain city the God not fearing

NRS: [2] ...In a certain city there was a judge who neither feared God nor had respect for people. [3] In that city there was a widow who kept coming to him and saying,…

But periphrasis *does* occur with inherently stative verbs. In such cases, a function other than (pure) 'durative' must be considered. An unambiguous case of periphrasis occurs with 'have' in a topic-comment clause in **Mrk 10:22**. There is, again, no sense in reading this as 'he *was having* many possessions'. Instead, this is one of the tokens for which BDAG (εἰμί §11.f) say periphrasis can 'emphasize the adjectival idea inherent in the ptc.' Similarly Gundry (1993) says it 'stresses the man's many acquisitions' in order to highlight Jesus' teaching. So periphrasis here would **highlight** the idea of the participle or the state of affairs as a whole.[335]

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[332] It has been shown cross-linguistically that verbs which are inherently stative in meaning are not typically compatible with progressive or durative verb forms. I have in mind here Vendler's four verb categories as discussed by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:91-102): States are [+static] [–telic] [–punctual] (since states are not 'telic', they are temporally *un*bounded—e.g. *be sick, be dead, have,* also psychological verbs e.g. *love, know, believe*). Activities are [–static] [–telic] [–punctual] (e.g. *swim, think, rain, eat, read,* and intransitive versions of *walk, roll*). Accomplishments are [–static] [+telic] [–punctual] (e.g. *recover from illness, learn,* and intransitive versions of *melt, freeze, dry*). And Achievements are [–static] [+telic] [+punctual] (e.g. intransitive versions of *pop, explode, collapse, shatter*). See Dik (1997a:106-117) for a comparable discussion of 'states of affairs', 'predicates', and 'modes of action'.

[333] Non-periphrastic for Björck, p. 50.

[334] It would be also pointless to claim that these are periphrastic by appealing to the background component of the background-progressive function. This is so, because (a) first order εἰμί thetics by definition function as background statements in narrative; and (b) participial SPs can also have background function.

[335] For this verse, Z&G refer to Zerwick §361, who attributes many cases simply to Aramaic influence.

Mrk 10:22 ὁ   δὲ   στυγνάσας   ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος·
              he but having.become.gloomy at   the   word   3S.left   grieving

              ἦν   γὰρ **ἔχων** κτήματα   πολλά.
              3S.was for having possessions many

NRS: [21] Jesus, looking at him, loved him and said, "You lack one thing; go, sell what you own, and give the money to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; then come, follow me." [22] When he heard this, he was shocked and went away grieving, <u>for he had many possessions.</u>

Consider now 'prayer was happening by the church…' in **Act 12:5**, which is also clearly periphrastic (Z&G, Bruce 1990:282). This is a prototypical second order thetic (that people were praying is only mentioned again in v 12, which contains another likely instance of periphrasis). Following Björck (p. 46), we can take this as another instance of the background-progressive function (and so durative), setting the stage for Peter's rescue. But what is striking here is that ἦν...γινομένη is paired with the non-periphrastic imperfect, ἐτηρεῖτο 'was being kept'. Apparently, the state of affairs, including its continuousness, is being highlighted beyond the meaning of the simple imperfect ἐγίνετο (see Bruce, p. 282).[336]

Act 12:5 ὁ   μὲν   οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρεῖτο   ἐν τῇ   φυλακῇ·
           the on.one.hand so Peter   3S.was.being.kept.Impf in the   prison

           προσευχὴ δὲ   **ἦν**   ἐκτενῶς **γινομένη** ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
           prayer.N   on.other.hand 3S.was earnestly being.made by   the church

           πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ.
           to   the God for   him

NRS: While Peter was kept in prison, the church prayed fervently to God for him.

Finally, consider **Jhn 11:1**, which Zerwick (§362) and Hb&S lists as periphrastic but without commenting on its function. Here too, if it is periphrastic, it cannot be to make 'be sick' more durative (e.g. 'a man *was being* sick'). And a highlighting function seems less relevant here. Reading ἀσθενῶν as a predicate adjective is possible in principle, but awkward, although this is what the NRS's rendering suggests. Better yet, Z&G's translation suggests the participle is a SP: 'there was a man (who was) ill'. Still better, I think, is to take τις ἀσθενῶν as the subject, 'a (certain) sick person' (von Siebenthal, p.c.), where the participle functions as an adjective (Boyer 1984:172)— 'nab' reflects this non-periphrastic structure.

Jhn 11:1 **Ἦν**   δέ   τις   **ἀσθενῶν,** Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας,
           3S.was now a.certain being.sick Lazarus   from Bethany

NRS: Now a certain man was ill, Lazarus of Bethany,…

REB: There was a man named Lazarus who had fallen ill.

nab: There was a sick man, Lazarus of Bethany,…

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[336] As I assume in §4.9, the typical (inherent) meaning of γίνομαι is aspectually inceptive (in Vendler's system it indicates an accomplishment or possibly an achievement, i.e. a temporally bounded event). Most past indicative forms of γίνομαι in the NT are aorist (264 tokens in BART, out of a total of 669 tokens of all verb forms). There are only three simple imperfects (Act 2:43 2x; Act 5:12), and it may be that all three have iterative meaning (i.e. indicating multiple punctual events) rather than durative meaning (both functions being compatible with the Greek imperfect). For these reasons, perhaps periphrasis in this verse *is a way to indicate durative aspect with γίνομαι*. I suggest this while realizing that the imperfect ἐγίνετο can nonetheless occasionally have durative aspect (e.g. LXX Gen 19:15 'when dawn was breaking').

4.7.3 **With identifiable subjects or constituent-focus**

Jhn 18:18 is an instance of **constituent-focus**; it adds καὶ ὁ Πέτρος 'also Peter', who is already in the general vicinity, to a new sub-scene (identifying X in the open proposition 'X was there warming himself'). In principle, the participle could be a SP (Greenlee 1982:64), but a periphrastic reading may be more relevant (cited by Wallace 1996:583, note 33; Z&G; Hb&S). For one, *εἰμί+perfect participle* of ἵστημι 'stand' is fairly common (see especially Jhn 18:25, without a locative, which refers to the same event). But if it is periphrastic, we must then ask why the simple form εἱστήκεισαν is used to express the parallel event earlier in the verse.[337] Although the background-progressive function seems relevant here (as background to the Jesus' trial and Peter's denial), this may be instead another case of highlighting. Peter's presence at Jesus' trial, warming himself on a cold night with the slaves, is a colossal irony for one who a bit earlier claimed to be ready to die for Jesus (Jhn 13:37).

Jhn 18:18 **εἱστήκεισαν** δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἀνθρακιὰν
3P.were.standing.PluPrf – the slaves and the guards charcoal.fire

πεποιηκότες, ὅτι ψῦχος ἦν, καὶ ἐθερμαίνοντο·
having.had.made for cold 3S.was and 3P.were.warming.themselves.Impf

ἦν δὲ [καὶ ὁ Πέτρος]_FD μετ' αὐτῶν **ἑστὼς** καὶ **θερμαινόμενος.**
3S.was – also the Peter with them standing.Prf and warming.himself

NRS: Now the slaves and the police had made a charcoal fire because it was cold, and they were standing around it and warming themselves. Peter also was standing with them and warming himself.

Mrk 15:7, with perfect passive participle, is also probably periphrastic (von Siebenthal, p.c., Hb&S). Given the proper name (which is moreover arthrous, ὁ…Βαραββᾶς) this cannot be a typical thetic. Z&G say the three articles show that the event and persons were well known (contrast ‖Mat 27:16 and ‖Luk 23:18 where some of these are indefinite). So, Barabbas, even though discourse-new, could express (a) the sentence topic or (b) non-exhaustive constituent-focus (paraphrasable as 'also BARABBAS was there'). Thus, at best it only *indirectly* functions to introduce a discourse-new entity. Still, most English and German translations introduce a slight distortion of Mark's message, as illustrated by the CEV and EIN. For ease of processing, Barabbas is introduced as indefinite ('a prisoner') via *there+be* in the CEV (EIN: 'ein Mann') and the uprising as 'a riot' ('einem Aufstand').

Mrk 15:7 **ἦν** δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν
3S.was now the one.being.called Barabbas with the insurrectionists

δεδεμένος οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν.
having.been.bound who in the uprising murder had.committed

CEV: And at that time there was a prisoner named Barabbas. He and some others had been arrested for murder during a riot.

EIN: Damals saß gerade ein Mann namens Barabbas im Gefängnis, zusammen mit anderen Aufrührern, die bei einem Aufstand einen Mord begangen hatten.

Mat 26:43, with identifiable subject and a perfect passive participle, is clearly periphrastic (Burton §91, Z&G, Dana & Mantey §203, Wallace p. 649, Björck p. 48, Hb&S) and likely **thetic** (paraphrasable as *Their EYES were heavy*). See also ‖Mrk 14:40 (with present passive participle).

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[337] Both ἦν…ἑστὼς and εἱστήκεισαν are therefore pluperfects with 'imperfect force' (Z&G).

Mat 26:43 καὶ ἐλθὼν πάλιν εὗρεν αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας,
and having.come again 3S.found them sleeping

ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ **βεβαρημένοι.**
3P.were for of.them the eyes having.been.weighed.down.Prf.ps

NRS: Again he came and found them sleeping, for their eyes were heavy.

Act 19:14, with an anchored *unidentifiable* subject, is another instance of constituent-focus (there are several manuscript variants). It answers the question 'Who did this?' Assuming this sentence is also periphrastic (Zerwick §362, Björck p. 112, von Siebenthal, p.c., Hb&S, but *not* BDF §353.2), the open proposition is expressed by ἦσαν…τοῦτο ποιοῦντες 'were doing this'.[338]

Act 19:14 **ἦσαν** δέ τινος Σκευᾶ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιερέως
3P.were – of.a.certain.G.s Sceva.G.s.m Jewish.G.s.m chief.priest.G.s.m

ἑπτὰ υἱοὶ τοῦτο **ποιοῦντες.**
seven.N sons.N this.A 3P.doing

NRS: [13] Then some itinerant Jewish exorcists tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul proclaims." [14] Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this.

4.7.4 With locatives

I already argued (§4.7.1) that some thetics with locatives are periphrastic, such as Act 2:5 and probably Luk 2:8 (see also the non-thetics with locative and time adverbials listed by Björck, p. 52: Act 16:12, Act 10:30, and Act 9:28). In some cases, however, the presence of a locative indicates non-periphrastic structure.

This is so in the case of possessive (quasi-) locatives, as in the dative possessive thetic. Consider **Act 21:23** where εἰμί is independent from 'have a vow on oneself' (also non-periphrastic for BDF §353.2, Björck pp. 14 and 51, and Aerts p. 8). Likewise, **Luk 10:39** cannot be periphrastic. This is doubly clear, since καλουμένη Μαριάμ is an appositive relative clause ('who was called Mary'), this being a common naming construction. (See also Act 21:9.)

Act 21:23 **εἰσὶν** ἡμῖν ἄνδρες τέσσαρες εὐχὴν **ἔχοντες** ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν.
3P.are to.us.D men.N.p.m four.N.p.m vow.A having.Prs.act.N.p.m on themselves

NAS: We have four men who are under a vow;…

NIV: There are four men with us who have made a vow.

Luk 10:39 καὶ τῇδε **ἦν** ἀδελφὴ **καλουμένη** Μαριάμ,
and to.her.D.s.f 3S.was sister.N.s.f being.called.Prs.ps.N.s.f Mary

(ἣ) καὶ παρακαθεσθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου
who also having.sat.beside.Aor.N.s.f at the feet of.the Lord

ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ.
3S.was.listening.Impf to.the word of.him.

GNT: She had a sister named Mary, who sat down at the feet of the Lord and listened to his teaching.

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[338] Given the constituent-focus function of the sentence, it seems best to me to take genitive τινος Σκευᾶ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιερέως not as a clause level constituent (e.g. *Sj+Cop+Gen*) but as a NP level modifier of 'seven sons', [HeadNP+GenNP]NP (the adjacency of the two phrases tells us nothing).

Locatives that are not possessive also occur in thetics that we have argued on other grounds cannot be periphrastic (in tokens illustrated above: 'there' Mrk 3:1; 'in a certain city' Luk 18:2). Likewise it seems **Mat 27:55** is non-periphrastic, assuming 'there' belongs to εἰμί and 'from a distance' to the participle (contrast ‖Mrk 15:40 with καί 'also' but lacking 'there'; Z&G's first choice is non-periphrastic; but Björck, p. 50, says it's periphrastic). Many English translations, like the NRS, reflect the two clause interpretation.

Mat 27:55 **Ἦσαν** δὲ *ἐκεῖ* γυναῖκες πολλαὶ *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν* **θεωροῦσαι,** αἵτινες
3P.were and there women many from distance observing who

ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας διακονοῦσαι αὐτῷ·
3P.followed the Jesus from the Galilee serving him

NRS: Many women were also there, looking on from a distance; they had followed Jesus from Galilee and had provided for him.

Similarly, we can argue that in **Luk 8:32** 'there' pairs with εἰμί and 'on the hill' with the participial (von Siebenthal, p.c.). But the parallel passages are a bit less clear: in **Mrk 5:11**, both locatives occur before the participle (‖Mat 8:30 lacks ἐκεῖ). Still, with Björck (pp. 112-3) I am inclined to take all three parallel passages as non-periphrastic. (Of the three, Hb&S cite the latter two as periphrastic.)

Luk 8:32 **Ἦν** δὲ *ἐκεῖ* ἀγέλη χοίρων ἱκανῶν **βοσκομένη** *ἐν τῷ ὄρει·*
3S.was now there herd of.pigs of.many feeding.Pres.ps on the mountain

REB: There was a large herd of pigs nearby, feeding on the hillside.

CEV: A large herd of pigs was feeding there on the hillside.

Mrk 5:11 **Ἦν** δὲ *ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει* ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη **βοσκομένη·**
3S.was now there near the mountain herd of.pigs great feeding

See also Mrk 2:6, which could go either way (Z&G, Hb&S, and Björck, p. 50, list as periphrastic); in any case it is thetic. Jhn 2:6 is probably not periphrastic (so Z&G, contra Hb&S).

In the end, we must recognize that periphrastic constructions (whether thetic or not) may contain locatives and so the mere presence of a locative with εἰμί proves nothing.

4.7.5 Miscellaneous

Luk 24:13, with ἰδού and a temporal adverb, must be periphrastic (also Z&G, Björck p. 45, Aerts p. 53, Hb&S) and have background-progressive function. Without ἰδού, 'two of them' would be a straightforward anchored topic. But ἰδού may make this thetic (§6.3.4.3).

Luk 24:13 Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ **ἦσαν πορευόμενοι** εἰς κτλ
and behold two of them on same the day 3S.were traveling to

NRS: Now on that same day two of them were going to a village called Emmaus,…

Finally, consider **Act 16:9**, which Wallace and Hb&S say is periphrastic (p. 586) but Björck says is not (p. 112). It is clearly thetic. 'A vision…appeared' (also thetic) functions to open up a new mental space, equivalent to an embedded discourse, and this explains why the subject 'a certain Macedonian' precedes ἦν (see §2.4.4.3 on example (221) and see §4.10.3.3). I am inclined to agree with Björck who votes against periphrasis. Many English translations suggest a periphrastic reading (e.g. NRS), and some make the thetic subject an object of a perception verb (e.g. GNT).

Act 16:9   καὶ ὅραμα διὰ   (τῆς) νυκτὸς τῷ   Παύλῳ ὤφθη,
            and vision during the   night   to.the Paul   3S.appeared

            ἀνὴρ Μακεδών τις   **ἦν**   **ἑστὼς** καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων,
            man   Macedonian a.certain 3S.was standing and begging   him   and saying

            NRS: During the night Paul had a vision: there stood a man of Macedonia pleading with him and saying, "Come over to Macedonia and help us."

            GNT: That night Paul had a vision in which he saw a Macedonian standing and…

4.7.6 Summary

Appealing to a variety of factors, I have argued for both periphrastic and non-periphrastic structure for various εἰμί sentences. In a few cases it has been hard to decide. What is clear, though, is that periphrastic structures can be thetic. Some examples discussed are informationally heavy clauses under a periphrastic reading, in which case they may be poor models for translators of some languages to imitate.

4.8 Time and atmospheric thetics

Thetics introducing times and atmospheric (ambient, meteorological, 'weather') entities are treated here separately, because they are numerous and because some have exceptional properties. For instance, certain subtypes do not involve a grammatical subject (and so cannot be instances of sentence-focus). The εἰμί type is exceptional because the subject can be, in a certain sense, *identifiable*—it can refer to a conventionally recognized time as illustrated by *It was the Sabbath* (see §4.8.2 below on the special nature of times entities). And the arthrousity of the subject constituent varies considerably depending on noun class and clause structure.

All time thetics and most atmospheric thetics introduce what are presumably **second order entities**, that is, states of affairs, and these usually build a scene's background rather than establish a new topic for subsequent predication. Still, the entity may occasionally persist.

There is also some overlap between time and atmospheric statements: Sentences like *Day has come* and *It's winter* could be viewed as instances of both.

Issues of arthrousity and identifiability (§4.8.2) are delayed until after the various syntactic structures are presented and discussed. The final subsection (§4.8.3) takes up instances of constituent-focus with time statements.

4.8.1 Syntactic structure

The tokens readily divide into two groups: (i) **subjectless** ones, which are rare, and (ii) ones with a **lexical subject**. Only those with a lexical subject can potentially meet Lambrecht's definition of sentence-focus. Those lacking a lexical subject are instances of predicate-focus even though they function as thetics (recall the discussion in §2.2.3 of (19) *It's raining* with non-referential *it*).

Subjectless tokens are typically called 'impersonal' in the grammars (Smyth §933-4, BDF §129, Hf&S §255c). When these concern weather and atmospheric phenomena, some grammarians suggest that a divine being is the hidden subject (given parallel instances with such subjects, especially in older material like Homer, but also in the Bible, e.g. Gen 19:24, Exo 9:23, and in Josephus, e.g. Antiquities 7:297). I will in any case assume that they are formally subjectless constructions.

Tokens that are **subjectless** can be further divided into two types. Given the scarcity of tokens, I include some negated tokens. Although these are not true thetics (or at least not prototypical ones), they can be considered 'existential' (compare 'there was no rain today'). So I assume they are evidence for comparable positive thetic statements.

(i.a) One subjectless type minimally requires only an impersonal verb as the predicate (but the clause may involve adverbs or an indirect object). This is illustrated twice in **Jas 5:17** by the verb 'to rain' (with a negated state of affairs). The final clause ὁ οὐρανὸς ὑετὸν ἔδωκεν is not an instance of (i.a), because it *does* have a subject. Although rare in the NT, one finds in Classical texts other subjectless 'weather' thetics, like νείφει 'it's snowing' (e.g. Aristophanes, Acharnians 1140) and ὕοντος πολλῷ 'as it was raining heavily' (Xenophon, Hellenica 1.1.16). Josephus also has a case (Antiquities 3:27 τοῦ πλήθους…νομίζοντος νίφεσθαι [the.G multitude.G thinking.G to.snow] 'the people thinking it had snowed').

Jas 5:17   προσευχῇ   προσηύξατο **τοῦ   μὴ   βρέξαι,**   καὶ **οὐκ ἔβρεξεν** ἐπὶ
           with.prayer 3S.prayed   the.G not to.rain.Inf and not 3S.rain upon

τῆς γῆς   ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ· 18 καὶ πάλιν προσηύξατο,
the earth years   three and months six   and again 3S.prayed

καὶ ὁ   οὐρανὸς ὑετὸν ἔδωκεν
and the heaven rain   gave

NRS: [17] Elijah was a human being like us, and he prayed fervently <u>that it might not rain,</u> and <u>for three years and six months it did not rain on the earth.</u> [18] Then he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain and the earth yielded its harvest.

(i.b) The other subjectless type involves a copular verb plus a predicate complement. This is illustrated by copular εἰμί with a predicate prepositional phrase in **Luk 24:29**. To this can perhaps be added **Mrk 11:19**, where according to BDF §129 and Robertson (1934:392) the adverb ὀψὲ is a predicate element. But BDAG note uses of this adverb where it functions as an indeclinable substantive (i.e. a noun), in which case it could be interpreted as the clause subject (see also the postverbal adverb πρωΐ 'early' in Jhn 18:28).[339]

Luk 24:29   ὅτι   **πρὸς   ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν** καὶ κέκλικεν   ἤδη   ἡ   ἡμέρα.
            because towards evening 3S.is and 3S.has.declined already the day

NRS: But they urged him strongly, saying, "Stay with us, <u>because it is almost evening</u> and the day is now nearly over."

Mrk 11:19   Καὶ ὅταν **ὀψὲ ἐγένετο,**   ἐξεπορεύοντο   ἔξω   τῆς πόλεως.
            and when late 3S.became   3P.were.going.forth outside the city

NRS: <u>And when evening came,</u> Jesus and his disciples went out of the city.

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[339] Kahn, who has a useful summary on impersonal constructions (1973:169-183), also considers ὀψὲ in ὀψὲ ἦν 'it was late' in Classical texts to express the predicate (p. 175), and so this would be subjectless ('impersonal'). See also examples with εἰμί, γίγνομαι and other copula verbs in Homer cited by Hermann (1926:269). Kühner-Gerth (I:33, §352.c.β) also list several εἰμί-time-sentences with predicates (e.g. Xenophon, Anabasis 6.4.26 ἤδη ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς ἦν [already about sun.G.s.m setting.A.s.f was] 'it was about sunset' (the preposition ἀμφί 'about' takes the accusative); but Kühner-Gerth nonetheless insist that there is still an understood subject (e.g. χρόνος 'time') and elsewhere deny Greek had an impersonal construction (I, p. 36 [§352 Anmerkung 3]). Also not inclined to see true impersonal constructions is Schwyzer II (p. 622), who instead wishes to view such adverbials as subjects (e.g. ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς in the above passage from Xenophon). In the end, although some specifics may be unclear, we can safely assume with Kahn for Classical Greek and with most Koine grammarians for NTG that Greek had impersonal (subjectless) constructions; and by our definitions many of these in both Classical and Koine Greek are thetic.

Clear instances of both of the above subjectless types of time and atmospheric thetics are rare in the NT.[340] Although questions remain about specific instances, there seems little doubt that both types occur in NTG—as well as in Classical Greek. Indeed, there has been considerable discussion in the literature about 'impersonal' constructions as a whole (see the summary in Schwyzer II:621).

More typically in the NT, time and atmospheric thetics involve a **lexical subject**, and these also can be subdivided into two varieties according to the type of verb phrase:

(ii.a) One type minimally requires as predicate only an intransitive verb (but the clause may involve adverbs or an indirect object). Consider the positive 'weather' statement in **Luk 12:54** with intransitive ἔρχομαι 'come' and subject ὄμβρος 'rain-storm' and then consider the negated clause in **Rev 11:6** with intransitive βρέχω 'rain/wet' and subject ὑετὸς 'rain' (which, again, is not a true thetic).

Luk 12:54   **Ὄμβρος** ἔρχεται,   καὶ   γίνεται   οὕτως·
            rain.storm 3S.comes   and   3S.happens   thus

> NRS: He also said to the crowds, "When you see a cloud rising in the west, you immediately say, 'It is going to rain'; and so it happens.…"

> nab: A rain-storm is coming; and thus it happens.

Rev 11:6   ἵνα   μὴ   **ὑετὸς**   βρέχῃ   τὰς   ἡμέρας   τῆς   προφητείας   αὐτῶν,
            that not rain   3S.may.fall   in.the days   of.the prophecy   of.them

> NRS: They have authority to shut the sky, so that no rain may fall during the days of their prophesying,…

This type, which has a minimal structure of *Subject+Verb*, is the most common in my data. It also has the same basic structure as most other Greek thetics: both the lexical subject and the verb are in the focus domain. I shall return shortly to this type in order to argue that its verb can also be non-copular εἰμί or γίνομαι.

(ii.b) The other type with a lexical subject has a copular verb and a predicate complement. It is less clear to me if it can have sentence-focus structure. In fact, the subject in some tokens that I have collected might even on occasion be construable as a topic expression (see below on the arthrousity of the subject). But conceptually, most tokens seem to function as thetics analogous to (ii.a), and in translation thetic structures may be required in other languages.

Consider **Mrk 13:28** with the predicate complement ἐγγύς 'near' and **Mrk 14:1** where presumably μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας is a predicate complement and the subject is compound. The festivals and 'summer' are discourse-new (they are also identifiable—see §4.8.2). Note that Mrk 14:1 is rendered by the NRS as an *it was X-time* structure (with non-referential 'it'), a structure often used for English time thetics. In Mrk 13:28, it might be possible to construe 'summer' as a topic, but I assume that a reading like *SUMMER's near* is more natural. This statement could also be paraphrased as 'It's almost summer'.

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[340] A subjectless sentence like σαλπίσει '3S.will.trumpet' in 1Co 15:52 is different (NRS: 'For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable'). Referentially, there is an implied agent (someone is blowing the trumpet). Given the implied agent, Kahn (1973:75) does not want to call this impersonal. The utterance is in any case functionally thetic and structurally predicate-focus.

Mrk 13:28 γινώσκετε ὅτι <u>ἐγγὺς</u> **τὸ θέρος** <u>ἐστίν·</u> 29 οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς,
you.know that near the summer 3S.is so also you

ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις.
when you.see these happening you.know that near 3S.is at doors

NRS: [28] From the fig tree learn its lesson: as soon as its branch becomes tender and puts forth its leaves, you know that <u>summer is near.</u> [29] So also, when you see these things taking place, you know that he* is near, at the very gates. [*'he' or 'it', e.g. 'the end']

Mrk 14:1 <u>Ἦν</u> δὲ **τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα** <u>μετὰ</u> <u>δύο</u> <u>ἡμέρας.</u>
3S.was and the Passover and the Unleavened.Bread after two days

NRS: <u>It was two days before the Passover and the festival of Unleavened Bread.</u> The chief priests and the scribes were looking for a way to arrest Jesus by stealth and kill him;…

The structures encountered so far are summarized in Table 11. Note that (ii.a) alone clearly has sentence-focus structure.

Table 11. The structures of atmospheric and time thetics

	constituents	*verb*	*Info.Structure*
(i.a)	**Verb** (Adverb) (Time/Loc.) (Indirect Obj.)	impersonal verbs	predicate-focus
(i.b)	**Verb+Predicate**	impersonal use of copula	predicate-focus
(ii.a)	**Subject+Verb** (Adverb) (Time/Loc.) (Indirect Obj.)	intransitive verbs	**sentence-focus**
(ii.b)	**Subject+Verb+Predicate**	copula	? predicate-focus

So much seems uncontroversial. Now I also wish to argue here that (ii.a) allows for not only intransitive verbs but also non-copular uses of εἰμί 'be' and γίνομαι 'become'. Consider the two time thetics in **Jhn 10:22**[341] and the weather thetic in **Luk 12:55**.[342] We also find a negated weather statement with γίνομαι in **Ezk 22:24** in the LXX. I include also here a Classical token from Xenophon, **Anabasis 3.1.33**, since the time phrase and verb are both plural (Act 12:3 may be a comparable NT token).

Jhn 10:22 <u>Ἐγένετο</u> τότε **τὰ ἐγκαίνια** ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, **χειμὼν** <u>ἦν,</u>
3S.happened/came then the Dedication in – Jerusalem winter 3S.was

NRS: At that time the festival of the Dedication took place in Jerusalem. It was winter.

Luk 12:55 **Καύσων** <u>ἔσται,</u> καὶ <u>γίνεται.</u>
heat 3s.will.be and 3S.happens

NRS: And when you see the south wind blowing, you say, <u>'There will be scorching heat';</u> and it happens.

GNT: …<u>it is going to get hot</u>—and it does.

Ezk 22:24 οὐδὲ **ὑετὸς** <u>ἐγένετο</u> ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς
nor rain 3S.happened on you in day of.wrath

nab: Son of man, say to her, You are a land that has not been rained on, <u>nor has rain come upon you in the day of wrath.</u>

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[341] We can probably include here the feminine adjective ὀψία being used as a subject noun meaning 'evening' (see BDAG on ὄψιος 'late'), especially with γίνομαι (e.g. Jhn 6:16, Mat 8:16), but also with εἰμί (Jhn 20:19).

[342] The one word utterances εὐδία 'fair weather' and χειμών 'stormy weather' in Mat 16:2-3 are apparently instances of εἰμί ellipsis.

Anabasis ὅτε   δὲ   ταῦτα   ἦν   **σχεδὸν   μέσαι**   **ἦσαν**   **νύκτες**
3.1.33   when   –   these.N.p.n 3S.was almost   mid(dle).N.p.f 3P.were night.N.p.f

> (The Greek officers were called to an emergency meeting.) When this took place, it was about midnight. [Kahn's translation, 1973:348]

Since in the Xenophon passage μέσαι…νύκτες 'midnight' is grammatically plural and the verb ἦσαν 'were' is also plural, 'midnight' is clearly the clause's subject.[343]

Concerning the above nominals τὰ ἐγκαίνια 'the Dedication (Feast)', χειμών 'winter',[344] καύσων 'heat' and ὑετὸς 'rain', one might be tempted to view them as predicate constituents, in which case these clauses would have the impersonal structure of (i.b.). But several things speak against this analysis. Not only does the analogous construction in Anabasis speak against this, we also have the syntactic analogy of so many other sentence-focus thetics with γίνομαι and εἰμί where each of the nominals is the grammatical subject of its clause. Besides, if these constituents were really predicate nominals, then this clause type would be breaking a very common constituent order pattern in Greek whenever the nominals were postverbal. In true copular clauses that lack a subject (because its entity is sufficiently activated) and that are neither negated, subordinate, a question, participial, nor imperatival, we find the predicate complement (a nominal or adjective), or at least some portion of it, almost always before the verb (see the end of §3.3.2.2 on how εἰμί behaves as a postpositive in such environments). So if postverbal 'night' in **Jhn 13:30** were the predicate and there were an implicit Ø subject (e.g. 'the time'), this order would be exceptional (for more εἰμί tokens, see Mrk 15:42; Jhn 5:1; Jhn 19:14; Act 4:3).

Jhn 13:30 ἦν   δὲ   **νύξ.**
           3S.was   and   night

> NRS: [30] …[Judas] immediately went out. <u>And it was night.</u> [31] When he had gone out, Jesus said,…

Thus, I propose that the above thetics have the same basic structure as the typical εἰμί thetic (e.g. ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν 'there were seven brothers', Mrk 12:20). For this reason, it may be helpful to think of time thetics like χειμὼν ἦν as meaning not so much 'It was winter' as 'There was winter' or 'The state of affairs known as winter was present/happening'.

Having said that, I recognize that the above εἰμί thetics with subjects like 'winter' and 'the Dedication (Feast)' differ in a significant way from typical εἰμί thetics in that these subjects are *identifiable*—they name times known to the hearer. So such *time-naming* thetics differ in a major way from prototypical εἰμί thetics (see below).

If we accept the proposed syntactic analysis, then (ii.a) should be modified as follows:

	constituents	*verb*	*Info.Structure*
(ii.a)	**Subject**+**Verb** (Adverb) (Time/Loc.) (Indirect Obj.)	intransitive verbs, εἰμί and γίνομαι	sentence-focus

I also assume that in statements about the hour of day, the word ὥρα 'hour' plus its numeric modifier form the subject. Consider ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη 'about sixth hour' in **Luk 23:44** with εἰμί (and hedger ὡσεί 'about') and consider parallel **Mrk 15:33** with γίνομαι in the

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[343] For similar thetic statements in Modern Greek, Sasse (1995b:158-9) also considers if such time and atmospheric NPs are subject or predicate nominals. He cites *ine i ora tu dhilinou* [is the hour of.the dusk] 'It's the hour order dusk' and *itan skotadhi* [was darkness] 'It was dark' (his examples (48) and (49)). With some hesitation he seems to prefer the subject interpretation, citing as possible evidence his example (50), which has a plural nominal and plural verb: *isan mesanixta* [were-3PL midnight-PL] 'It was midnight'.

[344] The noun χειμών can also mean 'stormy weather'.

subordinate genitive participial clause, that is, a 'genitive absolute' clause (see §4.9 on differences between εἰμί and γίνομαι).

Luk 23:44 Καὶ **ἦν**   ἤδη **ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη** καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο   ἐφ' κτλ
          and 3S.was already about hour sixth and darkness 3S.happened over

NRS: [44] <u>It was now about noon,</u> and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon, [45] while the sun's light failed. [sixth hour = noon]

Mrk 15:33 Καὶ **γενομένης**   **ὥρας   ἕκτης** σκότος ἐγένετο   ἐφ' κτλ
           and having.become.G hour.G sixth.G darkness 3S.happened over

RSV: <u>And when the sixth hour had come,</u> there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour.

In the above tokens, again, one might be tempted to take ὥρα as the subject and the numeral adjective as the predicate (e.g. comparable to English 'The time/hour was three o'clock'). But I see no compelling reason to assume such a structure for Greek. Instead, on analogy to simple NPs like τὰ ἐγκαίνια 'the Dedication (Feast)' and χειμὼν 'winter', the phrase ὥρα ἕκτη 'sixth hour' is the subject NP which functions to name an identifiable time. This would be equally true when the parts of the subject constituent were split, as in **Jhn 19:14** (also Jhn 1:39; Jhn 4:6).[345] See also the split weekday in Luk 23:54, ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς 'day was of.preparation', which is obviously a single constituent.

Jhn 19:14 ἦν   δὲ παρασκευὴ   τοῦ πάσχα, **ὥρα** ἦν   **ὡς ἕκτη.**
           3S.was now Preparation.[Day] of.the Passover hour 3S.was about sixth

NRS: Now it was the day of Preparation for the Passover; <u>and it was about noon.</u> He said to the Jews, "Here is your King!"

Nor should we follow BDF §256 (and §273) who take ἐσχάτη ὥρα 'last hour' in **1Jn 2:18** as the predicate since it is preverbal and anarthrous. Assuming with BDF that discourse-new ἐσχάτη ὥρα is a hearer-old idea meaning 'the last hour', the lack of the article can be explained on the grounds that this is a case of (ii.a) with focal thetic subject (see point (1) in §4.8.2 on (ii.a) thetics that *name an identifiable hour*).

1Jn 2:18 Παιδία, **ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν,** καὶ καθὼς ἠκούσατε κτλ
          children last   hour 3S.is and as   you.heard

NRS: Children, <u>it is the last hour!</u> As you have heard that antichrist is coming, so now many antichrists have come. From this we know that it is the last hour.

Similar to 'hour' thetics that name an identifiable time, consider **Act 27:27** where I assume 'a fourteenth night' is the subject.[346] And finally, I assume that adjectival τετράμηνός 'fourth-month' in **Jhn 4:35** also functions as the subject.

Act 27:27 Ὡς   δὲ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη   νὺξ ἐγένετο   κτλ
           when now fourteenth   night 3S.happened

NRS: <u>When the fourteenth night had come,</u> as we were drifting across the sea of Adria, about midnight the sailors suspected that they were nearing land.

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[345] Levinsohn (2000:92) considers preverbal ὥρα in Jhn 1:39 and Jhn 4:6 to be 'the point of departure/ propositional topic'. See §4.10.3.5.2 on the constituent order in Jhn 1:39 and similar 'hour' statements.

[346] Kahn (1973:174-5) considers for similar sentences in the Odyssey that (i) such a NP may be the subject (e.g. Od.3.180 τέτρατον ἦμαρ ἔην, ὅτε… [fourth day 3S.was when] 'It was the fourth day when (they landed their ships in Argos)'. But Kahn hesitates and also considers that (ii) ἦμαρ may be the subject and τέτρατον the predicate or (ii) τέτρατον ἦμαρ the predicate and the clause 'impersonal' (subjectless).

Jhn 4:35   ὅτι   Ἔτι   τετράμηνός   ἐστιν   καὶ   ὁ   θερισμὸς   ἔρχεται;
            that yet   four-month.period   3S.is   and   the   harvest   3S.comes

NET: Don't you say, 'There are four more months and then comes the harvest?'

4.8.2 Arthrousity, identifiability, and persistence

Here we take up some issues that have been so far generally ignored, namely arthrousity, identifiability, and persistence. But first, a few words about 'time' entities are needed.

Although a few of the entities we have encountered have been of the first order type ('the sun', 'rain'), some have been typical second order entities (i.e. states of affairs) like 'a rainstorm' and 'hot weather'. Still others have been **times**. Although in some respects times are like other second order entities, times are atypical. To illustrate, let's compare some time entities with 'a storm'. Like other second order entities, times may be referential (e.g. *That day was a hard one for me;* compare to *That storm was really bad*). And time thetics may introduce a time that persists. This applies especially to unidentifiable times (*A time will come when you will go...; They said there'd be a terrible storm which would sweep across the country*). But compared to other second order entities, times may be treated more often as *identifiable.* In English, for example, while most second order entities may be introduced by means of *there+be*, many times are introduced via *it+be: There was a terrible storm; It was New Years day*. The 'storm' is introduced by an indefinite nominal, but the time is treated as a proper name. The name stands for both (i) what typically *happens* at that time of the year (what people do or what happens in nature) and it stands for (ii) the specific point of time in a recognized cycle. Moreover, a time may be considered identifiable in two ways. A thetic like *It was New Years day* refers to a specific point in history (e.g. January 1, 2009) as well as to a specific point in a cycle. The latter sense is really a generic one, but we still refer to it by a (singular) name: *I hate New Years day* (referring to all occurrences). In contrast, to talk about storms in the same generic way, we use an indefinite plural nominal: *I hate storms.*

Times are also conspicuous because they typically function as a backdrop for other second order entities (i.e. they indicate when other things happened). As Lyons (1977:444) notes, although a first order entity, like a person, cannot normally be in more than one place simultaneously—as illustrated by the oddness of (227), a second order entity may occur simultaneously in different places, as illustrated by (228). This is because *the same thing* has generic reference (as Lyons suggests). But times are a bit different. *The same day* in my sentence (229) refers to the same point in a repeating cycle. For a given cycle, there can only be *one* occurrence, which applies to all locations (in our world), not multiple simultaneous occurrences in different locations.[347] This, I suppose, is because time is a backdrop for reality in our world, and all second order entities fit into one or more greater cycles.

(227)   ? The *same person* was in Paris and in Rome at the same time.

(228)   The *same thing* happened in Paris and in Rome at the same time.

(229)   I always swim on the *same day* every week.

Let us now return to the matter at hand. We will first review the different types of persistence encountered in the data for both atmospheric and time thetics. This discussion will then lead to the question of when such subjects that refer to times can be arthrous. I will argue that arthrousity is at least partially determined by the class of the subject noun and by

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[347] Of course, 'my New Years day' may not be the same as yours, since in this use 'New Years day' stands for what happened to each of us in our different lives, not just the point in time.

the syntactic construction it occurs in. (Compare BDF §252 and §256, which touch on a few of these facts.)

First consider the two weather thetics in **Luk 12:54-55**. They introduce *unidentifiable* second order entities 'a storm' and 'heat' (i.e. 'hot weather'), which briefly persist (on future ἔσται, see §4.9.3). The way in which they persist is not typical in my data, since γίνεται (οὕτως) 'and (thus) it happens' is actually a report of the states of affairs coming to pass.

Luk 12:54 Ὄμβρος   ἔρχεται,   καὶ **γίνεται   οὕτως·** κτλ
          rain.storm 3S.comes   and 3S.happens thus

Luk 12:55 Καύσων ἔσται,   καὶ **γίνεται**.
          heat   3S.will.be   and 3S.happens

> NRS: [54] He also said to the crowds, "When you see a cloud rising in the west, you immediately say, 'It is going to rain'; and so it happens. [55] And when you see the south wind blowing, you say, 'There will be scorching heat'; and it happens.…"

In **Mrk 15:42**, an *identifiable* time, 'the Preparation Day', is introduced. This entity actually persists in a typical 'descriptive' subsequent predication ('which is the Pre-Sabbath Day'). It is in fact rare in my data that such an identifiable time persists (see also Jhn 6:4 where 'the festival of the Jews' further describes 'the Passover').

Mrk 15:42 Καὶ ἤδη   ὀψίας   γενομένης,   **ἐπεὶ ἦν   παρασκευὴ**
          and already evening having.become since 3S.was Preparation.[Day]

          ὅ   ἐστιν προσάββατον,   Ἰωσὴφ (ὁ)   ἀπὸ Ἁριμαθαίας κτλ
          which 3S.is day.before.the.Sabbath Joseph the.one from Arimathea

> NRS: [42] When evening had come, and since it was the day of Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, [43] Joseph…went…to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus.

Jhn 5:1 introduces an *unidentifiable* (i.e. unnamed) festival. We might have expected John then to describe it, but he didn't. Still, like most thetics introducing identifiable times, this functions to build the scene's background.

Jhn 5:1 Μετὰ ταῦτα   **ἦν   ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων** καὶ ἀνέβη   Ἰησοῦς κτλ
         after these.things 3S.was festival of.the Jews   and 3S.went.up Jesus

> NRS: After this there was a festival of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

In my data, the word **ὥρα 'hour'** is frequent and it is used in a variety of ways, and there are, as we might expect, important correlations between its use and arthrousity (compare the discussion of the 'anaphoric article' in BDF §256 and §252).

When ὥρα occurs with 'arrival' verbs (e.g. ἔρχομαι 'come'), it often persists. In **Jhn 4:21**, *anarthrous* 'hour' refers to an unidentifiable time period that persists in the subsequent predication, a 'when' clause, which defines it.[348] (For idiomatic reasons, most English translations use a definite NP, 'the hour/time', as in the NRS and REB. But the time Jesus has in mind is hearer-new.)

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[348] See also 'a time' in 2Ti 4:3, 'days' in Mat 9:15, and 'a suitable day' in Mrk 6:21.

Jhn 4:21   Πίστευέ   μοι,   γύναι,   ὅτι   **ἔρχεται ὥρα**   ὅτε   οὔτε   ἐν   τῷ   ὄρει   τούτῳ
            believe   me   woman   that   comes   hour   when   neither   on   the   mountain   this

οὔτε   ἐν   Ἱεροσολύμοις   προσκυνήσετε   τῷ   πατρί.
nor   in   Jerusalem   you.will.worship   the   Father

NIV: Believe me, woman, <u>a time is coming</u> when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem.

NRS: …the hour is coming when… REB: …the time is coming when…

In contrast, *arthrous* 'hour' refers to a time that the hearer is to cooperatively take as identifiable. In John's Gospel, mention is often made of 'Jesus' hour', which alludes to one or more events involving his death and glorification (2:4, 7:30, 8:20, 12:23, 13:1, 17:1). For example, in **Jhn 2:4**, 'my hour' is identifiable and also the clause topic (about which a negative comment is made).[349] In **Jhn 12:23**, 'the hour' is identifiable and likely thetic (the disciples are not expecting the arrival of this 'hour' at this point). This use of the article is in fact its normal use (i.e. the 'anaphoric' article, BDF §252), and this use applies to other identifiable times so used (e.g. ὁ καιρὸς 'the time' in Luk 21:8 and τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου 'the fullness of time' in Gal 4:4.)

Jhn 2:4   Τί   ἐμοὶ   καὶ   σοί,   γύναι;   **οὔπω ἥκει**   [**ἡ   ὥρα   μου.**]$_{TOP}$
            what   to.me   and   to.you   woman   not.yet 3S.comes   the   hour   of.me

NRS: [3] When the wine gave out, the mother of Jesus said to him, "They have no wine." [4] And Jesus said to her, "Woman, what concern is that to you and to me? My hour has not yet come."

Jhn 12:23   **Ἐλήλυθεν   ἡ   ὥρα**   ἵνα   δοξασθῇ   ὁ   υἱὸς   τοῦ   ἀνθρώπου.
            3S.has.come   the   hour   that   3S.may.be.glorified   the   Son   of.the   Man

NRS: [During the Passover week, when foreigners asked the disciples to see Jesus, he said to his disciples,] <u>The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified.</u>

But when ὥρα is used in a (ii.a) clause to *introduce an identifiable time of the day* or its onset (e.g. 'It's six o'clock'), especially with εἰμί and γίνομαι, it is always *anarthrous* (compare BDF §256). This is so regardless of constituent order. Consider **Luk 23:44** with postverbal subject, repeated from above (see also above 1Jn 2:18 with preverbal subject and Mrk 15:33[350] with γίνομαι and postverbal subject).[351] Notice that such tokens with identifiable times differ in function from the above thetics in Jhn 4:21 (introducing unidentifiable 'an hour is coming') and Jhn 12:23 (introducing identifiable 'the hour has come'). Luk 23:44 both *names* an identifiable time of day and *introduces* it to the hearer. The purpose of the utterance is not to introduce an entity that will persist as a topic, but simply to build the scene's background.

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[349] It is normal for a noun to be arthrous if it has identifiable reference and is modified by a genitive personal pronoun (e.g. ἡ ὥρα μου [the hour my]) or by a possessive adjective. But there are exceptions, e.g. when the NP is predicative (and preverbal e.g. Mat 22:45 and Mrk 3:35; and sometimes even when postverbal e.g. Gal 4:26 and Act 13:31). See also Smyth §1196 and §1182.

[350] Since ὥρα is always anarthrous in (ii.a) clauses, Gundry's (1993) claims are questionable about the lack of the article in Mrk 15:33 and Mrk 15:25 (e.g. 'the anarthrousness of "third hour" brings out the thirdness of the hour rather than the particularity of this third hour').

[351] Other tokens include: Luk 23:44; Jhn 1:39; Jhn 4:6; Jhn 19:14; Act 2:15.

Luk 23:44 Καὶ **ἦν** ἤδη **ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη** καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην
and 3S.was already about hour sixth and darkness 3S.happened over whole

τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης
the land until hour ninth

NRS: [44] <u>It was now about noon,</u> and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon, [45] while the sun's light failed. [sixth hour = noon]

Not all time words in the NT are like ὥρα 'hour' in respect to arthrousity. Different time words seem to follow different patterns of arthrousity. Moreover, the presence of the article also appears to be influenced by the construction the time word occurs in. I offer here the following four observations.

(1) In type (ii.a) εἰμί thetics that *introduce an identifiable time* and γίνομαι thetics that indicate the *onset of an identifiable time*,[352] **festivals**[353] are *arthrous,* but **weekdays, seasons, hours,** and other conventional time designations are *anarthrous.* And this is so regardless of constituent order.

For arthrous **festivals**, consider *postverbal* τὰ ἐγκαίνια 'the Dedication Festival' in **Jhn 10:22** below (also ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων 'the Feast of Unleavened Bread', Luk 22:1; τὸ πάσχα[354] 'the Passover', Jhn 11:55), and consider *preverbal* τὸ πάσχα in **Mat 26:2**. Manuscripts that lack the article αἱ in **Act 12:3** would be the exception to this generalization (i.e. assuming this clause is thetic and means 'it was the days of the Unleavened Bread Festival').

Jhn 10:22 <u>Ἐγένετο</u> τότε **τὰ ἐγκαίνια** ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, χειμὼν ἦν,
3S.happened then the Dedication in – Jerusalem winter 3S.was

NRS: At that time the festival of the Dedication took place in Jerusalem. It was winter.

Mat 26:2 Οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας **τὸ πάσχα** <u>γίνεται</u>,
you.know that after two days the Passover.[Festival] 3S.takes.place

CEV: [Jesus said to his disciples,] "You know two days from now will be Passover. This is when the Son of Man will be handed over to his enemies and nailed to a cross."

Act 12:3 <u>ἦσαν</u> δὲ **(αἱ) ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων**
3P.were and the days of.the Unleavened.Bread

NRS: [2] [Herod] had James…killed with the sword. [3] After he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to arrest Peter also. (<u>This was during the festival of Unleavened Bread.</u>)

For anarthrous **weekdays, seasons,** and **hours,** consider 'third hour' in Luk 23:44 above, the season 'winter' in Jhn 10:22 above, and 'Preparation Day' in **Mrk 15:42** repeated below (the preparation day is the day before the weekly Sabbath or any annual festival; see also Luk 23:54 with ἡμέρα…παρασκευῆς 'Preparation Day' and preverbal 'Sabbath'; 'Sabbath' is postverbal in Mrk 6:2; and the mix, παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα 'Preparation Day of the Passover',

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[352] Thus, a token like Luk 22:14 ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα 'when the hour came' does not fit here, since this does not *name a specific time* but introduces a hearer-old time (analogous to Jhn 12:23 discussed above).

[353] On the presence of the article, Smyth §1137 says 'Names of festivals vary in prose writers (no article in inscriptions)'.

[354] With names of persons, the article is normally required in all but the nominative case to show the case of such indeclinable names (Levinsohn 2000:151; similarly Wallace 1996:246, note 76). τὸ πάσχα does not fit this pattern. In the NT, it is always arthrous, except, as we might expect, in a naming construction (Luk 22:1; see §3.3.4).

occurs in Jhn 19:14; etc.). In the common idioms, 'It becomes/is day' (e.g. **Luk 6:13**)[355] and 'It becomes/is evening (e.g. **Mrk 15:42**),[356] the words ἡμέρα 'day' and ὀψία 'evening' (the adjective 'late' used as a noun, BDAG) are always anarthrous (compare BDF §256 on ἡμέρα).

Mrk 15:42 Καὶ ἤδη **ὀψίας** <u>γενομένης</u>, ἐπεὶ <u>ἦν</u> **παρασκευὴ** κτλ
           and already evening having.become since 3S.was Preparation.[Day]

Luk 6:13   καὶ ὅτε <u>ἐγένετο</u> **ἡμέρα**, προσεφώνησεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ,
           and when 3S.became day   3S.summoned the disciples of.him

           NRS: [12] …he spent the night in prayer to God. [13] <u>And when day came,</u> he called his disciples and chose twelve of them, whom he also named apostles:…

From a syntactic perspective, it is arbitrary that festivals are treated differently from weekdays, seasons and daytimes (compare how English generally treats them the same, e.g. *It's Christmas/Sunday/winter/six a.m./dawn*). We might speculate that in Greek the latter (weekdays, seasons, and daytimes) are treated differently because they are so frequent in natural discourse and everyday life. With festivals, in contrast, the article seems to follow normal 'anaphoric' use. Festivals (and probably agricultural times, e.g. harvest) are also conceptually more prominent than such 'everyday' times. They occur less frequently and are probably typically accompanied by events that are more memorable.

It seems that the above generalization for (ii.a) εἰμί and γίνομαι clauses also applies to (ii.a) intransitive verb clauses when the onset of an identifiable time is indicated. For example, 'night (comes)' in Jhn 9:4 and 'day (dawns)' in 2Pe 1:19 are anarthrous, but rarer times are arthrous (e.g. ὁ θερισμός 'the harvest' in Jhn 4:35; ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν 'the time of fruit'; also pre-designated times like 'the time of promise' in Act 7:17, etc.).

(2) But in type (ii.b) tokens (i.e. copular clauses with a predicate complement), the subject is probably always *arthrous* in my data. Contrast anarthrous χειμὼν ἦν 'it was winter' with the predicate adjective clause in **Mrk 13:28** (repeated here), where the subject τὸ θέρος 'the summer' is arthrous (also ||Luk 21:30 and verbless ||Mat 24:32; compare Mat 26:18).

Mrk 13:28 γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν·
           you.know that near the summer 3S.is

           NRS: [28] From the fig tree learn its lesson: as soon as its branch becomes tender and puts forth its leaves, you know that <u>summer is near.</u>

Since 'summer' and 'winter' are equally identifiable and neither has been established in the discourse, the difference in arthrousity seems determined by the difference in clause structure. Structure (ii.a) is largely devoted to thetics where the subject is focal; structure (ii.b) is largely devoted to topic-comment structures where the subject is topic (and most typically arthrous if lexical). Even though (ii.b) can presumably function as a thetic, its structure nonetheless reflects its most typical use.[357]

Similarly, the presence of the predicate ὀψία 'late' in **Mrk 11:11** apparently explains why the subject 'hour' is arthrous, but in **Mrk 6:35a** and **35e**, which make use of (ii.a) constructions, 'hour' is anarthrous (in 35e, ἐστιν is presumably unexpressed). BDAG (§πολύς

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[355] Also Luk 4:42; Luk 22:66; Jhn 9:4 (εἰμί); Act 12:18; Act 16:35; Act 23:12; Act 27:29; Act 27:33; Act 27:39.

[356] Also Mat 8:16; Mat 14:15; Mat 14:23; Mat 16:2; Mat 20:8; Mat 26:20; Mat 27:57; Mrk 1:32; Mrk 4:35; Mrk 6:47; Mrk 14:17; Jhn 6:16; Jhn 20:19 (εἰμί).

[357] The clause type εἰμί+ἐγγὺς 'be near' occurs also with festivals, as in Jhn 2:13: Καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων 'and near was the Passover of.the Jews'. But the article can be explained here on account of the subject being a festival (see also Jhn 6:4; Jhn 7:2; Jhn 11:55).

3.α) believe that ὥρα πολλή means not 'much time' but 'late hour'—in either case it is not an identifiable time.

Mrk 11:11 Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν   εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ περιβλεψάμενος
         and 3S.entered into Jerusalem   into the temple and having.looked.around

         πάντα,   **ὀψίας** ἤδη <u>οὔσης</u> **τῆς ὥρας,** ἐξῆλθεν   εἰς Βηθανίαν
         everything   late   now being   the   hour   3S.went.out to   Bethany

         μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.
         with the twelve

         NRS: Then he entered Jerusalem and went into the temple; and when he had looked around at everything, <u>as it was already late,</u> he went out to Bethany with the twelve.

Mrk 6:35**a** Καὶ ἤδη **ὥρας   πολλῆς** <u>γενομένης</u>
          and already hour/time late/much becoming.Aor

        b προσελθόντες   αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ **c** ἔλεγον
           approaching.Aor   him   the disciples of.him   3P.were.saying

        d ὅτι Ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ   τόπος **e** καὶ ἤδη   **ὥρα   πολλή·**
           that desolate 3S.is the place   and already hour/time late/much

           REB: It was already getting late, and his disciples came to him and said, "This is a remote place and it is already very late;…"

(3) Even when the verb is intransitive (as in (1) above), if the clause refers to a state of affairs that previously began and is now *ending,* then the time word is arthrous. In other words, it appears that such times are treated as if they are not only identifiable (in a cycle) but also accessible from the discourse. For this reason, these are better candidates for sentence topics.[358]

'Rule (3)' would explain why 'the hour' is arthrous in **Mat 14:15**, which parallels Mrk 6:35a and 35e just illustrated. It would also explain arthrous 'the day' in **Luk 24:29** (also Luk 9:12) and arthrous 'the Sabbath' in Mrk 16:1, which is discourse-old.

Mat 14:15 Ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ   τόπος καὶ **ἡ ὥρα** ἤδη <u>παρῆλθεν·</u>   ἀπόλυσον κτλ
          desolate 3S.is the place and the hour already 3S.has.passed dismiss!

          NRS: This is a deserted place, <u>and the hour is now late;</u> send the crowds away…

          CEV: …and it is already late. REB: …the day has gone.

Luk 24:29 ὅτι   πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ <u>κέκλικεν</u>   ἤδη   **ἡ ἡμέρα.**
          because towards evening 3S.is and 3S.has.declined already the day

          NRS: Stay with us, <u>because it is almost evening</u> and the day is now nearly over.

(4) Atmospheric thetics with ὁ ἥλιος 'the sun' are harder to place. The sun is also a first order entity. It is well known that ὁ ἥλιος can lose its article (Smyth §1141; BDF §253) much like a proper name, but out of the six possible thetic tokens, in only one is it anarthrous: **Mat 13:6**. Three tokens could fit 'rule (3)' above (Mrk 1:32 'set'; Luk 4:40 'setting'; Luk 23:45 'darkened'). But this would not explain arthrous tokens that indicate the sun's appearance, as in **Mrk 4:6** (and Mrk 16:2). So perhaps the arthrous form is default. But if that is so, how do we explain the single anarthrous occurrence in Mat 13:6, which is a parallel passage to Mrk 4:6? Is it an idiosyncrasy of Matthew or is it anarthrous because it is preverbal and indicates an appearance? (The only other preverbal case is Luk 23:45 with 'darkened'.)

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[358] See Sasse (1995a:15), who contrasts the thetic 'a…wind rose' with the topical status of 'wind' in 'the wind settled down'.

Mrk 4:6 καὶ ὅτε <u>ἀνέτειλεν</u> **ὁ ἥλιος** ἐκαυματίσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν
and when 3S.rose the sun 3S.was.scorched and because – not to.have

ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.
root 3S.withered

NRS: [5] Other seed fell on rocky ground…and it sprang up quickly,… [6] <u>And when the sun rose,</u> it was scorched; and since it had no root, it withered away.

Mat 13:6 **ἡλίου** δὲ <u>ἀνατείλαντος</u> ἐκαυματίσθη καὶ διὰ κτλ
sun.G and having.arisen.G 3S.was.scorched and because

4.8.3 'Time' thetics and the question of constituent-focus

Consider the following sentences.

(137)   [The reason I'm late for work is]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$ [SENT.FOC: my CAR broke down.]$_{FD}$

(230)   A: When are we going to leave tomorrow?

B: [We're going to leave]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$ [when SENT.FOC: the SUN rises.]$_{FD}$

(231)   A: When did John come?

B: [He came]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$ [at NOON.]$_{FD}$

(232)   A: What day is it today?

B: [It's]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$ [MONDAY.]$_{FD}$

Example (137) was described in §2.3.5 as an information structure hybrid, one involving a thetic structure embedded in a greater constituent-focus structure. The same analysis would apply to (230): the embedded thetic, *(when) the SUN rises,* expressions the focus domain; it identifies the open variable in the open proposition presupposed by the question.[359] More typical instances of constituent-focus would be the prepositional phrase *at NOON* in (231) and the NP *MONDAY* in (232). Like the embedded clause *(when) the SUN rises,* these temporal phrases denote second order time entities. Of course, all of the foci in the above examples could be uttered without the topical open proposition parts if the latter were sufficiently activated. Example (232), *It's MONDAY,* illustrates a potential confusion with a straightforward time thetic, since this same form could occur where a constituent-focus interpretation was irrelevant, in which case *It's* could not be dropped.

In the many time thetics illustrated in the previous sections, the thetics functioned to build the background scene and a constituent-focus would not have been relevant. This is also so, I believe, for both time thetics in **Luk 23:54**, but not for that in **Jhn 9:14**.

Luk 23:54 καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν.
and Day 3S.was of.Preparation and Sabbath 3S.was.dawning

NRS: [53] [Joseph of Arimathea took the body of Jesus down off the cross,] wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid it in a rock-hewn tomb where no one had ever been laid. [54] <u>It was the day of Preparation, and the sabbath was beginning.</u> [55] The women who had come with him from Galilee followed, and they saw the tomb and how his body was laid.

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[359] In an email (April 20, 2007), K. Lambrecht agreed with this analysis of (230).

Jhn 9:14 ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πηλὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
     3S.was now Sabbath during which day the clay 3S.made the Jesus

    καὶ ἀνέῳξεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.
    and 3S.opened his the eyes

    NRS: [Jesus healed a blind man (v 6) and later people took the man to the Pharisees.]
    [14] Now it was a sabbath day when Jesus made the mud and opened his eyes.

    GNT: The day that Jesus made the mud and cured him of his blindness was a Sabbath.

In the latter, a question like 'When did the healing occur?' is especially relevant. Unlike most time thetics encountered so far, this one is modified by a relative clause. Moreover, the thought expressed by the relative clause is in the (topical) presupposition. It reports an event that the reader already knows, and so it is not a subsequent predication of a thetic. (Note the GNT's restructuring, where the relative clause is embedded in the subject.) Now, as I see it, the εἰμί clause still counts as a thetic ('It was the Sabbath'), and this thetic clause as a whole identifies the open variable in the open proposition. The structure is represented by (233), which, although awkward in English, represents the literal Greek (compare (230) above). I think the alternative structure, (234), is less likely.

(233) [SENT.FOC: It was the Sabbath]$_{FD}$ [on the day Jesus made clay and opened his eyes]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$

(234) [It was [the Sabbath]$_{FD}$ on the day Jesus made clay and opened his eyes]$_{TOP'L\ OP}$

For other possible tokens involving constituent-focus, see the following, which often involve additional modifying or other supplemental elements (something which is atypical for normal thetics): two tokens in Jhn 5:9-10 (the first is supplemented by ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 'on that day'; the second is only *SV*, Σάββατόν ἐστιν 'Sabbath is', this order being unmarked for discourse-initial thetics; §4.10.3.3); maybe Act 2:15 (with τῆς ἡμέρας 'of the day'; likely emphatic); maybe Rom 13:11 (verbless, with ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι 'to wake up from sleep'). In Mrk 15:25, the following conjoined clause, 'and they crucified him', is not a new assertion, so it presumably expresses an open proposition: NRS: 'It was nine o'clock in the morning when they crucified him.' (See Zerwick §455δ who, with others, takes Mark's use of καί here as Hebraic.)

See also §6.5 for emphatic types of constituent-focus with ἰδού.

4.9 A comparison of εἰμί and γίνομαι thetics

             οὐκ ἤμην καὶ ἐγενόμην
             'I was not and then I came to be'[360]

It is well known that εἰμί and γίνομαι share much semantic turf while also retaining their independence in many respects. In this section, we will contrast εἰμί and γίνομαι in terms of their typical thetic uses while correlating these uses to their typical aspectual meanings. This will also involve considering the different types of entities each verb tends to introduce and some typical patterns of persistence. Another point to be made (§4.9.3) is that γίνομαι thetics never occur with future indicative forms; instead, in places where we might have expected γίνομαι, εἰμί occurs.

By way of introduction, consider the following summaries of BDAG's entries for γίνομαι and εἰμί. My summaries represent their subsections and sub-definitions with only minor modification. Comments in […] are my own. In the γίνομαι entry, I have keyed points of

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[360] Cited in BDAG under γίνομαι (from a tombstone in Rome, first century C.E.; Kaibel §595.5).

overlap that are especially significant to issues of theticity. For example, **[ε.6]** indicates overlap with εἰμί subsection '6'.

> BDAG: γίνομαι [=γίνεσθαι]—1 be born, be naturally produced; 2 come into existence: be made, be created, be manufactured, be performed; 3 of events, natural phenomena, and occurrences: arise, come about (includes divisions of the day) [many thetic uses]; 4 **[ε.6]** happen, turn out, take place (i.e. to occur as process or result); 5 become (or be) something (with predicate nominals and adjectives); 6 change location, i.e. move (especially with prepositions); 7 come into a certain state or possess certain characteristics; 8 **[ε.1]** be present at a given time, be there [includes thetic uses]; 9 **[ε.9, ε.10]** belong to (possession, with genitive, dative, etc.); 10 **[ε.3]** be in or at a location.

> BDAG: εἰμί [=εἶναι]—1 exist, be on hand [includes thetic uses; no locatives here]; 2 be+predicate (in statements of identity or equation, as a copula, the equative function) [e.g. with predicate adjectives, nominals]; 3 be+location [real or meta-phorical; includes some thetics]; 4 live; 5 be the time when something happens; 6 take place, occur, become something, be, be in [includes thetics]; 7 be possible, one can; 8 be or come from somewhere; 9 be, belong through association or genetic affiliation; 10 have to do with something, possession; 11 auxiliary uses (e.g. periphrasis).

As can be seen from the above, both verbs can function as copulas (i.e. take nominals, adjectives, and locatives as predicates); and both can be used monovalently (i.e. with a single argument; as non-copular verbs), in which case the utterance is very often thetic. When used monovalently, neither verb should be described as semantically bleached but as rich (e.g. γίνομαι: 'be born, happen, come about', εἰμί: 'be there, exist, live').

Now one of the most important semantic differences which can be discerned from their uses (and which is implied by some of the sub-definitions) is that, for most of their uses, εἰμί indicates a **static** state of affairs (i.e. temporally 'unbounded' or 'atelic') whereas γίνομαι indicates a *change* in a state of affairs, including states of affairs coming into being (i.e. inceptive) and movement from one location to another. In other words—according to Vendler's categories of aspectual meanings of verbs—εἰμί most typically indicates a 'state' and γίνομαι an 'accomplishment' (see footnote 332 for the four basic types of verbs).[361] I shall characterize γίνομαι as **non-static**. Kahn (1973:194-8, etc.) makes a similar point for these verbs in Classical Greek, describing this general difference in terms of a dichotomy of 'static' versus 'dynamic',[362] or durative versus punctual-inceptive aspect (p. 152).[363] He notes that γί(γ)νομαι functions as a 'suppletive aorist for εἰμί'. Thus, to a certain extent, we can view the two verbs as two parts of a single extended paradigm.[364]

We will later see that these basic semantic differences interact with theticity in interesting ways. For the moment, let us consider another set of facts. Earlier, in §4.2.5.2, I presented

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[361] Although it seems that γίνομαι should be categorized as an accomplishment, which means it is '–punctual', (i.e. unmarked for the semantic feature of 'punctual'), some instances are achievements ('+punctual', i.e. instantaneous). E.g. 'it became evening' would be typically viewed as happening gradually, but 'thunder happened' would be instantaneous. (On 'states', 'activities', 'accomplishments' and 'achievements', see footnote 332.)

[362] There are different definitions of 'dynamic' in the literature. I assume my 'non-static' is equal to Kahn's 'dynamic' and similar to Sasse's use of 'dynamic' for eventive thetics mentioned in §2.3.2. (see also Dik 1997a:107). So non-static and dynamic cover 'changes of state' (i.e. 'accomplishments', which are +telic) and (on-going) 'activities' (which are –telic). See footnote 332.

[363] Robertson, for example, describes the aorist of γίνομαι as 'inceptive' (1934:828-9).

[364] This comment may be interpreted in light of the distinctions made by Lyons (1968): see pp. 397-9 on 'static' vs. 'dynamic'/'non-static'; p. 322 'be' vs. 'become'; and especially pp. 346-9 on 'be' vs. 'occur' in relation to first and second order entities.

two tables listing all unambiguous εἰμί and γίνομαι thetics, organized according to the type of entity introduced and its persistence. Those details are now summarized here in Table 12.

Table 12. Γίνομαι and εἰμί thetics, according to persistence type and entity type

Persists as...⬇	*Γίνομαι subject entity is...*				*Εἰμί subject entity is...*			
	1oe	**other**	**Totals**		**1oe**	**other**	**Totals**	
subject argument	8	4	**12**	(10%)	33	7	**40**	(37%)
nonsubject argument	–	3	**3**	(2%)	10	6	**16**	(15%)
propositional (clausal)	–	13	**13**	(11%)	1	4	**5**	(5%)
no persistence	1	92	**93**	(77%)	14	33	**47**	(43%)
TOTALS	**9**	**112**	**121**	(100%)	**58**	**50**	**108**	(100%)

Table 12 reveals different patterns of persistence for the two verbs. For instance, what γίνομαι introduces usually does not persist ('no persistence': γίνομαι 77% versus εἰμί 43%). Γίνομαι usually introduces 'other' entities (112 out of 121 times, i.e. 92.5%), most of which are second order. Εἰμί, in contrast, more typically introduces entities that persist as a *clause argument* (over half the time)*,* and such entities are more often first order entities (=1oe, 43 tokens)[365] than 'other' types (13 tokens). These patterns reflect tendencies that seem related to the basic semantic differences of the two verbs. Since εἰμί is characterized as static and γίνομαι as non-static, we might propose that εἰμί is a better candidate for introducing first order entities (which exist independently of time), and γίνομαι would be a better candidate for introducing second order entities (which occur in time).

But if this proposal has any value, we must explain why nearly half of the entities introduced by εἰμί are of the 'other' type (50 tokens), that is, mostly second order. Therefore, one of the goals in what follows will be to explain why and when εἰμί introduces second order entities. And one of the first things we will see below is that εἰμί strongly tends to introduce states of affairs (i.e. second order entities) that are *unbounded* and *off* the event line in stories, in contrast to γίνομαι, which tends to introduce *bounded* states of affairs that occur *on* the event line. These facts also seem to follow from the basic semantic characterizations, namely, that εἰμί most typically indicates a 'state' and γίνομαι an 'accomplishment'. Similar correlations have been noted by linguists for other languages. For example, Foley & Van Valin (1984:371) note that clauses 'with achievement and accomplishment verbs will strongly tend to occur in the temporal structure, [while] those with activity and state verbs in the durative/descriptive structure'.[366]

4.9.1 Introducing second order entities (states of affairs)

To begin, consider two similar states of affairs that involve 'evening' (both expressed by subordinate genitive absolutes). The one in **Mrk 4:35**, with γίνομαι, indicates the inception of evening, 'when it had become evening'. **Jhn 20:19**, with εἰμί, indicates a temporally unbounded state, 'when it was evening'; when the time *began* is irrelevant to the story.

Mrk 4:35   Καὶ λέγει   αὐτοῖς   ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ **ὀψίας   γενομένης,**   κτλ
           and 3S.says to.them on that   the day   evening   having.become

   NRS: On that day, <u>when evening had come,</u> he said to them, "Let us go across…"

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[365] What the table does not reveal is the number of personal entities. Of the total of 58 first order εἰμί tokens, 43 introduce personal entities, and of the total of 9 first order γίνομαι tokens, only 5 are personal.

[366] Interestingly, Foley & Van Valin are here following Hopper & Thompson's (1980) predictions about 'transitivity', and such non-copular-thetic uses of γίνομαι, while indicating events happening in temporal structure, pattern lower in transitivity than is typical since they only involve one participant (a subject entity) which is non-volitional. See Hopper & Thompson (1980:252) on ten basic features of discourse transitivity.

Jhn 20:19 **Οὔσης** οὖν **ὀψίας** τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων καὶ τῶν
being therefore evening the day that on.the first of.week and the

θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον κτλ
doors having.been.shut where 3P.were the disciples because.of the fear

NRS: <u>When it was evening on that day,</u> the first day of the week, and the doors of the house where the disciples had met were locked for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood among them and said, "Peace be with you."

Consider also **Jhn 20:1**. It makes sense that εἰμί is used, since it is not the inception of darkness that is relevant but the fact that this state still holds.

Jhn 20:1 Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἔρχεται πρωῒ
on.the now first of.the week Mary the Magdalene comes early

σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον κτλ
darkness still being to the tomb

NRS: Early on the first day of the week, <u>while it was still dark,</u> Mary Magdalene came to the tomb and saw that the stone had been removed from the tomb.

Given the temporally bounded nature of typical γίνομαι thetics, γίνομαι is especially suited to introducing states of affairs that occur on a narrative's event line (see footnote 106). Consider two tokens in **Mat 8:24-26**, which involve the occurrence of 'a storm' and then 'a calm' after the storm. As typical of most γίνομαι thetics, the entities do not persist, and in this sense they are secondary to the personal entities that dominate the story's sequence of events. But, unlike most states of affairs introduced by εἰμί, these γίνομαι thetics report events that change the course of the story and move it forward.

Mat 8:24 καὶ ἰδοὺ **σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ,** ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον
and behold storm great 3S.happened on the lake so.that the boat

καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθευδεν. 25 καὶ
to.be.covered by the waves he but 3S.was.sleeping and

προσελθόντες ἤγειραν αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Κύριε, σῶσον, κτλ
having.approached 3P.aroused him saying Lord save!

26 ἐπετίμησεν τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ **ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη.**
3S.rebuked the winds and the lake and 3S.happened calm great

GNT: [23] Jesus got into a boat, and his disciples went with him. [24] <u>Suddenly a fierce storm hit the lake,</u> and the boat was in danger of sinking. But Jesus was asleep. [25] The disciples went to him and woke him up. "Save us, Lord!" they said. "We are about to die!" [26] "Why are you so frightened?" Jesus answered. "What little faith you have!" Then he got up and ordered the winds and the waves to stop, <u>and there was a great calm.</u>

Other natural phenomena introduced by γίνομαι that occur on the event line include an earthquake (Act 16:26), a flood (Luk 6:48), darkness (Luk 23:44), thunder and lightning (Rev 8:5), among others. Second (or third)[367] order entities involving people include a discussion (Jhn 3:25), a debate (Luk 22:24 and Act 15:2), a plot (Act 20:3), and crying (Act 20:37).

In contrast to γίνομαι, εἰμί hardly ever introduces a second order entity (a state of affairs) that occurs on a narrative's event line. **Jhn 9:16** is a typical εἰμί token. It summarizes the conflicting views just uttered by the Pharisees, and so it is a back-reference and not a new

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[367] Although some of these entities (e.g. plot, discussion) might be viewed as third order, they behave as second order entities in that they are introduced as events in time.

event. (Contrast the similar events with γίνομαι in Jhn 7:43 and Jhn 10:19 that are on the event line.)

Jhn 9:16   καὶ **σχίσμα ἦν**   ἐν   αὐτοῖς. λέγουσιν οὖν τῷ   τυφλῷ   πάλιν, κτλ
          and division 3S.was among them   3P.say   so   to.the blind.one again

> RSV: [14] Now it was a sabbath day when Jesus made the clay and opened his eyes. [15] The Pharisees again asked him how he had received his sight. And he said to them, "He put clay on my eyes, and I washed, and I see." [16] * Some of the Pharisees said, "This man is not from God, for he does not keep the sabbath." But others said, "How can a man who is a sinner do such signs?" <u>There was a division among them.</u> [17] So they again said to the blind man, "What do you say about him, since he has opened your eyes?" He said, "He is a prophet."

Other εἰμί tokens introducing states of affairs that are off the event line include Jhn 7:12 (illustrated in §4.2.1; the murmuring about Jesus in the crowd is simultaneous with the Jews seeking him, v 11) and Act 4:33 ('and great grace was on them all' is likely thetic and part of the other extensive background description of the early Church).

In contrast to the above examples, perhaps in **Act 12:18** alone does a state of affairs ('no little commotion') appear to be on the event line (but compare τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος 'no little commotion' with γίνομαι in Act 19:23).

Act 12:18 Γενομένης   δὲ   ἡμέρας **ἦν**   **τάραχος**   **οὐκ ὀλίγος**   **ἐν**   **τοῖς**
          having.become now   day   3S.was commotion   not   little   among the

          στρατιώταις τί   ἄρα   ὁ   Πέτρος ἐγένετο.
          soldiers   what then the   Peter   3S.happened

19   Ἡρῴδης δὲ   ἐπιζητήσας   αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εὑρών,
          Herod   now   having.sought   him   and not having.found

          ἀνακρίνας   τοὺς φύλακας ἐκέλευσεν   ἀπαχθῆναι,
          having.questioned the   guards   commanded to.be.led.away

> NRS: [Peter had been miraculously rescued from prison during the night.] [18] When morning came, <u>there was no small commotion among the soldiers</u> over what had become of Peter. [19] When Herod had searched for him and could not find him, he examined the guards and ordered them to be put to death.

Even outside of narrative, γίνομαι prefers contexts of temporally structured discourse. See, for example, Mat 9:16 ('for the patch pulls away from the cloak, [καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται] and a worse tear *results*'), 2Co 8:14 ('At this time your abundance will supply for their need, so that their abundance may supply for your need, [ὅπως γένηται ἰσότης] that equality may *result*') and 1Ti 6:4 ('…such a person has a morbid interest in controversial questions and disputes about words, [ἐξ ὧν γίνεται φθόνος] from which *arise* envy, strife…'). Such behavior is typical of accomplishment (and achievement) verbs.

4.9.2 Introducing first order entities

Ample examples of εἰμί thetics introducing first order entities, especially personal ones that persist, have been illustrated in previous sections. These are typical entity-central thetics. Since such εἰμί thetics do not introduce second order entities (i.e. states of affairs including events), what they introduce is not part of the event line but rather part of the background, at least in narrative and other sequentially oriented genres.[368]

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[368] See footnote 106 on the *foreground/background* distinction and for definitions of *event line* in narrative and *theme line* in other genres.

It is therefore noteworthy when γίνομαι introduces first order entities. As shown above in Table 12, 9 out of 121 γίνομαι thetics introduce first order entities,[369] and of those, 5 are personal. Such thetics would thus seem very much like εἰμί ones, but unlike εἰμί ones, which make static introductions, even when introducing a first order entity a γίνομαι thetic in most cases entails a **non-static** state of affairs that happens in time (e.g. on the narrative event line). In such cases γίνομαι can be translated by an aspectually bounded verb (equivalent to an 'accomplishment' or perhaps an 'achievement'), like 'appeared' in **Luk 2:13**. See also Mrk 9:7 (a cloud appeared) and Luk 10:32 (a Levite happened/came upon a place).

Luk 2:13   καὶ ἐξαίφνης **ἐγένετο**   σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ **πλῆθος**   **στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου**
            and suddenly 3S.happened with the angel   multitude.N army.G   of.heavenly

            αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ   κτλ
            praising.G the God and saying.G glory in highest   to.God

            GNT: [10] but the angel said to them, "… [11-12] This very day in David's town your Savior was born—Christ the Lord!…" [13] <u>Suddenly a great army of heaven's angels appeared with the angel,</u> singing praises to God: [14] "Glory to God in the highest heaven,…"

            CEV: …<u>came down</u> from heaven…

If γίνομαι, unlike εἰμί, also introduced *identifiable* entities, then it would function very much like ἔρχομαι 'come' in thetics introducing first order entities. This may be the case in **Mrk 1:4**, where John the Baptist is first mentioned.[370] Most translations I have consulted render this by an intransitive verb like 'appeared', as in the NRS (or 'auftreten', EIN).[371] I know of no other potential token in the NT (ῥῆμα θεοῦ 'word of God' in Luk 3:2 is second or third order and not necessarily identifiable). So it is questionable if γίνομαι should be compared to other thetic verbs like ἔρχομαι 'come'. Rather it seems to be a counterpart to εἰμί.

Mrk 1:4   **ἐγένετο**   Ἰωάννης (ὁ)[372] βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων   κτλ
           3S.happened John   the   baptizing in the desert and proclaiming

           NRS: <u>John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness,</u> proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.

           NIV: <u>And so John came,</u> baptizing in the desert region and preaching… [NIV ignores ὁ]

           EIN: <u>So trat Johannes der Täufer in der Wüste auf</u> und verkündigte…

Returning to tokens introducing unidentifiable entities, some translations render such tokens not as 'come' or 'appear' but as *there+be,* which can give the impression of a static state of affairs. This impression is given by the NIV (and NLT) renderings of **2Pe 2:1**. The NRS, in contrast, makes use of 'arose', which is unambiguously non-static.[373]

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[369] Some of these first order entities are atypical. Prototypical ones include Mat 18:12 (sheep); Luk 1:5 (a priest); Luk 2:13 (an angelic army); Luk 10:32 (a Levite); Jhn 1:6 (a man); 2Pe 2:1 (false prophets). In contrast, 'a cloud' (in Mrk 9:7 and Luk 9:34) and 'hail and fire' (Rev 8:7) are atypical, because they are not time-stable, and a cloud and fire are not easily containable.

[370] Given the complexity of Mrk 1:4, it is not included in Table 8 and Table 12.

[371] The NLT's 'This messenger was John the Baptist', which refers back to vv 2-3 (Isaiah's prophecy of 'a voice in the wilderness'), is impossible from the Greek even if in harmony with the Gospel message.

[372] The UBS critical apparatus ranks ὁ as questionable. Without it, the participle βαπτίζων 'baptizing' is readily interpreted as a subsequent predication parallel to 'proclaiming' (see the NIV and GNT). No grammar or translation I have consulted (including Björck p. 112) takes ἐγένετο…βαπτίζων as periphrastic.

[373] There is no issue for Luk 2:13 (illustrated above). It is true that many translations render this by *there+be,* as illustrated by the REB, 'all at once *there was* with the angel a great company of the heavenly host'. But the temporal adverb 'all at once' (ἐξαίφνης; 'suddenly' in the NRS) makes *there+be* unambiguously non-static.

2Pe 2:1   Ἐγένοντο   δὲ   **καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται** ἐν   τῷ λαῷ,
           3P.happened but also false.prophets   among the people

          NIV: But <u>there were</u> also false prophets among the people.

          NRS: But false prophets also <u>arose</u> among the people,…

BDAG is not really helpful on this verse. Their §8, where 2Pe 2:1 is listed (as well as Mrk 1:4 and Jhn 1:6 but not Luk 2:13), includes glosses like 'to be present at a given time, *be there*' and also 'exist', and their §10 includes 'to be in or at a place, *be in, be there*'. Such renderings might give the impression that only static glosses are appropriate for the cited passages. But I would argue that at least some of their cited passages (both thetic and non-thetic) are better rendered by non-static verbs, and that glosses like 'come', 'arrive', 'appear' should also be included.

     Having said that, there do seem to be cases listed under BDAG §8 and §10 where γίνομαι (including in the aorist) is used statically, and this includes thetics introducing first order entities. Such tokens represent a serious weakening in the γίνομαι/εἰμί distinction.

     This may be true of ἐγένετο in **Luk 1:5**, which BDAG §8 gloss as 'there lived' (also Hb&S). If BDAG are right, one could still ask if γίνομαι occurs here instead of εἰμί to indicate that this introduction of Zechariah and Elizabeth is somehow to be construed as the first 'happening' in Luke's story. Alternatively, ἐγένετο might be an instance of the (Hebrew style) idiom 'it came about that',[374] in which case 'a certain priest' would be a clause 'fragment' (comparable to a left-detached thetic τις NP; §4.5).[375]

Luk 1:5   Ἐγένετο   ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου βασιλέως τῆς   Ἰουδαίας **ἱερεύς**
           3S.happened in the days   Herod.G king.G   the.G Judea.G priest.N

          τις   ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβιά,   καὶ γυνὴ   αὐτῷ κτλ
          a.certain by.name Zechariah of division   of.Abijah and wife.N to.him

          RSV: In the days of Herod, king of Judea, <u>there was a priest</u> named Zechariah, of the division of Abijah; and he had a wife of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth.

          nab: ? <u>It came about</u> in the days of Herod, king of Judea, (there was) <u>a certain priest</u>…

     Perhaps better candidates of static γίνομαι-first-order-thetics occur in the LXX.[376] Consider **Jdg 17:1**. It seems impossible to construe this as 'come' or 'appear', etc. and so

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[374] It is well known that Luke changes style from the Hellenistic-like introduction in vv 1-4 to the more LXX/Hebraic style in v 5. Here, the narrative properly begins, where first the birth narrative of John the Baptist is taken up, which abounds with linguistic allusions to the OT. See e.g. Nolland 1989 as well as Marshall 1978 (Marshall renders ἐγένετο here as static 'there was').

[375] This alternative interpretation is implied by Nolland (1989). Although *ἐγένετο+temporal* meaning 'it came about that when X' is common in Luke's writings (e.g. vv 1:8, 23, 41, etc.), it is normally followed by either (i) an *accusativus cum infinitivo* (i.e. accusative-NP+infinitive, which is good Koine) or (ii) a finite verb clause (+/– καί, which is more LXX/Hebraic style; see Moulton 1908:16-7 and Hf&S §217e). But to follow it with only a NP, such as ἱερεύς τις 'a certain priest', is peculiar. The closest parallel I have found is Act 16:16 (accusative παιδίσκην τινά 'a certain slave-girl' is a clause fragment, since descriptive 'having a spirit' intervenes before the 'thetic' verb 'met'). Contrast the finite verb clauses with nominative case thetic subjects in Luk 18:35 and Mrk 1:9.

[376] There are also examples in Classical Greek: Herodotus 1.96.1: ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δηιόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. 'There was among the Medes a clever man called Deioces: he was the son of Phraortes.' Herodotus 6.86a.2 (with infinitive): λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα: 'We Spartans say that three generations ago there was at Lacedaemon one Glaucus, the son of Epicydes.' (Translations are from A. D. Godley, at the Perseus cite.) Interestingly, Weil-Super-Scaglione (1978:31) translate the later as 'there lived'.

γίνομαι here looks synonymous with εἰμί. Although I have not made a thorough search of the LXX, tokens like this seem rare. Moreover, it is conspicuous that other instances occur nearby, in Jdg 17:7 (aorist passive ἐγενήθη) and Jdg 19:1. (All three translate Hebrew preterite/sequential forms, *wayhi* וַיְהִי.)[377] What is also conspicuous is the manuscript evidence for both εἰμί and γίνομαι forms in other nearby thetics in Judges. Codex Vaticanus has εἰμί (ἦν) in Jdg 13:2 but Codex Alexandrinus has γίνομαι (see also the possessive thetics in Jdg 10:4, Jdg 12:9 and Jdg 12:14). Such variation suggests significant overlap of semantic turf as well as tension between translators' idiolects and language change (besides possible editorial recension to coerce the Greek to look more like Hebrew).

Jdg 17:1   καὶ **ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ** ἀπὸ ὄρους   Εφραιμ καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Μιχαιας
            and 3S.*   man from mountain Ephraim and name to.him Micah

    2 καὶ εἶπεν τῇ   μητρὶ αὐτοῦ κτλ
       and 3S.said to.the mother of.him

    NET: [Chapter 16 concludes the Samson narrative.] ¹⁷ᐟ¹ <u>There was a man named Micah from the Ephraimite hill country.</u> ² He said to his mother, "You know the eleven hundred pieces of silver which were stolen from you, about which…"

Jdg 17:1   וַיְהִי־ אִישׁ מֵהַר־ אֶפְרָיִם וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָיְהוּ:

            wayhî- ʾîš mēhar- ʾep̄rāyim ûšəmô mîḵāyhû

            and-3S.was man from-hill.of Ephraim and-his-name Micah

Apart from such tokens, it seems to me that the use of γίνομαι and εἰμί in thetics in the LXX is otherwise very similar to that in the NT: γίνομαι typically introduces second order entities that occur on the event line (and presumably in other temporally structured discourse)[378] and εἰμί is used to introduce both first order entities[379] and second order entities that are off the event line.[380] **Gen 41:54** is a nice example because in a single breath it introduces both second order 'famine' via γίνομαι and first order 'food' via εἰμί (the first Hebrew form is a preterite/sequential *wayhi* and the second a non-sequential *hayah*). Εἰμί also makes sense here because the presence of food in Egypt occurs simultaneously with the famine. (See also 2Sa 21:20, which introduces 'war' via γίνομαι and 'a man' via εἰμί; both are preterite/sequential Hebrew forms.)

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[377] The 'tense' of *wayhi* (וַיְהִי) is 'preterite' (typically used for reporting sequential events in a story; see Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley 1910:326, Longacre 1989:64–65, Andersen 1974:80, Bailey & Levinsohn 1992:181). HYH/היה may make either static or non-static introductions.

[378] In narrative, γίνομαι thetics usually translate sequential Hebrew 'preterite' forms (e.g. *wayhi/wattehi*); tokens are preterite unless noted: Gen 12:10 (famine); Gen 13:7 (quarreling); Gen 15:1 (word of the Lord, *hayah;* compare NT Luk 3:2); Gen 29:23 (evening, which differs grammatically from וַיְהִי בָעֶרֶב); Exo 8:11 (pause, perfect, *hayah*); Exo 12:30 (cry, aorist passive); Exo 19:16 (thunder/lightning); 1Sa 14:15 (2x, fear); 2Sa 21:1 (famine); 2Sa 21:15 (war broke out, aorist passive); etc.

[379] Examples of first order εἰμί thetics: Gen 41:54 (bread, *hayah*); Jdg 9:51 (tower, *hayah*); Jdg 13:2 (man, *wayhi*); 1Sa 1:1 (man, *wayhi*); 1Sa 9:1 (man, *wayhi*); 1Sa 14:25 (honey, *wayhi*); 2Sa 12:1 (two men, *wayhi*); 2Sa 21:20 (man, *wayhi*); 2Sa 23:11 (field, *wayhi*); 2Ki 7:3 (four men, *hayah*); Est 2:5 (man, *hayah*); etc.

[380] Although εἰμί translates Hebrew *wayhi* in 1Sa 7:14, it summarizes the preceding ('and so there was peace'). Similarly, εἰμί in Neh 5:1 (cry, *wattehi*) apparently indicates a state of affairs simultaneous with the previous. The 'cry' also persists.

Gen 41:54 καὶ **ἐγένετο** **λιμὸς** ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ
and 3S.happened famine in all the land

ἐν δὲ πάσῃ γῇ Αἰγύπτου **ἦσαν** **ἄρτοι**
in but all land of.Egypt 3P.were foods

nab: And the seven years of famine began to come, just as Joseph had said. <u>And there was a famine [i.e. crop failures] in all the land/earth, but in all of Egypt there was food.</u>

Before leaving the subject of the LXX, it is worth underscoring that in all of these passages, γίνομαι and εἰμί render a single Hebrew verb, היה (HYH) 'be'. Hebrew had only one verb, HYH/היה, which bore the burden of both εἰμί and γίνομαι. Thus, in comparison to Greek εἰμί and γίνομαι, היה is **underspecified** in meaning (i.e. more neutral).[381] As illustrated by the cited LXX renderings, the LXX translators felt free to use both verbs as the context required, something that is a good example for modern translators.

A couple of other lessons may be drawn for English translators and lexicographers. We can now reevaluate BDAG's use of English 'be' for both εἰμί and γίνομαι. On the one hand, we must be ready to admit that on rare occasion γίνομαι may substitute for εἰμί and also express a state (including make static introductions of first order entities). On the other hand, it is clear that BDAG's use of 'be' in §8 and §10 of γίνομαι *obscures* the fact that many of their examples are accomplishments (i.e. non-static states of affairs, e.g. events) and not states (i.e. static states of affairs). The source of the confusion is, of course, the metalanguage, English. English 'be' is also underspecified (unlike the accomplishment verbs 'occur' and 'happen'). As (235) illustrates, *there+be* may make static introductions ('a man') or non-static ones ('earthquake', 'argument'). 'Have' is similarly underspecified, as illustrated in (236) (in contrast to 'acquire' and 'come to own'). What this therefore demonstrates is that εἰμί and γίνομαι are less often synonymous than the English gloss 'be' in BDAG suggests.

(235) a. There once was a man.

b. Then suddenly, there was an earthquake.

c. Then there was an argument.

(236) a. We once had a hundred sheep.

b. Our first year in California we had a big earthquake, and then the next year we had a huge fire.

c. Then we had an argument.

Finally, consider one last token in the NT, a possessive thetic in **Mat 18:12**, with aorist subjunctive γένηταί.[382] All translations that I have consulted make use of a verb that, without further modification, suggests a static introduction, most typically using 'have' as in the NRS (and 'haben' in German translations).

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[381] Barr (1961:59) makes a similar observation about היה, that it can be rendered in English by either 'be' (stative) or 'come to be/come to pass' ('ingressive'). Moreover, he noted the LXX used the aorist of γίνομαι for past ingressive situations (e.g. 'come to be' or 'come to pass') and the imperfect of εἰμί for past continuing situations.

[382] Compare the subjunctive present ᾖ of εἰμί in an 'if' clause in Luk 10:6, 'if there should be a son of peace there'.

Mat 18:12 Τί   ὑμῖν   δοκεῖ;   ἐὰν **γένηταί** τινι   ἀνθρώπῳ **ἑκατὸν**   **πρόβατα**
           what   to.you seems.right if   3S.*   to.any man   one.hundred sheep

> NRS: What do you think? <u>If a shepherd has a hundred sheep,</u> and one of them has gone
> astray, does he not leave the ninety-nine on the mountains and go in search of the one…

But in this case BDAG have done better by listing this token not under §8 or §10 but under
§4 ('happen, turn out, take place'). One interpretation is that the *shepherd's possession* of the
flock is to be construed as an event (i.e. 'he acquired' or 'came to own').[383] The sense
'acquire' is fitting for several γίνομαι possessive thetics in the LXX (e.g. Gen 12:16, Gen
26:14, and Gen 32:6, all three are rendered 'acquired' by the TNK and correspond to
preterite/sequential forms with possessive *le*—וַיְהִי־ל; contrast static uses with εἰμί in Gen
13:5 and Jdg 8:30, which correspond to non-sequential forms in the Hebrew; but as we saw
elsewhere in Judges, LXX manuscripts differ on Jdg 10:4, Jdg 12:4, etc.). Another
interpretation is that *the flock's existence as 100 sheep* (not the man's possession of it) is to
be construed as an event: The shepherd's flock had grown to become 100 sheep by means of
his care and its reproduction (this might be rendered as 'If a man had a flock that had grown
to be 100 sheep').[384] Under either interpretation, the non-static process is underscored.
Moreover, a reader can more readily make additional inferences, such as that the sheep owner
had a lot invested in the lost sheep.

4.9.3 There are no γίνομαι thetics in future

At the beginning of this section, εἰμί and γίνομαι were characterized as *static* and *non-
static* respectively, and in that regard we noted Kahn's comment how γί(γ)νομαι functions as
a 'suppletive aorist for εἰμί'. It was then suggested that the two verbs could be viewed as
forming a single paradigm. This is best illustrated by the fact that, in the past, εἰμί can only be
imperfect, never aorist,[385] the aorist being handled by γίνομαι. But the fact that γίνομαι may
also occasionally be imperfect shows the suppletion is incomplete. Out of a total of 2194
LXX and 669 NT instances of γίνομαι, 25 LXX and 3 NT cases are imperfect (counts from
BibleWorks).

Other facts may be cited that illustrate the complex interaction between εἰμί and γίνομαι,
and this interaction may, to varying degrees, be described as paradigmatic suppletion. For
example, grammars note that, for NT εἰμί, instead of the second person plural imperative
ἔστε, one finds either the future ἔσεσθε (e.g. Mat 6:5) or the present imperative γίνεσθε (BDF
§98; Hf&S §125a). Consider the pairing of γίνομαι and εἰμί in **Luk 6:36** (see Z&G).

Luk 6:36 **Γίνεσθε** οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς (καὶ) ὁ   πατὴρ ὑμῶν   οἰκτίρμων **ἐστίν**.
          2P.*!   merciful   just.as also   the Father of.you merciful   3S.is

> NRS: Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful.

Another area where there is evidence for near complete suppletion is in the **future**, and it
is this tense-(aspect) that I wish to focus on from here on. By and large, εἰμί dominates the
future tense, but γίνομαι still occurs occasionally. For both LXX and NT, of 7780 instances
of εἰμί, 1719 (22%) are future; but of 2664 instances of γίνομαι only 12 are future (i.e.
0.45%), and of those 11 occur in the NT.

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[383] Kahn's discussion of the aspectual difference between Classical γίγνομαι and εἰμί could also be cited as
support for this interpretation (1973:152, 194-8).

[384] This latter interpretation was suggested to me by Mark Karan.

[385] Nor perfect.

Along these lines, grammars mention the use of εἰς+*accusative* in place of 'the predicate nominative' (what they attribute to Semitic influence) with either γίνομαι or εἰμί, but where they say εἰμί is used especially in the future and usually in LXX quotations (BDF §145 and Zerwick §32). Typical instances cited involve a *change of state* (and so are 'accomplishments'), what we would expect to be in γίνομαι's domain. This is illustrated by **Luk 13:19** (non-future γίνομαι) and **Mat 19:5** (future εἰμί), neither being thetic.

Luk 13:19   καὶ   ηὔξησεν   καὶ   **ἐγένετο**   **εἰς**   δένδρον,
         and   3S.grew   and   3S.became   into   tree.A

         NRS: [The kingdom of God] is like a mustard seed that someone took and sowed in the garden; it grew <u>and became a tree,</u> and the birds of the air made nests in its branches.

Mat 19:5   καὶ   **ἔσονται**   οἱ   δύο   **εἰς**   σάρκα   μίαν.
         and   3P.will.be   the   two   into   flesh.A   one.A

         NRS: For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, <u>and the two shall become one flesh.</u>

But there is at least one exception to this pattern, **Jhn 16:20**, with future γίνομαι. And true predicate nominals (in the nominative and without εἰς) can make use of future γίνομαι, as illustrated by **Jhn 4:14**. Such examples show that suppletion is not complete.

Jhn 16:20   ὑμεῖς   λυπηθήσεσθε,   ἀλλ᾽   ἡ   λύπη   ὑμῶν   **εἰς**   χαρὰν   **γενήσεται**.
         you   2P.will.be.grieved   but   the   grief   of.you   into   joy.A.s.f   3S.will.become

         NRS: Very truly, I tell you, you will weep and mourn, but the world will rejoice; you will have pain, <u>but your pain will turn into joy.</u>

Jhn 4:14   ἀλλὰ   τὸ   ὕδωρ   ὃ   δώσω   αὐτῷ   **γενήσεται**   ἐν   αὐτῷ   πηγὴ
         but   the   water   which   I.will.give   him   3S.will.become   in   him   fountain.N.s.f

         ὕδατος   ἁλλομένου   εἰς   ζωὴν   αἰώνιον.
         of.water   springing.up   into   life   eternal

         NRS: but whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him will never thirst; <u>the water that I shall give him will become in him a spring of water</u> welling up to eternal life.

Now, when it comes to future **thetics**, it is noteworthy that we only find εἰμί, never γίνομαι (there are, to be sure, at least a couple of existential uses—see section end). In principle, this shortage of future γίνομαι forms could be accidental. That would be the case if there were simply no situations reported in our texts that required such forms. But what suggests this is not the case is that εἰμί often occurs where we would have expected γίνομαι. Thus, γίνομαι appears to have been squeezed out by εἰμί in the domain of the future.[386] The reasons behind this are not clear to me, but it is likely that they are complex and concern issues of language history, contact, and functional issues. In any case, it has been pointed out by others that, as tenses go, the future is a marginal category in comparison to the past and present (Comrie 1985:43-45).[387]

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[386] Barr (1961:59) makes a somewhat comparable observation, although not in relation to theticity. For the past he notes the LXX authors used aorist ἐγένετο (γίνομαι) for ingressive situations (e.g. 'come to be' or 'come to pass') and ἦν (imperfect, εἰμί) for continuing ones. 'For the future however they could express the ingressive sense without going outside of the verb εἰμί, and [future form] ἔσται is in fact very frequent, especially of course in prophetic passages.'

[387] See also Comrie (1981:66-70) on the strong correlation in languages between perfective non-past forms (i.e. present) and future forms. It thus makes sense that the future of εἰμί (ἔσομαι), which like other future forms involves -σ, is likely related to the aorist, which also involves -σ.

For discussion and debate on the function of the Greek future, see Porter (1989:403-16) and Fanning (1990:120-24, 317-18), as well as the summaries in Porter (1994:43-4) and Wallace (1996:566, notes 1 and 2).

One situation where we saw earlier that γίνομαι was required was when a second order entity was introduced as a sequential event on the narrative's event line (see on Mat 8:24-26 in §4.9.1). Clear examples of future eventive thetics occurring in sequence are hard to find in the NT. But consider **Exo 11:6** from the LXX. In chapter 11, God tells Moses that every firstborn in Egypt will die, and then there will occur (future εἰμί) a loud cry throughout the land. The events are to happen in sequence (the Hebrew verb would also normally be taken as sequential: וְהָיְתָה 'and-(then)-3s.fem.will.be/occur'; 'cry' is feminine). When the prophecy comes to pass in chapter 12, the events are reported in the same order, but this time with γίνομαι (the Hebrew verb, a preterite, is clearly sequential here: וַתְּהִי 'and-(then)-3s.fem.was/occurred').

Exo 11:5   καὶ   τελευτήσει   πᾶν   πρωτότοκον   ἐν   γῇ   Αἰγύπτῳ   κτλ
           and   3S.will.die   every   firstborn   in   land   Egypt

6   καὶ   **ἔσται**   κραυγὴ   μεγάλη   κατὰ   πᾶσαν   γῆν   Αἰγύπτου
           and   3S.will.be   cry   great   throughout   all   land   Egypt

12:30   καὶ   **ἐγενήθη**   κραυγὴ   μεγάλη   ἐν   πάσῃ   γῇ   Αἰγύπτῳ
           and   3S.happened.Pass   cry   great   in   all   land   Egypt

> NRS: [11:5] Every firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh… to… all the firstborn of the livestock. [6] <u>Then there will be a loud cry</u> throughout the whole land of Egypt, such as has never been or will ever be again. […] [12:29] At midnight the LORD struck down all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh…to…all the firstborn of the livestock. [30] …and <u>there was a loud cry</u> in Egypt, for there was not a house without someone dead.

In such situations, we can call future εἰμί a **covert instance** of γίνομαι. Depending on language, some translators might consider using an explicitly non-static verb here.

There are some situations where it is less clear to me if we should have expected γίνομαι. Compare, for example, the introduction of an earthquake in the past in **Act 16:26** with future occurrences of earthquakes, famines, horrors, and signs in **Luk 21:11** (|| Mrk 13:8; also Luk 21:23 and Luk 21:25). The first uses aorist γίνομαι and the second future εἰμί. (For more 'earthquake' thetics with non-future γίνομαι forms, see Mat 28:2, Rev 6:12, etc.; for 'famine', see Luk 4:25 and Luk 15:14.)

Act 16:26   ἄφνω   δὲ   σεισμὸς   **ἐγένετο**   μέγας
            suddenly   and   earthquake   3S.happened   great

            ὥστε   σαλευθῆναι   τὰ   θεμέλια   τοῦ   δεσμωτηρίου·
            so.as   to.be.shaken   the   foundations   of.the   jail

> NRS: [25] About midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God,… [26] <u>Suddenly there was an earthquake,</u> so violent that the foundations of the prison were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened…

Luk 21:11   σεισμοί   τε   μεγάλοι   καὶ   κατὰ   τόπους   λιμοὶ   καὶ   λοιμοὶ   **ἔσονται,**
            earthquakes   both   great   and   in.various   places   famines   and   plagues   3P.will.be

            φόβητρά   τε   καὶ   ἀπ'   οὐρανοῦ   σημεῖα   μεγάλα   **ἔσται**.
            horrors   both   and   from   heaven   signs   great   3S.will.be

> NRS: [10] Then he said to them, "Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; [11] <u>there will be great earthquakes, and in various places famines and plagues;</u> and there will be dreadful portents and great signs from heaven.…"

At first glance, it might seem that aorist γίνομαι is used in Act 16:26 since the earthquake occurs in sequence on the event line, whereas for the future prediction, at least in Luk 21:11, the events are not sequential (the different catastrophes are merely listed); moreover, the latter events are iterative and not semelfactive (i.e. multiple punctiliar events rather than only one). For these reasons, one might argue that εἰμί is perfectly natural. Still, γίνομαι is possible in non-sequential contexts with iterative sense. This is illustrated by two instances of the rare imperfect forms of γίνομαι in **Act 2:43** (the imperfect being, as mentioned above, another area γίνομαι is being squeezed out of). Habitual states of affairs are merely being listed (see also the present participle of γίνομαι in Act 8:13). So it may be that even in Luk 21:11 above the two εἰμί forms are further instances of covert γίνομαι.

Act 2:43   **Ἐγίνετο**   δὲ   πάσῃ   ψυχῇ   φόβος,
            3S.was.happening – in.every   soul   awe

            πολλά   τε   τέρατα   καὶ   σημεῖα   διὰ   τῶν   ἀποστόλων   **ἐγίνετο**.
            many   and   wonders   and   signs   through   the   apostles   3S.were.happening

            NIV: [42] They devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and to the fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to prayer. [43] <u>Everyone was filled with awe,</u> and <u>many wonders and miraculous signs were done by the apostles.</u> [44] All the believers were together and had everything in common.

There are many other future thetics introducing second order entities and one must ask if εἰμί occurs simply because it is future (and not because of some tense-aspect nuance). Contrast future εἰμί in Luk 1:14 ('there will be joy to you'; also Luk 15:7, but 'joy' may be constituent-focus) with present γίνομαι in Luk 15:10 ('there is joy before the angels of God') and aorist γίνομαι in Act 8:8 ('there was great joy in that city'); perhaps 'resurrection', with future infinitive εἰμί in Act 24:15, is another case, versus perfect infinitive γίνομαι in 2Ti 2:18. See also Rom 9:9 which could mean not simply (static) Sarah will have a child, but (non-static) to her one will be born.[388]

Consider another set of NT passages. In **Mrk 14:2**, θόρυβος 'riot, uproar' is introduced with future εἰμί, and in parallel **Mat 26:5**, the aorist subjunctive of γίνομαι is used (see also Mat 27:24 with present γίνεται). In principle, one could claim that ἔσται here indicates a static states of affairs in comparison to γένηται indicating an inceptive one. But I assume instead that this set is further evidence that (for whatever reason) γίνομαι is simply banned from expressing future thetics.

Mrk 14:2   Μὴ   ἐν   τῇ   ἑορτῇ,   μήποτε   **ἔσται**   θόρυβος   τοῦ   λαοῦ.
           not   at   the   Festival   lest   3S.will.be   uproar   of.the   people

           NRS: [1] …The chief priests and the scribes were looking for a way to arrest Jesus by stealth and kill him; [2] for they said, "Not during the festival, <u>or there may be a riot among the people."</u>

Mat 26:5   Μὴ   ἐν   τῇ   ἑορτῇ,   ἵνα μὴ   θόρυβος   **γένηται**   ἐν   τῷ   λαῷ.
           not   during   the   Festival   lest   uproar   3S.should.happen   among   the   people

If γίνομαι is simply banned from expressing future thetics, one should ask if ἔσται in the weather thetic of **Luk 12:55** could be another covert γίνομαι. This interpretation is implied by the GNT, which, in contrast to the NRS's 'there will be', has 'it is going to get hot'. 'Get', like 'become', indicates an inceptive change of state. See also the pairing of the future infinitive μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι 'about to be (a famine)' with past ἐγένετο in Act 11:28.

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[388] Hebrew passives (e.g. Nifal or Qal passive) of יָלַד 'begat' are often translated by γίνομαι in the LXX (e.g. in Gen 4:26 καὶ τῷ Σηθ ἐγένετο υἱός for וּלְשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא יֻלַּד־בֵּן 'and to Seth was born a son').

Luk 12:55 Καύσων **ἔσται**,   καὶ **γίνεται**.
            heat   3s.will.be and 3S.happens

> NRS: And when you see the south wind blowing, you say, <u>'There will be scorching heat';</u> <u>and it happens.</u>

2Pe 2:1 is less clear, but perhaps it also harbors a covert γίνομαι. If so, not just γίνομαι but also εἰμί would be making non-static introductions. To make explicit the conjectured non-static meaning of εἰμί, we could correct the NRS's 'there will be' to something like 'just as there will also *arise* false teachers among you.'

2Pe 2:1 **Ἐγένοντο**   δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν   τῷ λαῷ,
            3P.happened but also false.prophets   among the people

           ὡς καὶ ἐν   ὑμῖν **ἔσονται** ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι,
           as also among you 3P.will.be false.teachers

> NRS: But false prophets also arose among the people, just as <u>there will be</u> false teachers among you, who will secretly bring in destructive opinions.

I have only found one case, in **Jhn 10:16**, where a future γίνομαι is, broadly speaking, existential, although it is not thetic in the narrow sense. The editors of the UBS text felt γενήσονται '3P.will.become' had better textual support, in which case the clause has topic-comment structure, 'they will become one flock' (see GNT below). An alternative reading is with the singular γενήσεται, as illustrated below. Although this may be interpreted as existential (e.g. 'there will be', as in the NRS below), it is not thetic. It is in fact a case of constituent-focus: μία 'one' alone is focal and the utterance asserts *how many* flocks there will be.[389]

Jhn 10:16 καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω   ἃ   οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης·
            and other sheep   I.have which not 3P.are of the fold   this

           κἀκεῖνα   δεῖ   με   ἀγαγεῖν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούσουσιν,
           those.also it.is.necessary for.me to.bring and the voice of.me 3P.will.hear

           καὶ **γενήσεται**   μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμήν.
           and 3S.will.come.to.be one flock   one shepherd

> NRS: I have other sheep that do not belong to this fold. I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice. <u>So there will be one flock, one shepherd.</u>

> GNT: <u>…and they will become one flock with one shepherd.</u>

In Table 7 in §4.2.5.2 for εἰμί thetics, all of the instances of εἰμί which are potentially covert occurrences of γίνομαι, are underlined. Translators might make note of these. Elsewhere in this study I note similar phenomena involving future εἰμί (see on Isa 43:10 in §4.3.2, Luk 12:20 in §4.6.4, and see footnote 475 in §5.2.1).

4.9.4 Summary

We have considered different domains where εἰμί and γίνομαι have vied for turf. The basic aspectual meaning of each verb (state versus accomplishment) interacts with theticity in interesting ways. There is a strong preference for γίνομαι to introduce second order entities that occur in temporally structured discourse, introducing especially *bounded* states of affairs that occur, for example, on the narrative event line. It only rarely introduces first order

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[389] Nor is LXX Gen 17:17 with future γίνομαι an exception (εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεῖ γενήσεται 'Shall (something) be born to a hundred year old person?'). Although existential, it is not thetic, since it lacks a lexical subject and presents nothing. The truth of the proposition is being questioned.

entities, and most instances of these can also be construed as non-static introductions (e.g. 'a man appeared'). Entities introduced by εἰμί, in contrast, are just as often first order as they are second order in the NT. But when εἰμί is used to introduce a second order entity, (a) the state of affairs is expressed by a future indicative of εἰμί (what γίνομαι apparently never does), or (b), in the case of other tense-aspects, the state of affairs is probably always *unbounded* and/or *off* the event line. In comparison to Greek, Hebrew HYH/היה and English 'be' and *there+be* are less specified, each covering much of the same turf that εἰμί and γίνομαι together share. Due to the ambiguity of English 'be', BDAG give the impression that γίνομαι and εἰμί are more synonymous than they really are.

4.10 Constituent order

4.10.1 Introduction

The reader has no doubt noticed in earlier sections that thetics involve a variety of constituent orders. For example, both *V...S* (=*Verb...Subject)* and *S...V* (=*Subject...Verb)* occur, and occasionally even *S₁...V...S₂* (i.e. where part of the subject is preverbal and part postverbal). We also saw that other constituents, such as locative and temporal adverbials, may precede the entire clause or intervene between the verb and subject.

We can point out here that thetic studies for other languages closely related typologically or areally have also revealed both *VS* and *SV* orders. For example, in Sasse's study of Modern Greek (1995b), although *VS* is preferred for thetics, *SV* also occurs. And Bolkestein (1995) also found for Latin that both *VS* and *SV* occurred, even if *VS* was more common.

This section, §4.10, is therefore dedicated to some of the complexities of constituent order in Koine thetics. Since there is a long tradition of constituent order studies that make the verb (the clause nucleus) the point of orientation, and since many unambiguous thetics involving εἰμί and other verbs only have a subject and a verb, it has made sense to study things in terms of the relative order of subject and verb. That will be, therefore, the focus of this section. The position of adverbials and other constituents is given less attention (but see §4.10.4).

Before suggesting the possible motivating factors for the different orders, I will first present some general facts about the data, as well as tie in some previous discussion.

As a point of departure, we can take Jespersen's brief observations (1924:154-6) about 'existential sentences' in some European languages, and the manner in which they

> …present some striking peculiarities in many languages. Whether or not a word like *there* is used to introduce them, the verb precedes the subject, and the latter is hardly treated grammatically like a real subject. [p. 155]

Jespersen cites not only English, where the main NP is obviously preceded by *there–be*, but also Danish, German dialects, Russian, Romance languages, and Ancient Greek, for which he gives an example from Homer and describes εἰμί as 'preposed'.[390] Jespersen defines an 'existential sentence' in broad terms, that is, as one where 'the existence of something is asserted or denied', but it is clear from his examples that his definition subsumes thetic uses.

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[390] Jespersen refers to Meillet (1906-1908:9) who makes a similar brief claim.

Others have also suggested, explicitly or implicitly, that the order *εἰμί–Subject* is preferred or at least common for thetics/existentials in main finite clauses.[391]

Jespersen's observation is taken up by Kahn (1973:254-5) where he specifically deals with εἰμί sentences that 'introduce' an entity (p. 252), that is, which are thetic in our terms. And for the Greek of Homer (he probably has in mind later Classical Greek texts too), Kahn confirms this order as a general *tendency,* stating that εἰμί 'usually' occurs sentence-initially before its subject (pp. 245, 251-2, 410). But Kahn refrains from calling this a rule or 'a distinct sentence type', since other orders also occur and he is fully aware how 'in ancient Greek word order is so flexible and so sensitive to rhetorical features of the context such as contrast, emphasis, repetition, and novelty' (p. 255).

Matić (2003a:586) notes in passing both *V...S* and *S...V* orders in Xenophon for εἰμί thetics ('presentatives'), but he can offer no explanation for the difference. H. Dik also notes both orders in Herodotus (1995:226-7, 229-35). In fact, she admits that *V...S* order in 'presentative' clauses is problematic for her theory (see §3.3.3 and §4.10.6.2 for more discussion).

So what about the position of the subject in thetics in the NT? The following tables offer snapshots of the different orders for thetics with εἰμί, γίνομαι, and a selection of other verbs. (The εἰμί and γίνομαι tokens are the same as those in Table 7 and Table 8 in §4.2.5.2.)

Table 13 lists the counts for εἰμί.[392] *V...S* tokens outnumber *S...V* tokens, both for the total count (49% versus 41%) and for tokens with finite verbs (50% versus 39%). But if $S_1...V...S_2$ tokens are taken into account, the case for *V...S* being prominent becomes weaker. Moreover, the few non-finite tokens suggest the opposite tendency (5 are participial and 2 infinitival).

Table 13. The position of subject in εἰμί thetics

	V...S	*S...V*	$S_1...V...S_2$	*total*
finite verb	51 (50%)	39 (39%)	11 (11%)	*101 (100%)*
non-finite verb	2	5	–	*7*
total	***53 (49%)***	***44 (41%)***	***11 (10%)***	***108 (100%)***

The picture is a bit different for γίνομαι thetics. For finite verb clauses, the preference for *V...S* is greater: out of 81 tokens, 52 (or 64%) are *V...S*. But again, the inverse holds for non-finite clauses, which account for 33% of all tokens. There, *S...V* outnumbers *V...S* three to one—29 versus 10 tokens. (Of the 40 non-finite tokens, 35 are participial and 5 infinitival.[393] Over half of the non-finite *S...V* tokens are time or atmospheric thetics; see §4.10.3.6 where many of these tokens are given special attention.)

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[391] Reiser (1984:55) is not very clear but seems to imply that when εἰμί is used in Xenophon and Herodotus as an existential ('absolute' or 'Vollverb') *V...S* is more common (but the order *S...V* is in any case more common for all uses of εἰμί in these authors). Kieckers (1911 and 1934:40) takes initial position to be the norm for the 'Vollverb εἶναι' (i.e. existential/thetic uses of εἰμί) in main clauses, and Fischer (1924:202) suggests the same for εἰμί (as well as for verbs of motion, which are often thetic, and verbs of speech and thought). Schwyzer II (p. 694) notes both orders for εἰμί meaning 'exist' (citing Herodotus 7.235.4 and 7.176.5, both main clauses). For relative clauses, Frisk (1933:111-20) notes positional differences depending on εἰμί's tense-aspect, whether copular or existential: the present prefers *relativizer–Subject–εἰμί* more than the imperfect, but for both forms the subject still often follows the verb. For the NT (pp. 134-5), Frisk says the normal order is *relativizer–εἰμί– Subject* for both tense-aspects and for both copular and existential uses.

[392] Only unambiguous εἰμί thetics have been included in these counts. Thus, tokens that are potentially periphrastic or 'existential' or otherwise marginal have been excluded.

[393] Of the 35 γίνομαι participles, 32 are genitive, 1 nominative and 2 accusative.

Table 14. The position of subject in γίνομαι thetics

	V...S	*S...V*	*S₁...V...S₂*	*total*
finite verb	52 (64%)	24 (30%)	5 (6%)	*81 (100%)*
non-finite verb	10	29	1	*40*
total	***62 (51%)***	***53 (44%)***	***6 (5%)***	***121 (100%)***

When we get away from copular verbs like εἰμί and γίνομαι, *V...S* tokens tend to outnumber *S...V* ones even more. Table 15 summarizes the details for thetics involving certain 'selected verbs': ἔρχομαι 'come' (82 tokens), ἐξέρχομαι 'come out/appear' (12), προσέρχομαι 'approach/come forward' (11), παραγίνομαι 'come/arrive' (6), and passive forms of ὁράω 'appear' (8). I have only included what I consider to be unambiguous thetics; all clauses are informationally 'light'. The subjects may be either unidentifiable or identifiable. The 119 tokens are listed in footnote 396.

Table 15. The position of subject in thetics with 'selected verbs' (ἔρχομαι 'come', etc.)[394]

	V...S	*S...V*	*S₁...V...S₂*	*total*
finite verb	78 (80%)	18 (19%)	1 (1%)	*97 (100%)*
non-finite verb	11	10	1	*22*[395]
total	***89 (75%)***	***28 (23%)***	***2 (2%)***	***119 (100%)*** [396]

To summarize, the above three tables show that for NT thetic clauses with finite verbs *V...S* is generally preferred. But for non-finite clauses, the preference is somewhat reversed. Still, even the finite/non-finite distinction does not amount to a significant factor. We cannot suggest anything approaching a rule such as, 'Given factor X, order A will occur'. So such counts are of limited use, *since they do not reveal what motivates the different orders.*

So what about the other factors that we have considered for thetics, namely, the difference between first order entities (1oe) and other types of entities and persistence type? Consider Table 16 for finite εἰμί thetics (the 108 tokens mentioned in Table 13 minus the 7 non-finite verb tokens). Most of the 'other' types of entities are second order (see details in Table 7).

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[394] Among the 'selected verbs', there are 22 'time' thetics but no atmospheric ones.

[395] Of the 22 non-finite tokens (none of which are 'time' thetics), only one is infinitival. Of the 21 participial ones, 13 are nominative, 5 accusative, and 3 genitive. I have included here 4 tokens with *ἰδού*+NP_{NOM} + *participle,* but as will be argued in §6.3.4.2, the participle should probably be viewed as a separate clause (Mat 8:2; Mat 9:10; Mat 9:18; Mat 19:16).

[396] Thetics involving the 'selected verbs' (119 tokens): Mat 2:6; Mat 3:1; Mat 4:11; Mat 7:25; Mat 7:27; Mat 8:2; Mat 9:10; Mat 9:15; Mat 9:18; Mat 13:4; Mat 13:19; Mat 13:25; Mat 14:12; Mat 15:19; Mat 15:30; Mat 17:3; Mat 19:16; Mat 21:5; Mat 26:7; Mat 26:47; Mat 26:60; Mat 26:60; Mrk 1:40; Mrk 2:20; Mrk 3:31; Mrk 4:4; Mrk 4:15; Mrk 5:22; Mrk 5:30; Mrk 8:11; Mrk 9:4; Mrk 11:27; Mrk 12:18; Mrk 12:28; Mrk 12:42; Mrk 14:3; Mrk 14:41; Mrk 14:43; Mrk 14:66; Mrk 15:43; Luk 1:11; Luk 3:12; Luk 5:35; Luk 6:19; Luk 8:2; Luk 8:12; Luk 8:19; Luk 8:41; Luk 8:46; Luk 8:49; Luk 12:54; Luk 13:31; Luk 16:21; Luk 17:22; Luk 19:16; Luk 19:18; Luk 19:20; Luk 20:27; Luk 21:6; Luk 22:7; Luk 22:43; Luk 23:29; Jhn 1:29; Jhn 1:30; Jhn 1:47; Jhn 4:7; Jhn 4:21; Jhn 4:23; Jhn 4:27; Jhn 4:35; Jhn 5:25; Jhn 5:28; Jhn 6:5; Jhn 9:4; Jhn 10:12; Jhn 11:20; Jhn 11:48; Jhn 12:15; Jhn 12:23; Jhn 14:30; Jhn 15:26; Jhn 16:2; Jhn 16:21; Jhn 16:25; Jhn 16:32; Jhn 17:1; Jhn 19:34; Jhn 19:39; Jhn 20:19; Jhn 20:24; Jhn 20:26; Act 2:3; Act 5:25; Act 16:9; Act 16:19; Act 21:18; Rom 7:9; 1Co 13:10; 1Co 16:10; 2Co 9:4; Gal 2:12; Gal 4:4; Heb 8:8; 1Jn 2:18; 2Jn 1:10; 3Jn 1:3; Rev 6:4; Rev 6:17; Rev 8:3; Rev 9:12; Rev 12:1; Rev 12:3; Rev 14:7; Rev 14:15; Rev 14:20; Rev 17:1; Rev 19:5; Rev 19:7; Rev 21:9.

Table 16. Finite εἰμί *thetics according to persistence and entity type*

		V…S	S…V	S₁…V…S₂	total
(1)	1oe, persists as subject argument	18	9	5	*32*
(2)	'other', persists as subject argument	5	1	–	*6*
(3)	1oe, persists as non-subject argument	6	4	–	*10*
(4)	'other', persists as non-subject argument	3	3	–	*6*
(5)	1oe, persists as proposition	1	–	–	*1*
(6)	'other', persists as proposition	2	1	1	*4*
(7)	1oe, no persistence	4	6	1	*11*
(8)	'other', no persistence	12	15	4	*31*
	total	*51 (52%)*	*39 (37%)*	*11 (11%)*	*101 (100%)*

Neither do the facts in Table 16 suggest any overwhelming patterns. Even though for category (1)—first order entities persisting as a subject argument—*V…S* is preferred twice as often, this still does not amount to a rule. So we have to look elsewhere to discover factors that might be controlling constituent order. Incidentally, this table shows that Koine Greek differs from what Sasse found in several European languages, including Modern Greek, where the introduction of first order entities 'is always done by means of (X)VS constructions' (1996:40).

The sections that follow are dedicated to isolating the different motivating factors. Although the data is complex and many questions remain, I believe that the different orders for most of the data can be accounted for according to the type of syntactic and pragmatic environments they occur in. For those of pragmatic nature, I draw on factors that Levinsohn, Callow, and others have already proposed (Chapter 3). Moreover, I believe that the factors to be identified apply to *all thetics,* whatever the verb (e.g. εἰμί 'be', γίνομαι 'happen', ἔρχομαι 'come', etc.), whatever the entity type (first, second, or third order), and whether or not it persists.

My discussion concentrates on the difference between *V…S* and *S…V*. Less is said about *S₁…V…S₂* tokens (which are relatively few). The discussion and claims apply firstly to independent clauses with finite verbs, and only secondly to (subordinate) participial and infinitival clauses. Unless stated otherwise, the tokens cited have finite verbs. An exception is the set of tokens investigated in §4.10.3.6, where one type of participial thetic is treated. It will be seen that in many cases it does not matter if the verb is finite or not.

Additionally, the discussion and claims usually give preference to tokens employing (a) an εἰμί or γίνομαι clause with an unidentifiable subject and (b) informationally light clauses with straightforward intransitive verbs (e.g. 'come'), whether or not the subject is identifiable. It is safer to draw conclusions from these prototypical thetic types than from (c) heavy or otherwise borderline tokens, although the latter are also occasionally considered.

To prepare the reader for what is to come in the following sections as well as in the sections on constituent order in Chapters 5 and 6, I will outline here some of my main conclusions. I will argue that, depending on environment, both *V…S* and *S…V* may be default orders (i.e. pragmatically unmarked). *S…V* is a default order for tokens that (a) begin a brand new discourse, (b) follow ἰδού, and (c) come in object complement clauses of perception reports. But in most other syntactic and discourse environments, *V…S* appears to be the default order, and its inverse, *S…V,* is pragmatically marked in relation to *V…S*.

Three sections touch on why *V…S* is a default order in most environments. §4.10.2 discusses the kinds of discourse environments that *V…S* comes in and why this form is unmarked. The subsections under §4.10.3 attempt to identify what factors account for *S…V*

order. Since these factors explain why *S...V* occurs, they indirectly suggest why *V...S* does not occur. The final section, §4.10.6.2, takes up, among other things, another reason why *V...S* order is the default: There is a harmony between the default position of thetic subjects and the default position of focal objects. The final section also offers a discussion of the *focus structure* of Greek thetics in relation to constituent order templates suggested for Greek by others.

Besides the above sections, two more are included towards the end. §4.10.4 treats the position of adverbials (e.g. locatives, temporals, source locatives, pre-nuclear adverbial clauses, etc.), especially in the postverbal area. And §4.10.5 looks at tokens where the subject is an anarthrous nominal (especially a proper name).

What should become clear is that many of the factors that I claim influence the choice between *S...V* and *V...S* are *not* pure information structure factors. Besides syntactic factors, several discourse-pragmatic factors play a role, most of which were touched on in §3.3 when discussing constituent order for non-thetics. By my estimation, at least the following are relevant: discourse '(dis)continuity' and discourse juncture, mental spaces, anaphoric and cataphoric relationships of contrast and 'explanatoriness', surprise and emotive emphasis.

4.10.2 V…S, a default order in most environments

One good reason for taking *V...S* as the default order in most environments is because the alternative order *S...V* tends to occur when certain elements are present, such as contrast, surprise, or the clause is discourse-initial, etc. Thus, *V...S* can be defined *negatively* in terms of the absence of certain elements. But this cannot be the whole picture, since *V...S* sometimes occurs even when some of those elements *are* present.

I wish therefore to portray in *positive* terms some typical environments where *V...S* prevails, and this will then serve as background for later sections. I will begin by considering typical *discourse* environments that *V...S* occurs in. Later in this section I will turn to some *syntactic* environments where it prevails. There may be a connection between these discourse and syntactic environments, but I will not probe this question very deeply.

Many, but not all, *V...S* tokens fit what I would like to claim is a **prototypical use** of thetics in discourse. Prototypically, *a thetic introduces something into an already established scene, which in turn sets the stage for what is to come.* **Anaphorically,** it builds on the preceding context and, **cataphorically,** it introduces something which itself will be built upon. To be sure, a good handful of tokens actually begin a discourse, and a few even end one (e.g. a speech). But most typically, they are at least a step to something else, in which case they are cataphorically oriented.

My characterization assumes there is a certain amount of continuity in the flow and direction of the discourse where the thetic occurs. Now recall the discussion about discourse continuity in §3.3.1 in terms of time, place, actions, entities, etc. It is true that every thetic introduces a new element, such as an entity or state of affairs, which itself amounts to a discourse discontinuity (see Levinsohn 2000:15). However, in other respects there may still be continuity. Thus, if the introduction fits into an established scene, or some slightly modified version thereof, general continuity may still hold.

Let us consider how a few examples fit the above characterization of prototypical thetics. In **Luk 6:6**, the introduction of ἄνθρωπος 'a man' does not come at the beginning of a narrative but in an ongoing narrative, one about Jesus, and it fits into the particular scene that is referred to by the locative ἐκεῖ 'there'. The newly introduced entity is then briefly built

upon (by the comment that he had a 'withered hand'), and this, in turn, sets the stage for Jesus to heal the man.

Luk 6:6 Ἐγένετο   δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν
         3S.happened –   on another Sabbath   entered.Inf he.A into the synagogue

         καὶ διδάσκειν. καὶ <u>ἦν</u> **ἄνθρωπος** ἐκεῖ
         and taught.Inf and 3S.was man   there

         καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἦν   ξηρά.
         and the hand of.him the right 3S.was withered

         NRS: On another sabbath he entered the synagogue and taught, and <u>there was a man there</u> whose right hand was withered.

Consider also the introduction of 'a leper' in **Mrk 1:40**, with the verb 'come'. The introduction of the leper fits into the general scene (he comes to where Jesus is) and the story then takes him up as a new topic.

Mrk 1:40 Καὶ <u>ἔρχεται</u> πρὸς αὐτὸν **λεπρὸς** παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν κτλ
          and 3S.comes to   him   leper   begging   him

          NRS: [39] And he went throughout Galilee, proclaiming the message in their synagogues and casting out demons. [40] <u>A leper came to him</u> begging him, and kneeling he said to him, "If you choose, you can make me clean."

The postverbal **locatives** 'there' and 'to him' in Luk 6:6 and Mrk 1:40 indicate the relationship to the context, grounding the proposition to something given. Such grounding elements may also come preverbally, as **points of departure**, where they are, I assume, given more prominence (§3.3.1). Whether or not they should be counted as cases of greater discontinuity (in many cases they certainly should be), such introductions are still related to something that can be taken as given. Consider preverbal 'from you' (a verb argument) in **Mat 2:6** and the genitive absolute 'while men sleep' (a temporal setting) in **Mat 13:25** (see also §4.1 on 'in the synagogue' in Luk 4:33). Such minor bumps in the discourse flow do not seem to affect the constituent order—the subject is still postverbal. But more importantly, it seems these thetics still have the prototypical cataphoric function: they introduce something which itself will be built upon.

Mat 2:6 Καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς   ἐλαχίστη εἶ   ἐν   τοῖς
         and you Bethlehem land of.Judah by.no.means least   2S.are among the

         ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· **ἐκ σοῦ** γὰρ <u>ἐξελεύσεται</u> **ἡγούμενος**,
         rulers   of.Judah from you   for   3S.will.come   ruler

         ὅστις ποιμανεῖ   τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.
         who   3S.will.shepherd the people of.me the Israel

         NRS: And you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; <u>for from you shall come a ruler</u> who is to shepherd my people Israel.

Mat 13:25 **ἐν   δὲ τῷ καθεύδειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους** <u>ἦλθεν</u> **αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐχθρὸς** κτλ
           while but –   slept   the   men   3S.came of.him the enemy

           RSV: [24] …The kingdom of heaven may be compared to a man who sowed good seed in his field; [25] <u>but while men were sleeping, his enemy came</u> and sowed weeds among the wheat, and went away.

Given this characterization of *V…S* as 'setting the stage for what is to come', it makes perfect sense that *the entity introduced will often persist*, as in the examples illustrated so far and as it does in typical first order thetics. But explicit persistence is by no means required,

since the introduction can 'set the stage' in other ways for what is to come. This is illustrated by the introduction of postverbal 'lamps' in **Act 20:8**. Although the lamps do not persist, their presence sets the stage for a stuffy room, which occasions someone falling asleep and plummeting from a window.

Act 20:8 ἦσαν δὲ **λαμπάδες ἱκαναὶ** ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ οὗ ἦμεν συνηγμένοι.
 3P.were now lamps number in the upper.story where we.were assembled

 NRS: [Since Paul was leaving the next day, he continued his talk long into the night.] [8] <u>There were many lamps in the room upstairs where we were meeting.</u> [9] A young man named Eutychus, who was sitting in the window, began to sink off into a deep sleep while Paul talked still longer. Overcome by sleep, he fell to the ground three floors below and was picked up dead.

From my characterization it also makes sense that *V…S* is preferred when a second order thetic fits into the *sequential flow* of events in a narrative (and other genres). It introduces a second order entity into an established scene that then sets the stage for something else. Here too it does not matter that such second order entities typically do not persist. (Recall Levinsohn's point that verb-initial clauses in narrative are unmarked in respect to discourse continuity; see my discussion of Luk 1:59-65 in §3.3.1).

Consider the two second order γίνομαι thetics in **Mrk 4:37-39**, which introduce 'a storm' and 'a calm'. Although neither entity explicitly persists, both report prominent sequential events that move the story forward and lead to further events.

Mrk 4:37 καὶ <u>γίνεται</u> **λαῖλαψ μεγάλη ἀνέμου** καὶ τὰ κύματα ἐπέβαλλεν
 -39 and 3S.happens gust great of.wind and the waves 3P.were.beating

 εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ὥστε ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι τὸ πλοῖον. 38 καὶ αὐτὸς
 against the boat so.that already to.be.filled the boat and he

 ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδων. καὶ ἐγείρουσιν
 3S.was in the stern on the cushion sleeping and 3P.rouse

 αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε, οὐ μέλει σοι
 him and 3P.say to.him teacher not 3S.matters to.you

 ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα; 39 καὶ διεγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησεν τῷ ἀνέμῳ
 that we.are.perishing and having.been.aroused 3S.rebuked the wind

 καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, Σιώπα, πεφίμωσο. καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος
 and 3S.said to.the lake be.still! be.silenced! and 3S.ceased the wind

 καὶ <u>ἐγένετο</u> **γαλήνη μεγάλη.** καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί δειλοί ἐστε;
 and 3S.happened calm great and 3S.said to.them why cowardly you.are

 NRS: [36] And leaving the crowd behind, they took him with them in the boat, just as he was. Other boats were with him. [37] <u>A great windstorm arose,</u> and the waves beat into the boat, so that the boat was already being swamped. [38] But he was in the stern, asleep on the cushion; and they woke him up and said to him, "Teacher, do you not care that we are perishing?" [39] He woke up and rebuked the wind, and said to the sea, "Peace! Be still!" Then the wind ceased, <u>and there was a dead calm.</u> [40] He said to them, "Why are you afraid? Have you still no faith?"

Many more sequential second order thetics could be cited, with γίνομαι and other verbs: Mat 7:25 ('the rain came down', 'the rivers came', etc.); Luk 1:65 and Luk 4:36 ('fear'); Luk 22:1 ('the Passover was nearing'); Luk 22:24 ('a dispute'); Act 7:11 ('a famine came'); Act 23:9 ('a great cry/argument'); Rev 8:5 ('thunder and lightning'); Rev 8:7 ('hail…'), etc.

V...S also coincides with general discourse continuity in genres besides narrative. In terms of my characterization, in some of these it seems the anaphoric relationship is central, and in others the cataphoric relationship. In still others it may be that my characterization does not apply at all: *V...S* is simply a default order.

Although there are not many thetics in my collection that report a *purpose* or potential *result,* in the 6 tokens that do, 5 have *V...S* order (Mrk 14:2; Act 3:20, positive; Act 20:16; 1Co 12:25; 2Co 8:14, positive) and one has *S...V* (Mat 26:5).[397] All but two involve a type of negation (e.g. 'lest' something happen). Again, *V...S* seems to be the norm, as illustrated by **Act 3:20**. (Here the anaphoric relationship seems central: the thetic makes a major point, moving the discourse ahead a step.) In **Mat 26:5**, however, the subject 'uproar' is preverbal (perhaps because it is emotively emphatic).

Act 3:20   μετανοήσατε οὖν   καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς   τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς
           2P.repent! therefore and 2P.turn!   in.order the to.be.removed of.you the

           τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν   **καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως** ἀπὸ προσώπου
           the sins   in.order.that 3P.may.come times of.resting from presence

           τοῦ   κυρίου κτλ
           of.the Lord

           NRS: [19] Repent therefore, and turn to God so that your sins may be wiped out, [20] so that
           times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the
           Messiah appointed for you,…

Mat 26:5   Μὴ ἐν   τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα μὴ **θόρυβος** γένηται   ἐν   τῷ λαῷ.
           not during the Festival lest uproar   3S.should.happen among the people

           NRS: [4] and [the chief priests and elders] conspired to arrest Jesus by stealth and kill him. [5]
           But they said, "Not during the festival, or there may be a riot among the people."

V...S also seems to be neutral in other contexts. The thetic in **Luk 14:10** reports a conclusion that follows logically and sequentially. In **Jhn 18:39** (a possessive thetic), Pilate introduces 'a custom' in order to prepare his hearers for a question he wants to ask.

Luk 14:10 τότε ἔσται   σοι   **δόξα** ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν   συνανακειμένων σοι.
           then 3S.will.be to.you glory before all   the.ones dining.together with.you

           NRS: "… [10] But when you are invited, go and sit down at the lowest place, so that when
           your host comes, he may say to you, 'Friend, move up higher'; then you will be honored
           in the presence of all who sit at the table with you. [11] For all who exalt themselves will be
           humbled, and those who humble themselves will be exalted."

Jhn 18:39 ἔστιν δὲ **συνήθεια** ὑμῖν ἵνα ἕνα ἀπολύσω   ὑμῖν ἐν   τῷ πάσχα·
           3S.is but custom   to.you that one I.may.release to.you during the Passover

           NRS: [38] […Pilate] went out to the Jews again and told them, "I find no case against him.
           [39] But you have a custom that I release someone for you at the Passover. Do you want me
           to release for you the King of the Jews?"

V...S is also most certainly the default order when the thetic is headed by a *relative pronoun* or other subordinating particle meaning 'when' or 'where'.[398] Although my characterization for prototypical thetics may apply here to individual tokens, what really

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[397] Although I did not include Jhn 5:14 in Table 8 (unambiguous thetics), perhaps it would be another *S...V* thetic reporting a result. It could be compared to the contrastive thetics illustrated in §2.3.7.4, §4.10.3.5.1, etc.

[398] By my counts, about 70% of such clauses have *V...S* order. As noted in footnote 391, Frisk (1933:134-5) says this order is preferred for relative clauses in the NT (regardless of theticity).

counts is the *syntactic* environment itself. *REL…V…S* is simply the prevalent order. Consider the continuative relative clause in **Act 7:20** and the appositive relative clause in **Act 17:1**, the first headed by a time phrase with relative pronoun and the second by a subordinate locative adverb. And consider the subordinate pre-nuclear 'when' clause in **Mat 21:34**. The subordinate clause itself has a topical (scene-setting) relation to its nuclear clause ('he sent his slaves'), but, internally, it has thetic structure (analogous to English *When the HARVEST had come*).

Act 7:20   ἐν ᾧ   καιρῷ <u>ἐγεννήθη</u> **Μωϋσῆς** καὶ ἦν   ἀστεῖος   τῷ   θεῷ·
           in which time   3S.was.born Moses   and 3S.was well-pleasing to.the to.God

           NRS: [19] …[Pharaoh] forced our ancestors to abandon their infants so that they would die. [20] <u>At this time Moses was born,</u> and he was beautiful before God.

Act 17:1   ἦλθον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην ὅπου <u>ἦν</u>   **συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.**
           3P.came to Thessalonica   where 3S.was synagogue of.the Jews

           NRS: [1] After Paul and Silas had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, <u>where there was a synagogue of the Jews.</u> [2] And Paul went in…

Mat 21:34 ὅτε δὲ <u>ἤγγισεν</u> **ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν,** ἀπέστειλεν κτλ
           when and 3S.came.near the time   of.the fruits   3S.sent

           NRS: [33] …There was a landowner who planted a vineyard… Then he leased it to tenants and went to another country. [34] <u>When the harvest time had come,</u> he sent his slaves to the tenants to collect his produce.

V…S order prevails in thetics introducing an *unidentifiable time* that is followed by a modifying relative clause (i.e. as subsequent predication). This is illustrated by **Luk 17:22**. (This token is noteworthy because it is the first utterance of Jesus' speech.) There seems to be an especially tight-knit relationship between the thetic clause and its modifying subsequent predication, which forces *V…S* order.

Luk 17:22 Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς, <u>Ἐλεύσονται</u> **ἡμέραι** ὅτε   ἐπιθυμήσετε
           3S.said and to   the   disciples 3P.will.come days   when you.will.desire

           μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ   υἱοῦ τοῦ   ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν κτλ
           one of.the days   of.the Son of.the Man   to.see

           NRS: [20] Once Jesus was asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God was coming, and he answered, "The kingdom of God is not coming with things that can be observed; [21] nor will they say, 'Look, here it is!' or 'There it is!' For, in fact, the kingdom of God is among you." [22] Then he said to the disciples, <u>"The days are coming</u> when you will long to see one of the days of the Son of Man, and you will not see it. [23] They will say to you, 'Look there!' or 'Look here!' Do not go,…"

In fact, statistically speaking, for all thetic utterances, if a relative clause functioning as a subsequent predication immediately follows the thetic, then *V…S* or $S_1…V…S_2$ almost always occur.[399] I am not sure if we should seek a discourse explanation for this tendency such as in my characterization of prototypical thetics or elsewhere (but see Givón's syntactic/discourse explanation, 1990:744-8). For other types of subsequent predications, including participial clauses, no such tendency exists.

V…S order is also most common for certain 'existential' clause types that I am not treating in this study, such as when the subject of εἰμί is **partitive** (§4.1). Again, there is a strong preference for *V…S* when such partitive clauses are followed by a modifying relative

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[399] Luk 2:25, with ἰδού, is an exception: ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ᾧ ὄνομα Συμεών 'behold man was in Jerusalem to.whom name Simeon'. See §6.7.3.2 on how ἰδού thetics prefer *S…V* order.

clause (which is not presupposed but asserted).[400] Consider **Jhn 6:64**, which identifies a subset ('some') of a larger hearer-old set ('you'). Of course, in such sentences, the cataphoric relationship between the subject of εἰμί and the relative clause is very tight, since, without the latter, 'there are some of you' is vacuous (see Lambrecht 2002:189).

Jhn 6:64   ἀλλ' <u>εἰσὶν</u> **ἐξ ὑμῶν τινες** οἳ   οὐ   πιστεύουσιν.
             but   3S.are   of you some who not do.believe

             RSV: [63] …the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life. [64] <u>But there are some of you that do not believe.</u>

See also Mat 16:28 ('there are some standing here who…') and Luk 13:30 (with ἰδού, 'behold there are last ones who will be first'; discussed in §6.7.3.2). But in partitive clauses where the subject is itself οὐδεὶς 'no one/nothing' (e.g. Mrk 9:39 'there is no one who…') or modified by οὐδεὶς (Luk 12:2 'there is nothing concealed that…'), the subject is probably always preverbal. (When the verb itself is negated, both *V…S* and *S…V* orders occur.)

4.10.3 S…V, a default order in some environments, but pragmatically marked in others

In the subsections that follow, I first look at a few environments where *S…V* is a default order (i.e. pragmatically neutral). The first two subsections, §4.10.3.1 and §4.10.3.2, which concern ἰδού and perception reports, are brief, because these constructions are treated in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. I am actually jumping ahead by summarizing here my findings in those chapters, but it is helpful to bring those facts into the discussion now. Subsection §4.10.3.3 is longer; it treats tokens coming in discourse-initial position. A fourth section, §4.10.3.4, briefly looks at heavy clauses in discourse-initial position.

Then comes §4.10.3.5 with its subsections, where I argue that *S…V* functions as a pragmatically marked alternative to *V…S*.

4.10.3.1 ἰδού 'behold' clauses and object+participle complements of perception verbs

There is a strong correlation between *S…V* order and

> (i) thetics with a finite verb that are preceded by the particle **ἰδού** '**behold**';

> (ii) thetic-like **participial object complements** of perception reports.

Construction (i) is illustrated by **Mat 4:11**. For such ἰδού sentences, I will argue in §6.7.3.2 that *S…V,* which is by far most common, is pragmatically unmarked, and that *V…S* is marked. The same applies to (ii), illustrated by **Mat 9:9**. As will be explained in §5.3.2, the object of the matrix verb simultaneously functions as the subject of the participle. So the order *object–participle*, which far outnumbers *participle–object,* is analogous to *SV*.

Mat 4:11   Τότε ἀφίησιν   αὐτὸν ὁ   διάβολος,
             then 3S.leaves him   the devil

             καὶ **ἰδοὺ** **ἄγγελοι** <u>προσῆλθον</u> καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.
             and behold angels   3P.came   and 3P.served him

             NRS: Then the devil left him, <u>and suddenly angels came</u> and waited on him.

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[400] A token like Luk 13:14 is not a counter example: Ἔξ ἡμέραι εἰσὶν ἐν αἷς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι, [six days 3S.are in which necessary to.work] 'There are six days when one should work'. This is because the relative clause is topical, expressing an open proposition, and so the preverbal subject is an instance of constituent-focus.

Mat 9:9   Καὶ   παράγων   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς   ἐκεῖθεν   εἶδεν   **ἄνθρωπον** <u>καθήμενον</u>
and   going.away   the   Jesus   from.there   3S.saw   man.A   sitting.Pres.A

ἐπὶ   τὸ   τελώνιον,   Μαθθαῖον   λεγόμενον,   καὶ   λέγει   αὐτῷ,   Ἀκολούθει   μοι.
in   the   tax.booth   Matthew   being.called   and   3S.says   to.him   follow   me

nab: As Jesus was walking along, he saw <u>a man sitting at the tax booth</u>, [who was] called Matthew, and he says to him, 'Follow me.' And he got up and followed him.

Chapters 5 and 6 treat these constructions in detail, arguing that *SV* order is largely frozen and pragmatically unmarked due to the history of the constructions, and that certain systematic factors operating in Greek enforce this order.

4.10.3.2 Perception reports with a finite verb and headed by ὅτι

Perception reports that have a finite verb and are headed by the complementizer ὅτι also appear to prefer the order *S…V* when thetic, although the data are more complicated.

Consider **Mat 20:30** where, from the perspective of the discourse internal characters (two blind men), the appearance of Jesus is newsworthy. From their perspective, the clause has thetic construal. See §4.10.5 on anarthrous 'Jesus' and §5.5 on ὅτι perception reports.

Mat 20:30   καὶ   ἀκούσαντες   ὅτι   **Ἰησοῦς** <u>παράγει</u>,   ἔκραξαν   λέγοντες,   κτλ
and   having.heard   that   Jesus   3S.is.passing.by   3P.cried.out   saying

RSV: [29] And as [Jesus and the disciples] went out of Jericho, a great crowd followed him. [30] And behold, two blind men sitting by the roadside, when they heard <u>that Jesus was passing by,</u> cried out, "Have mercy on us, Son of David!"

4.10.3.3 Fresh starts at the beginning of a discourse

For traditional stories and fairytales in Modern Greek, Sasse has noted that *VS* order prevails in the first sentence when it is a first order thetic introducing a main participant (1995b:164-5, including note 24). This is so whether or not the sentence begins with a formula like 'once upon a time', as in the following example, which he cites:

mja fora ke   enan kero itan enas vasiljas

once   and a   time was a   king

Once upon a time there was a king.

In contrast to Modern Greek, there is a strong tendency in NTG for the entire subject constituent, or at least part of it, to be preverbal when such thetics are discourse-initial. Exceptions are rare. Since this is a default order (i.e. pragmatically neutral) as I will argue, there is seldom any sense in seeking another explanation for the preverbal subject, such as that it is contrastive or emphatic, etc.

By a **discourse-initial** utterance, I mean the first clause of a new narrative or parable, or a clause that comes at the beginning of quoted speech and begins a fresh thought. What seems important is that the speaker is *making a fresh start and is not assuming an established setting*. In some tokens in this category, there are locatives and some even refer to identifiable entities, but none of these elements are active.

My category overlaps somewhat with one that Reiser notes for both Classical and Koine texts (1984:67-9, 89-92). Reiser says that at the beginning of a story or a new episode either *V…S* or *S…V* could be used. But his inclusion of new episodes, which accounts for many of his *V…S* tokens, is a context that I am purposely excluding. Moreover, he does not distinguish thetics from non-thetics, and for those tokens that are thetics, his discussion is too

brief to tell if he meant to distinguish what were completely fresh starts. In any case, some of his examples illustrate what I have in mind. I refer to Reiser below.

To illustrate the category that I have in mind, consider the following εἰμί thetics that begin parables. **Luk 18:2** and **Luk 7:41** are *S...V* and **Mat 21:33** has a split subject, $S_1...V...S_2$ (see §4.2.5.3 on why this is one constituent)—we have seen all three passages before. Rahlfs' standard LXX edition of **1Sa 1:1a** (Codex Vaticanus) may also fit here (other manuscripts have ([καί] *VS*).[401] This verse begins a new book.

Luk 18:2   λέγων, **Κριτής τις**   ἦν   ἔν τινι   πόλει   τὸν   θεὸν   μὴ   φοβούμενος
       saying   judge   a.certain   3S.was   in   a.certain   city   the   God   not   fearing

       NRS: [1] Then Jesus told them a parable… [2] He said, "In a certain city there was a judge who neither feared God nor…"

Luk 7:41   **δύο χρεοφειλέται**   ἦσαν   δανιστῇ   τινι·
       two   debtors.N.p.m   3P.were   creditor.D.s.m   to.a.certain.D.s.m

       NRS: [40] Jesus spoke up and said to him, "Simon, I have something to say to you." "Teacher," he replied, "Speak." [41] "A certain creditor had two debtors;…"

Mat 21:33   Ἄλλην   παραβολὴν   ἀκούσατε.   **Ἄνθρωπος**   ἦν   **οἰκοδεσπότης**
       another   parable   listen.to   man   3S.was   house.master

       ὅστις   ἐφύτευσεν   ἀμπελῶνα   καὶ   φραγμὸν   αὐτῷ   περιέθηκεν   κτλ
       who   planted   vineyard   and   fence   to.it   3S.put.around

       NRS: "Listen to another parable. There was a landowner who planted a vineyard, put a fence around it, dug a wine press in it, and built a watchtower.…"

1Sa 1:1   **ἄνθρωπος**   ἦν   ἐξ   Αρμαθαιμ   Σιφα   ἐξ   ὄρους   Εφραιμ[402]
       man   3S.was   from   Armathaim   of.Zuph   from   hills.of   Ephraim

       TNK: There was a man from Ramathaim of the Zuphites, in the hill country of Ephraim, whose name was Elkanah…

Note that, even though the thetic clause 'There was a landowner' in Mat 21:33 is preceded by an introduction 'Listen to another parable', the thetic still counts as the very first clause of the parable. So for our purposes it is 'discourse-initial'. The same explanation applies to ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν 'There were seven brothers' in **Mrk 12:20**, which begins the Sadducees' story (and lacks a conjunction). This story too is preceded by a short introduction, where the Sadducees cite the Law. But the story itself begins with the thetic. With these facts in mind, we can explain the alternative order in parallel **Mat 22:25**. Here the thetic is explicitly grounded to an existing scene by means of the locative παρ' ἡμῖν 'with us' ('us' is

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[401] On the possibility that Biblical Koine has been influenced by a Hebrew order, see footnote 410. In any case, this LXX passage is noteworthy because the Masoretic Text uses a verb-initial *wayyiqtol* construction, וַיְהִי אִישׁ אֶחָד 'and.3S.was man one' (there are otherwise many places where the LXX order matches the Hebrew order, e.g. v 2d, where both begin with 'and was…': καὶ ἦν… …וַיְהִי). 1 and 2 Samuel have a complicated textual tradition; it is likely that another important Hebrew textual tradition, on which the LXX is based, had *SV* order (compare *SV* order in Job 1:1; see e.g. McCarter 1980:51; unfortunately, 1Sa 1:1 is not part of the extant text from the famous Qumran scroll *4QSam^a* [=4Q51]; Cross et al. 2005:4). A *wayyiqtol* verb like וַיְהִי normally indicates narrative 'sequence'. So, as Steve Daley has suggested (p.c.), this form could be 'a literary device for tying in to the national epic'. (*Wayyiqtol* verbs in fact begin several books, many of which clearly indicate a continuation of a narrative: Lev 1:1; Num 1:1; Jos 1:1; 2Ki 1:1; 2Sa 1:1; 2Ch 1:1. A bit less certain are cases like Jdg 1:1, Rut 1:1, and the current token, 1Sa 1:1, and most questionable would be Est 1:1, Ezk 1:1, and Jon 1:1.)

[402] I take ἐξ Αρμαθαιμ… and ἐξ ὄρους Εφραιμ to be verbless subsequent predications.

active and established in the discourse) and so this clause does not represent a completely fresh start.

Mrk 12:20 **ἐπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ** ἦσαν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κτλ
seven brothers 3P.were and the first 3S.took wife and dying

> NRS: [19] "Teacher, Moses wrote for us that 'if a man's brother dies, leaving a wife but no child, the man [b] shall marry the widow and raise up children for his brother.' [20] <u>There were seven brothers;</u> the first married and, when he died, left no children;…"

Mat 22:25 ἦσαν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν **ἐπτὰ ἀδελφοί·** καὶ ὁ πρῶτος γήμας
3P.were now with us seven brothers and the first having.married

ἐτελεύτησεν
3S.died

> NRS: <u>Now there were seven brothers among us;</u> the first married, and died childless,…

The third parallel passage, Luk 20:29 (ἐπτὰ οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν), like Mrk 12:20, also lacks the grounding locative (nor is οὖν 'so/now' apparently enough to ground the clause and require *V…S* order). Reiser (1984:91-2) also notes these three passages. He considers Luke and Matthew's versions to be less abrupt than Mark's, which he calls an instance of 'in medias res'. Unfortunately, since he hardly explains what he means and barely offers any other examples, it is hard to tell to what degree his point overlaps with mine. In any case, according to my proposal, the matter is not so much one of abruptness but of making a fresh start without an activated topical grounding element.

Luk 16:19 and Luk 16:1 are two εἰμί tokens with $S_1…V…S_2$ order. Both begin parables but the first comes in the middle of a monologue (with δέ). In these two passages, as in Mat 21:33 above (Ἄνθρωπος ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης 'man was house.master'), it is the semantically more descriptive element of the subject NP that follows the verb.[403] In any case, I count these tokens as a subtype of *S…V,* since at least part of the subject is preverbal. **2Sa 12:1** (LXX) illustrates a different pattern:[404] the NP's head noun 'man' is postverbal and the number preverbal (contrast 'seven brothers' above which is not split). This is the first clause in the prophet Nathan's famous parable to King David about his misdeeds with Uriah and Bathsheba.

Luk 16:19 **Ἄνθρωπος** δέ **τις** ἦν **πλούσιος,** καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο κτλ
man now a.certain 3S.was rich and 3S.was.clothing.himself

> NRS: [19] <u>There was a rich man</u> who was dressed in purple and fine linen and who feasted sumptuously every day. [20] And at his gate lay a poor man named Lazarus,…

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[403] The question of when and why complex subject NPs are so split is beyond the scope of this study. I can only speculate that one type of subsequent predication—a relative clause—might require an otherwise preverbal thetic subject, or part of it (in the case of the complex ones), to be postverbal (for thetics with split subjects followed by a relative clause, see e.g. Mat 12:11; Mat 21:33; Luk 16:1). Otherwise, whether or not an entity persists seems irrelevant to the phenomenon of split subjects. For thetics with split subjects where there is no persistence at all, see, e.g. Act 18:10; Act 20:37; Act 23:10.

[404] In the Masoretic Text, the entire subject is preverbal (a split subject here as in the Greek would be very unusual): שְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ בְּעִיר אֶחָת אֶחָד עָשִׁיר וְאֶחָד רָאשׁ [two men 3P.were in-city.f one.f one.m rich and-one.m poor].

2Sa 12:1 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ **δύο** ἦσαν **ἄνδρες** ἐν πόλει μιᾷ
          and 3S.said to.him two 3P.were men   in city one

          εἷς πλούσιος καὶ εἷς πένης
          one rich   and one poor

> TNK: …and the LORD sent Nathan to David. He came to him and said, "There were two men in the same city, one rich and one poor.…"

Note that, since *V…S* is typically used in thetics that introduce something into an already established scene and where there is some anaphoric continuity, discourse-initial *S…V* tokens can be characterized as occurring where *there is a total lack of anaphoric continuity*. Since they involve fresh starts, these utterances do not require the hearer to take anything as given. Instead the hearer must create a new **mental space**.

Act 16:9 can also be mentioned here. 'A vision…appeared…to Paul' cues the hearer to create a new mental space, and the *S…V* thetic that follows begins that mental space (grammarians do not agree if ἦν ἑστὼς is periphrastic; see also Act 25:14, which, if periphrastic, is heavy).

Act 16:9 καὶ ὅραμα διὰ   (τῆς) νυκτὸς τῷ   Παύλῳ ὤφθη,
          and vision during the   night   to.the to.Paul 3S.appeared

          ἀνὴρ Μακεδών τις ἦν   ἑστὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν κτλ
          man Macedonian a.certain 3S.was standing and begging him

> NRS: During the night Paul had a vision: there stood a man of Macedonia pleading with him and saying, "Come over to Macedonia and help us."

With verbs other than εἰμί, consider **Jhn 11:28**, which is the first clause of a very short discourse announcing Jesus' arrival. A thetic reading is justified since Mary is presumably not thinking about Jesus or expecting his arrival then. A thetic accent pattern would be natural in English: *The TEACHER is here.*[405] (See also Luk 21:8 for a one clause discourse, Ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν 'the time is.near'.)

Jhn 11:28 εἰποῦσα, **Ὁ διδάσκαλος** πάρεστιν καὶ φωνεῖ σε.
           having.said the teacher   3S.is.present and 3S.calls you

> NRS: …[Martha] went back and called her sister Mary, and told her privately, "The Teacher is here and is calling for you."

Discourse-initial tokens in embedded speech are sometimes preceded by ὅτι, what is typically considered a complementizer (e.g. 'that'). Consider two tokens, **Luk 12:54** (and Luk 12:55, with εἰμί) and **Mat 9:18**.

Luk 12:54 εὐθέως   λέγετε ὅτι **Ὄμβρος** ἔρχεται, καὶ γίνεται οὕτως·
           immediately you.say –   rain.storm 3S.comes and 3S.happens thus

> NRS: He also said to the crowds, "When you see a cloud rising in the west, you immediately say, 'It is going to rain'; and so it happens.…"

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[405] Although πάρειμι 'be present' indirectly refers to the speech environment (e.g. 'here'), this does not seem to influence the constituent order, as if this were a direct reference to the environment.

Mat 9:18   Ταῦτα   αὐτοῦ   λαλοῦντος   αὐτοῖς   ἰδοὺ   ἄρχων   εἷς   ἐλθὼν   προσεκύνει
                these   he.G   speaking.G   to.them   behold   ruler   one   coming   3S.worshiped

                αὐτῷ   λέγων   ὅτι   **Ἡ θυγάτηρ μου**   ἄρτι   <u>ἐτελεύτησεν·</u>
                him   saying   –   the daughter of.me   just.now   3S.died

                ἀλλὰ   ἐλθὼν   ἐπίθες   τὴν   χεῖρά   σου   ἐπ'   αὐτήν,   καὶ   ζήσεται.
                but   coming   lay   the   hand   of.you   upon   her   and   3S.will.live

                NRS: While [Jesus] was saying these things to them, suddenly a leader of the synagogue came in and knelt before him, saying, <u>"My daughter has just died;</u> but come and lay your hand on her, and she will live."

     When someone begins a speech that is at least implicitly connected to a previous thought, whether their own or someone else's, we are not dealing with a true fresh start. Both *V...S* and *S...V* occur in such situations, but *S...V* order is more typical. *V...S* is illustrated by **Jhn 6:9**, where Andrew responds to a discussion about how to feed a large crowd. Presumably *V...S* is used because ὧδε 'here' explicitly indicates continuity.

Jhn 6:9   <u>Ἔστιν</u> **παιδάριον** ὧδε ὃς   ἔχει πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους καὶ   δύο ὀψάρια·
              3S.is   young.boy   here who   has   five   loaves   barley   and   two   fish

              NRS: [6] …Jesus said to Philip, "Where are we to buy bread for these people to eat?" … [7] Philip answered… "Six months' wages would not buy enough bread for each of them to get a little." [8] …Andrew…said to him, [9] <u>"There is a boy here</u> who has five barley loaves and two fish. But what are they among so many people?"

     But in **Luk 15:27** and **Luk 18:37**, both of which answer questions, *S...V* order occurs.[406]

Luk 15:27   ὁ   δὲ   εἶπεν   αὐτῷ   ὅτι   **Ὁ ἀδελφός σου**   <u>ἥκει,</u>
             he   and   3S.said   to.him   that   the   brother   of.you   3S.is.present

             καὶ ἔθυσεν   ὁ   πατήρ σου   τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν,
             and 3S.sacrificed   the   father of.you   the   calf   the   fattened

             NRS: [When then the elder son was coming home and heard music and dancing, asked a slave what was going on.] [27] He replied, <u>'Your brother has come,</u> and your father has killed the fatted calf, because he has got him back safe and sound.'

Luk 18:37   ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ   αὐτῷ   ὅτι   **Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος**   <u>παρέρχεται.</u>
             3P.reported   and   to.him   that   Jesus   the   Nazarene   3S.is.going.by

             NRS: [35] As [Jesus] approached Jericho, a blind man was sitting by the roadside begging. [36] When he heard a crowd going by, he asked what was happening. [37] They told him, <u>"Jesus of Nazareth is passing by."</u>

These tokens lack an element like 'here' or 'there' that explicitly evokes continuity.[407] Still, as answers to questions, they are obviously not discourse-initial. Their discourse function is '**explanatory**' (§2.3.5). In §4.10.3.5.2, we consider more *S...V* thetics that serve as explanations but which occur mid-stream in discourse. Like the present two examples, some are preceded by the (so-called) complementizer ὅτι, which in such contexts may be rendered 'because'. What exact role ὅτι plays here and if it influences the order is not clear to me.

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[406] These utterances are information structure hybrids like (137) in §2.3.5 and (230) in §4.8.3. They are not responses to 'who' questions but general questions paraphrasable as 'What's happening/happened?' and so the entire clauses are in the focus domain. For example, in Luk 15:27, the entire clause, which has thetic structure, identifies the open variable: [The reason for the music…is because]_{TOP'L OP} [SENT.FOC: your BROTHER's here.]_{FD}

[407] But see two *S...V* tokens in Luk 1:35 that refer to the hearer, 'you'. There, the factor of 'surprise' could equally account for *S...V*.

Other 'ὅτι thetics' with *S...V* order that are initial utterances include Luk 9:8 (2x, one-liners; these could be answering questions), Luk 9:19 (answers question), and Jhn 4:51 (a fresh start).

Two *S...V* tokens in **Jhn 12:29**, without ὅτι, are also explanatory. The crowd offers two different responses to explain a sound they just heard. The first token is infinitival.

Jhn 12:29   ὁ   οὖν   ὄχλος ὁ   ἑστὼς   καὶ ἀκούσας   ἔλεγεν
            the therefore crowd the.one standing.Prf and having.heard 3S.were.saying

βροντὴν   γεγονέναι,   ἄλλοι ἔλεγον,   **Ἄγγελος** αὐτῷ   λελάληκεν.
thunder.A.s.f has.happened.Inf others 3P.were.saying angel   to.him 3S.has.spoken

NRS: [28] [Jesus said, "…"] Father, glorify your name." Then a voice came from heaven, "I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again." [29] The crowd standing there heard it and said that <u>it was thunder.</u> Others said, <u>"An angel has spoken to him."</u> [30] Jesus answered, "This voice has come for your sake, not for mine.…"

A few other tokens deserve comment here because of one problem or another.

Luk 8:5, which has *V...S* order, begins a parable and appears to be a fresh start. But note that the subject 'the sower' is arthrous and so in some sense it must be identifiable (Marshall 1978 says it is generic), in which case this is *not* a true fresh start (ὁ has been fuel for speculation in commentaries). So the token is probably best taken as having topic-comment function (incidentally, the sower has a minor role in the story—the story is more about the different types of seed). Many translations distort the Greek information structure, rendering the subject as 'a sower', which is easily interpreted as a thetic subject. See also §6.7.3.2 on ||Mat 13:3 and ||Mrk 4:3, which involve ἰδού and postverbal subjects.[408]

Luk 8:5   <u>Ἐξῆλθεν</u> **ὁ**   **σπείρων** τοῦ   σπεῖραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ.
           went.out   the.one sowing   –   to.sow   the   seed   of.him

NRS: [4] When a great crowd gathered…, [Jesus] said in a parable: [5] <u>"A sower went out to sow his seed;</u> and as he sowed, some fell on the path and was trampled on, and the birds of the air ate it up. [6] Some fell on the rock;…"

In another pair of parallel passages, Jairus, a synagogue leader, is leading Jesus to his home to heal his dying daughter. En route a messenger suddenly appears and reports her death to Jairus. In Luke's version, **Luk 8:49**, the subject 'your daughter' is postverbal but in Mark's, **Mrk 5:35** (discussed in §4.2.2), it is preverbal. (Both are preceded by ὅτι.)

Luk 8:49   λέγων ὅτι <u>Τέθνηκεν</u> **ἡ** **θυγάτηρ** **σου**· μηκέτι   σκύλλε τὸν διδάσκαλον.
           saying that 3S.has.died   the daughter   of.you no.longer trouble the teacher

NRS: [49] While [Jesus] was still speaking [to another person], someone came from the leader's house to say, <u>"Your daughter is dead;</u> do not trouble the teacher any longer."

Mrk 5:35   ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ   ἀρχισυναγώγου λέγοντες
           3P.come   from the.[house.of.the] synagogue.leader saying

ὅτι **Ἡ** **θυγάτηρ** **σου** <u>ἀπέθανεν</u>· τί   ἔτι   σκύλλεις   τὸν διδάσκαλον;
that the daughter   of.you 3S.died   why still you.are.bothering the teacher

NRS: [35] While he was still speaking, some people came from the leader's house to say, <u>"Your daughter is dead.</u> Why trouble the teacher any further?"

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[408] 'The one stronger than me is coming after me' (*V...S*) in Mrk 1:7 is probably also topic-comment (it is also hard to construe as beginning a fresh thought). But many translations make the subject indefinite in English (e.g. NAS 'After me One is coming who is mightier than I').

Although the utterance 'Your daughter has died' is the messenger's initial utterance in both passages, it is not clear that they are fresh starts. It depends on if the speaker expects the hearer to be currently thinking about the girl or the proposition that she might now be dead. As suggested in §4.2.2, *S...V* in Mrk 5:35 is formally underspecified. It can be construed as thetic *[Your DAUGHTER has died]*$_{FD}$, topic-comment *[Your DAUGHTER]*$_{TOP}$ *[has DIED]*$_{FD}$, or as polar verb focus (Reiser [1984:94], who also puzzled over these passages, would have expected 'die' in both to come initially for emotive emphasis). In Luk 8:49, since the speaker could have used *S...V* order, postverbal 'your daughter' is probably better taken as a given topic, what the hearer is expected to be thinking about. (Contrast the *S...V* order in the comparable statements in Mat 9:18 and Mrk 5:23 but which are clearly fresh starts and thetic.)

There are other passages that are hard to place. Perhaps *V...S* in Luk 17:22 ('Days will come when…'), which begins a new speech, occurs because Jesus, now addressing his disciples, is really continuing a previous thought. But as noted in §4.10.2, *V...S* order prevails for thetics introducing an unidentifiable time that is modified by a relative clause subsequent predication. See also Jhn 12:23 ('The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified') which comes as a response. Jhn 17:1, with *V...S* order, but no subsequent predication, may also be thetic.

Discourse-initial thetics in 'if' clauses are also hard to place. Contrast *V...S* in Mat 18:12 ('one hundred sheep') with *S...V* in Luk 20:28 ('someone's brother') and *S₁...V...S₂* in Act 13:15 ('some…word of encouragement').

As argued in §4.3.3, Jhn 1:1a (*Temporal–V–S*) is not thetic.

For a few instances of discourse-initial *V...S* thetics in Koine texts outside of the NT, see Reiser (1984:90), although many of these clauses appear to be grounded by topical locatives and the like.[409] Further research is needed to determine if these represent a distinct pattern from the discourse-initial *S...V* thetic that prevails in the NT.[410]

4.10.3.4 Heavy *S…V* clauses as fresh starts at the beginning of a discourse

So far, informationally heavy tokens that activate two or more entities, especially unidentifiable ones, have hardly figured in our discussion.

When such tokens represent a fresh start at the beginning of a discourse, *S...V* is most typical, as illustrated by **Luk 15:11**. See also Mat 21:28; Luk 10:30; Luk 14:16; Luk 18:10; Luk 20:9 (UBS);[411] Act 11:28 (infinitive). (In the last section we illustrated a couple heavy εἰμί thetics, e.g. Luk 7:41 and Luk 18:2.) With uniquely identifiable subjects see Mrk 5:23 (ὅτι); Mrk 6:14 (ὅτι); Luk 8:20; Luk 9:7 (ὅτι); Act 23:18 (participle).

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[409] For example, the first line of Xenophon of Ephesus's romance, *An Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes,* has *V...S* order (note the grounding locative): Ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκεῖ δυναμένων, Λυκομήδης ὄνομα [3S.was in Ephesus.D man.N of.the first.ones.G.p there powerful.G.p Lycomedes by.name] 'Among the most influential citizens of Ephesus was a man called Lycomedes' (Graham Anderson).

[410] If *S...V* is really only characteristic of discourse-initial thetics in Biblical Koine, then one might wonder if the order has been influenced by a Semitic pattern. As a general rule, in Hebrew, at discourse junctures of various sizes (paragraph, episode, etc), the subject typically precedes its verb (Bailey & Levinsohn 1992). I have run across a couple of true discourse-initial tokens. See e.g. Job 1:1 (שְׁמוֹ אִיּוֹב עוּץ־בְּאֶרֶץ הָיָה אִישׁ) [man 3S.was in-land.of Uz Job name-his]; ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αυσίτιδι ᾧ ὄνομα Ιωβ [man certain 3S.was in land.D the.D Ausis.D to.whom name Job]. See also 2Sa 12:1 cited earlier in this section and see footnote 404.

[411] The manuscript evidence for Luk 20:9 testifies to different orders. Besides *SVO, OSV* and *OVS* also occur.

Luk 15:11 **Ἄνθρωπός τις**   εἶχεν   δύο   υἱούς.
           man.N   a.certain.N 3S.had two   sons.A

CEV: ¹¹ …<u>Once a man had two sons.</u> ¹² The younger son said to his father, "Give me…"

Bi-clausal: NRS, NIV, NJB, REB, RSV: There was a man who had two sons.

Only rarely do we find *V…S* order, as illustrated by **Luk 13:6**, or what is presumably *S₁…V…S₂* in **Luk 12:16**, where the subject's head noun is definite. But note that, even in these sentences, *there is still an unidentifiable expression,* be it the object or part of the subject, *that is preverbal.* As observed in §2.3.5 and §4.2.4, such heavy clauses with unidentifiable subjects are not acceptable in many languages and even English translators often convert them into two light clauses (as shown here by the bi-clausal forms).

Luk 13:6 Συκῆν   εἶχέν **τις**   πεφυτευμένην   ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι αὐτοῦ,
          fig.tree.A 3S.had a.certain.N having.been.planted.A in the vineyard of.him

NRS: <u>A man had a fig tree</u> planted in his vineyard; and he came looking for fruit on it…

Bi-clausal: GNT: There was once a man who had a fig tree growing in his vineyard.

Luk 12:16 **Ἀνθρώπου τινὸς**   **πλουσίου** εὐφόρησεν   ἡ   χώρα.
           man.G   a.certain.G rich.G   3S.produced.well the.N   farm.N

NRS: The land of a rich man produced abundantly.

Bi-clausal: GNT: There was once a rich man who had land which bore good crops.

Such heavy sentences, including especially the initial elements, do not fit our normal definitions of thetic sentences. According to Lambrecht's definitions (1994:121-6), it would seem that Luk 15:11 and Luk 13:6 in particular cannot have sentence-focus structure. This is because the subject and the object, both of which are hearer-new, would presumably be accented, in which case these would have predicate-focus structure. One analysis is therefore to take the initial constituents as accommodated topic expressions. This position is implied by Levinsohn (2000:134), at least for Luk 15:11, where he takes 'a certain man' as a point of departure, in which case 'had two sons' is the focal comment. Thus, 'a certain man' would be in the marked topic position. But such an analysis is doubtful for the clause-initial *object* συκῆν 'a fig tree' in Luk 13:6. An unidentifiable object as a marked topic in discourse-initial position strikes me as pragmatically bizarre. If anything, the personal entity, 'a certain (person)', expressed by τις, still makes for a more natural topic (e.g. the cognitive starting point).

An alternative analysis would be that not only the initial object 'a fig tree' but also the initial subject in such heavy sentences are part of broad focus structures that involve an *unmarked* preverbal area (see in §4.10.6.2 the template (240) *…[Subject–(X$_{TOP'L}$)–Verb]$_{FD}$…*). In other words, the preverbal element need not be viewed as a *topic structure* (i.e. 'point of departure'), even if in the case of a preverbal subject it may be interpreted as the likely cognitive starting point and thus as an accommodated topic. In any event, such heavy sentences are information structure 'amalgams' (Lambrecht 1988): they both introduce something and make a comment about it in a single clause.

4.10.3.5 *S…V,* a pragmatically marked order conditioned by discourse factors

Now we turn to tokens where I claim *S…V* functions as a pragmatically marked alternative to *V…S* (the default order that generally coincides with discourse continuity and the discourse moving forward in routine fashion). I shall consider the following possible discourse-pragmatic factors as potentially accounting for *S…V:* contrast, explanatoriness, surprise, and emotive emphasis.

It must be admitted from the start that the data are complex and that a preverbal subject could often be accounted for in more than one way. Moreover, some of my proposed factors resemble each other to some extent. For example, at least two involve a strong relationship with something in the previous context, whether this relationship be of *contrastive* or *explanatory* nature, and so perhaps these two really boil down to a single factor (e.g. of anaphoric discontinuity). Similarly, the factor of *surprise* is surely related to *emotive emphasis,* and both of these may at times involve contrastiveness. So much of the following discussion is provisional.

4.10.3.5.1 Contrastiveness

We first consider tokens where what is being introduced, whether a first order entity or a state of affairs, bears a contrastive relationship to something else. Put another way, as the hearer processes the thetic proposition, some kind of contrast or parallelism is inferred from the context. As we saw in §3.3.1 and §3.3.2, several analysts assume that the preverbal area in Greek is often compatible with contrastive constituents, whether topical or focal. And so it should not be surprising that thetics that are contrastive may involve the preverbal position. Most typically the contrastive relationship is anaphoric. Cataphoric contrast is rare.

As we mentioned in §3.3.1 footnote 176, Levinsohn found that sentence-initial 'points of departure' may bear a contrastive relationship with their context that is either anaphorically or cataphorically oriented (Levinsohn's 'anticipatory' contrast, 2000:228-9). What of course distinguishes such cases of contrastive topicalization from thetics with *S...V* order is that, in the thetics the subject by definition does not bear a topic relation to its proposition—it is in the focus domain.

Anaphorically oriented contrastiveness

To begin, we will note that (anaphoric) contrastiveness can occur with either *S...V* or *V...S* order. But the way they are used in discourse tends to be different, *V...S* being generally preferred when the clause moves the discourse forward in a significant way.

Recall that in §4.3.1, *S+BE* clauses were illustrated that introduced an unidentifiable entity and where, because of words like ἄλλος 'another' and adverbial καί 'also', something akin to contrast was evoked (because of an addition-like presupposition). For example, in **Luk 23:38**, repeated here, καὶ ἐπιγραφή 'also an inscription' is introduced into the scene of the crucifixion. Given that Jesus has just been mocked in two other ways—first by the leaders and then the soldiers, the presence of 'also' serves to evoke a contrast or parallelism with the preceding. I suggested calling such tokens instances of 'contrastive thetics' since a feeling of mild contrast occurs, much like one finds with contrastive topicalization. But unlike contrastive topicalization, since the subject entities are thetic and focal, they cannot be counted as sentence topics.

Luk 23:38 ἦν   δὲ **καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ** ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος.
              3S.was and also inscription over him the King of.the Jews this

NRS: [35] And the people stood by, watching; but the leaders scoffed at him, saying,… [36] The soldiers also [καί] mocked him,… [38] There was also [καί] an inscription over him, "This is the King of the Jews."

Most tokens cited in §4.3.1 of *S+BE* with ἄλλος and καί did *not* involve *S...V* order. Now, I assume that the order *S...V* by itself, without ἄλλος or καί, may produce a similar effect, evoking a mild contrast or parallelism between a new entity or state of affairs and one or more similar elements already established in the discourse.

Consider again **Luk 18:2-3** where first 'a judge' and then 'a widow' are introduced. As argued in §4.10.3.3, the preverbal position of κριτής τις 'a judge' can be explained by the fact that this clause begins a new discourse. But the position of 'a widow' must be accounted for in another way, since once a scene is established and the discourse is progressing in routine fashion, we would expect *V…S* order. So I propose that 'widow' comes in the preverbal position to evoke a contrastive relationship with 'the judge'.[412] The NJB and NET add the word *also*. I think this addition is justifiable since *S…V* order occurs.

Luk 18:2   Κριτής τις   ἦν   ἔν τινι   πόλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ φοβούμενος καὶ
           judge a.certain 3S.was in a.certain city   the God not fearing   and

           ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἐντρεπόμενος. 3 **χήρα**   δὲ   ἦν   ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ κτλ
           man   not respecting   widow now 3S.was in the city   that

NRS: [1] Then Jesus told them a parable… [2] In a certain city there was <u>a judge</u> who neither feared God nor had respect for people. [3] In that city there was <u>a widow</u> who kept coming to him and saying, 'Grant me justice against my opponent.' [Story continues with the judge.]

NJB: …In the same town there was <u>also</u> a widow who kept on…

In **Act 12:5**, the introduction of 'prayer…happening', where 'prayer' is preverbal, contrasts with Peter's being held in jail (see §4.7 on periphrastic ἦν…γινομένη). This contrast is also strengthened by the use of μέν…δέ. Note also that these two states of affairs occur *simultaneously. S…V* order often coincides with such simultaneous situations, but as other tokens show, simultaneity is not required (see especially below on *S…V* tokens reporting surprising states of affairs that occur sequentially).

Act 12:5   ὁ   μὲν   οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρεῖτο   ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ·
           the on.one.hand so Peter   3S.was.being.kept.Impf in the prison

           προσευχὴ δὲ   ἦν   ἐκτενῶς γινομένη   ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
           prayer   on.other.hand 3S.was earnestly being.made by   the church

           πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ.
           to   the God for   him

NRS: While Peter was kept in prison, <u>the church prayed fervently</u> to God for him. [Story continues with Peter.]

I speculate that *S…V* is preferred when two such introductions occur in close proximity and are to be processed as a discourse unit, that is to say, a single scene is being constructed. Moreover, there seems to be some tendency for the discourse not to dwell on what was introduced by *S…V*. For example, in Act 12:5, the story immediately turns from the church's prayer back to Peter; and following the introduction of the widow in Luk 18:2-3, the story returns to the judge.

But *V…S* with such contrastiveness seems to be preferred, regardless of whether or not ἄλλος 'another' or καί 'also' is present, when the clause moves the discourse forward in a significant way. (In other words, *V…S* has its prototypical function of setting the stage for what is to come.) This seems to be so with the introduction of 'also an inscription' in Luk 23:38, discussed above. For more *V…S* tokens with such modifiers, see Luk 3:12 ('also tax collectors'); Luk 22:24 ('also a dispute…'); Rev 12:3 ('appeared another sign…a great red

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[412] A weaker claim could be that *S…V* indicates a general discontinuity that is compatible with contrastiveness and other interclausal relationships.

dragon'; the events concerning the dragon follow those of the previous sign, the woman and her pregnancy, in v 1).[413]

That *V...S* order is preferred when the clause moves the discourse forward in a more significant way is also illustrated by the participial thetic in **Mrk 12:42**. Despite the contrast between 'many rich' and 'a poor widow', the latter is postverbal. She is also the episode's heroine![414]

Mrk 12:42 καὶ <u>ἐλθοῦσα</u>   **μία χήρα πτωχὴ** ἔβαλεν   λεπτὰ δύο,
  and having.come one widow poor   3S.threw.in leptas two

> NRS: [41] [Jesus] sat down opposite the treasury, and watched the crowd putting money into the treasury. <u>Many rich people</u> put in large sums. [42] <u>A poor widow came</u> and put in two small copper coins, which are worth a penny. [43] Then he called his disciples and said to them, "Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury. [44] For all of them have contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, all she had to live on."

But it must be admitted that contrastive *S...V* tokens may also introduce things that move the discourse forward significantly. Perhaps other factors account for *S...V* in such tokens. A few tokens also involve corrective implicatures.

Here is a list of other *S...V* thetics involving contrast or parallelism (I indicate when 'also' or 'another' occur): Mat 27:24 ('a riot is starting' contrasts with 'accomplishing nothing'; the preverbal position of θόρυβος 'riot' is also expected because this is a thetic ὅτι perception report); Mrk 1:11 and ‖Luk 3:22 ('voice' parallels 'Spirit/dove', but it may also be emotively emphatic); Mrk 4:36 ('other boats' contrasts with 'boat') and ‖Jhn 6:23 (split subject); Luk 2:8 ('in that *same* region' implies 'addition' like καί, so the 'shepherds' contrast with other entities on stage—Joseph, Mary and Jesus); Luk 2:9 (the appearance of 'glory' parallels 'angels', probably simultaneous; but these appearances are also surprising); Luk 4:27 ('many lepers' parallels 'many widows' in v 25); Luk 7:12 ('a considerable city crowd' parallels the introduction of 'mother' and her 'dead son' and it also contrasts with the crowd following Jesus); Luk 9:35 ('voice' contrasts with 'cloud', but it may also be surprising; the events are apparently sequential); Luk 10:31-33[415] (after the wounded man come 'a priest', 'also a Levite', and finally 'a Samaritan', in participial clauses; but some may be heavy); Luk 14:22 ('still room' is corrective, counter-expectational); Luk 21:11 ('earthquakes' parallels 'nations rising against nation', etc.); Jhn 5:32 (ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ 'there's another who testifies of me' is likely intended as an implicit correction as the audience believes Jesus alone testifies about himself); Act 16:26 ('everyone's chains unfastened' parallels 'all the doors opened'—simultaneous events); Act 19:38 ('courts' parallels 'proconsuls'); Act 24:2 (preverbal διορθωμάτων 'reforms' parallels 'peace'; heavy participial clauses); Rom 11:5 ('remnant (today)' contrasts with a previous 'remnant'; complex); Heb 7:12 ('a change of

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[413] It is harder to imagine that the contrastive use of *S...V* can involve a pair of entities or states of affairs that occur over a great distance. Still, a couple of *S...V* tokens are not easily explained otherwise. Jhn 10:19 (σχίσμα πάλιν ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις 'a division again 3S.happened among the Jews') could be a case, the last mention of another division occurring in Jhn 9:16. See also πάλιν πολλοῦ ὄχλου 'again a large crowd…(with nothing to eat)' (a genitive absolute clause) in Mrk 8:1, which evokes the earlier episode of a hungry crowd in Mrk 6:34ff.

[414] I assume that μία χήρα πτωχή is to be interpreted as syntactically belonging to the participle ἐλθοῦσα ('coming', a typical thetic verb) rather than ἔβαλεν '3s.threw'. The converse is perhaps possible, but it would be harder to process, because the second clause would both activate the referent and predicate something about it.

[415] The tokens in Luk 10:31-33, where three individuals are introduced in close succession, each preverbally (ἱερεύς τις 'a certain priest', καὶ Λευίτης 'also a Levite', and Σαμαρίτης τις 'a certain Samaritan'), are not prototypical thetics because of the verb type and 'heaviness'.

law' parallels 'a change of the priestly office'; infinitival); preverbal ἄλλος ἄγγελος 'another angel (came out of)' occurs in four tokens: Rev 8:3 (despite *S...V* order, this moves the story forward), Rev 14:15, Rev 14:17, and Rev 14:18; Rev 16:18 ('earthquake' parallels 'thunder and lightning'); and perhaps also Rev 19:5 ('a voice from the throne' parallels 'a great voice' in v 1).

Cataphorically oriented contrastiveness

Instances of *S...V* order with cataphoric contrast (i.e. 'anticipatory' contrast) are much fewer. As already noted, Levinsohn has argued that preverbal elements that function as (topical) points of departure can *anticipate* a change from one entity to another. In other words, the contrast or parallelism is cataphorically oriented (in which case modifiers like καί 'also' are not appropriate). Levinsohn says that anticipatory points of departure occur, in narrative at least, when the main storyline will develop by means of the entity that the speaker is anticipating switching attention to.

For example, he cites τῶν…στρατιωτῶν βουλή 'of the soldiers a plan' in **Act 27:42** as an example of an 'anticipatory point of departure' since the story then shifts to 'the centurion' (also preverbal) in v 43 (both the soldiers and centurion are discourse-old). This seems to me to be an excellent example, but I suggest a small correction to Levinsohn's discussion, since the subject's head noun, βουλή 'a plan', is hearer-new and the clause is thetic. If we assume τῶν…στρατιωτῶν 'of the soldiers' belongs to the subject NP (which seems likely but hard to prove—see §4.6), then the latter is a topical sub-element of an otherwise focal thetic subject NP and the phrase as a whole is 'anticipatory contrastive'.[416]

Act 27:42	τῶν	δὲ	στρατιωτῶν	**βουλὴ**	<u>ἐγένετο</u>	ἵνα	κτλ
	of.the	now	soldiers	plan	3S.happened	so.that	

43	ὁ	δὲ	ἑκατοντάρχης	βουλόμενος	διασῶσαι	τὸν	Παῦλον
	the	but	centurion	desiring	to.save	the	Paul

ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ βουλήματος,
kept   them   of.the plan

NRS: [42] <u>The soldiers' plan</u> was to kill the prisoners, so that none might swim away and escape; [43] <u>but the centurion,</u> wishing to save Paul, kept them from carrying out their plan.

In **1Co 12:4-6**, we have what is presumably another type of cataphoric contrast. This involves the pairing of three thetic εἰμί clauses[417] with three instances of constituent-focus. In the first pair, the introduction of 'varieties of gifts' in preverbal position anticipates a switch of attention to 'the same Spirit' who is identified as the source of those gifts. The emphasis in these sentences is on the singleness of God in contrast to the plurality of gifts.

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[416] Levinsohn also takes the $S_1...V...S_2$ subject τις…μαθήτρια 'a.certain…disciple' in Act 9:36 to indicate anticipatory contrast (Levinsohn called this 'temporary focus' in an earlier publication, 1987:25-26). The introduction of 'a certain disciple named Tabitha' and her healing anticipates the introduction of Cornelius (a fragment thetic) in Act 10:1 and his story, which is relatively more important for *Acts* as he is the first Gentile to receive the Holy Spirit.

[417] For some of Paul's Corinthian readers, it may be that these sentences were interpreted not so much as thetics (i.e. introducing 'gifts', etc.) as assertions about existence (i.e. reiterating the assertion that such entities exist).

1Co 12:4 Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα·
          varieties – of.gifts   3S.are the but same Spirit

5   καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσιν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος·
          and varieties of.ministries 3S.are and the same Lord

6   καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεὸς κτλ
          and varieties of.operations 3S.are the but same God

NRS: [4] Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; [5] and there are varieties of services, but the same Lord; [6] and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone.

I list here other possible examples of cataphoric contrastiveness with *S...V* (most are questionable): Heb 7:18 (with μέν…δέ; 'an annulment…coming about', with γάρ, anticipates a switch to 'an introduction of a better hope'); perhaps Jhn 1:4 ('life' anticipates a switch to 'light', but maybe this is some kind of emotive emphasis); perhaps Rev 12:1 ('a sign in heaven' anticipates a switch to 'a woman clothed with the sun', or maybe emotive emphasis). Perhaps Jhn 2:1 belongs here (the introduction of 'a wedding' would be anticipating a switch to Mary and then to Jesus and his disciples).

4.10.3.5.2 Explanations and circumstances: anaphoric and cataphoric clause relations

Luk 15:27 and Luk 18:37 (both preceded by ὅτι) were touched on earlier in §4.10.3.3. These were the first utterance in a speech and served to answer questions in an interchange. I described them as having an 'explanatory' function.

The fact is, many thetics come mid-stream in a discourse and function in a similar 'explanatory' way. They supply an explanation or elaborate circumstances, especially as background to more prominent things (see §2.3.5). In my data, this function is more typical of second order thetics. But whether first or second order, the new entity seldom persists in the discourse.

Although there are exceptions, there appears to be a fairly consistent correlation between constituent order and the way the explanatory thetic relates to the discourse: (i) *S...V* order is preferred when it primarily relates to the previous discourse, and (ii) *V...S* when it is closely linked to what follows. The former are anaphorically oriented and the latter cataphorically oriented. Since *V...S* typically relates more closely to what follows, I assume this is a reflex of the prototypical function of *V...S* as the default order: it sets the stage for what is to come and there is no major discourse discontinuity (§4.10.2).

Anaphorically oriented explanatory thetics bear an obvious resemblance to thetics involving anaphoric contrastiveness, since both are anaphorically oriented and both make use of *S...V*. And in fact, the two types are at times hard to distinguish and perhaps they are really reflecting a single phenomenon.

Consider first a couple of tokens with *S...V* order: **Luk 6:19** and **Jhn 18:18**. These tokens involve the conjunction ὅτι,[418] which in these contexts may be translated as 'because/for'. They indicate explanations or reasons for something in the preceding discourse.

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[418] The complementizer ὅτι 'that/because' conspicuously appears in more than one type of thetic, many with *S...V* order. We already saw it preceding quoted material with discourse-initial thetics. Cristofaro (1998:66) states that, historically, ὅτι's use as a complementizer preceded it being used to introduce 'reason' clauses (which is post-Homer). Perhaps our understanding about constituent order could be enlightened if we knew more about ὅτι's history, including to what degree it was used in thetic-like perception reports.

Luk 6:19 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτουν ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ,
and all the crowd 3P.were.seeking to.touch him

ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ <u>ἐξήρχετο</u> καὶ ἰᾶτο πάντας.
because power from him 3S.was.going.out and 3S.was.healing all

NRS: And all in the crowd were trying to touch him, <u>for power came out from him</u> and healed all of them.

Jhn 18:18 εἰστήκεισαν δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἀνθρακιὰν
3P.were.standing.PluPrf and the slaves and the servants charcoal.fire

πεποιηκότες, **ὅτι ψῦχος ἦν**, καὶ ἐθερμαίνοντο·
having.been.made because cold 3S.was and 3S.were.warming.themselves

NRS: Now the slaves and the police had made a charcoal fire <u>because it was cold,</u> and they were standing around it and warming themselves.

A handful of likely instances occur with the conjunction γάρ.[419] Mat 28:2 'for γάρ an angel of the Lord…' may fit here (and not as a second instance of *S…V* conditioned by ἰδού, e.g. ἰδού 'rule 4', §6.7.3.2). See also 1Co 16:9 with γάρ and Act 18:10 with διότι; both tokens are $S_1…V…S_2$ and the postverbal elements seem emphasized. With γάρ, see also Rev 1:3 and Rev 22:10, if these should indeed to be taken as thetic (e.g. *The TIME is near!*).[420]

There are also a handful of circumstantial participial clauses that follow their nuclear clause (the finite clause they modify) and which are *S…V*. Such participial clauses do not require a conjunction like γάρ or ὅτι. Consider **Jhn 5:13**, where the ease in which Jesus slips away is explained. And in **Jhn 20:1**, the early hour is elaborated by the fact that it was still dark. It makes little sense to me to explain these preverbal subjects as simply cases of contrastiveness.

Jhn 5:13 ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐξένευσεν **ὄχλου** <u>ὄντος</u> ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.
the for Jesus 3S.slipped.out crowd.G being.G in the place

RSV: [12] They asked him, "Who is the man who said to you, 'Take up your pallet, and walk'?" [13] Now the man who had been healed did not know who it was, for Jesus had withdrawn, <u>as there was a crowd in the place.</u>

Jhn 20:1 Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἔρχεται πρωῒ
on.the – first of.the week Mary the Magdalene comes early

σκοτίας ἔτι <u>οὔσης</u> εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον
darkness still being to the tomb

RSV: Now on the first day of the week Mary Magdalene came to the tomb early, <u>while it was still dark,</u> and saw that the stone had been taken away from the tomb.

See also Mrk 4:35 ('evening having come' elaborates 'on that day'), Luk 23:45 ('the sun being darkened') and Jhn 20:26 ('the doors being shut'). But there is at least one anaphorically oriented participial clause that has *V…S* order: Mrk 16:2 ('the sun having risen').

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[419] Levinsohn describes the function of γάρ as 'constrain[ing] the reader to interpret the material it introduces as *strengthening* an assertion or assumption that has been presented in or implied by the immediate context' (2000:69-70; see also 90-93). So γάρ is often compatible with explanations.

[420] Luk 11:6 with ἐπειδή is another possible token, although this is informationally heavy.

As further illustration of the *S...V* versus *V...S* distinction, we can contrast some near 'minimal pairs' that occur in the data. Compare first the introduction of 'much water' in **Jhn 3:23** with that of 'much grass' in **Jhn 6:10**.

Jhn 3:23   ἦν   δὲ   καὶ   ὁ   Ἰωάννης   βαπτίζων   ἐν   Αἰνὼν   ἐγγὺς   τοῦ   Σαλείμ,
            3S.was   and   also   the   John   baptizing   in   Aenon   near   the   Salim

             ὅτι **ὕδατα πολλὰ** ἦν   ἐκεῖ,   καὶ   παρεγίνοντο   καὶ   ἐβαπτίζοντο·
             for   water   much   3S.was   there   and   3P.were.coming   and   3P.were.being.baptized

             RSV: [22] After this Jesus and his disciples went into the land of Judea; there he remained with them and baptized. [23] John also was baptizing at Aenon near Salim, <u>because there was much water there;</u> and people came and were baptized.

Jhn 6:10   εἶπεν   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς,   Ποιήσατε   τοὺς   ἀνθρώπους   ἀναπεσεῖν.
             3S.said   the   Jesus   make   the   men   to.recline

             ἦν   δὲ   **χόρτος πολὺς** ἐν   τῷ   τόπῳ.
             3S.was   now   grass   much   in   the   place

             ἀνέπεσαν   οὖν   οἱ   ἄνδρες   τὸν   ἀριθμὸν   ὡς   πεντακισχίλιοι.
             3P.reclined   therefore   the   men   the   number   about   five.thousand

             RSV: [Jesus is preparing to feed the people.] Jesus said, "Make the people sit down." <u>Now there was much grass in the place;</u> so the men sat down, in number about five thousand.

In Jhn 3:23, the thetic clause has *S...V* order and is explicitly related to the previous context by means of ὅτι, and the clause explains why John was baptizing there. But in Jhn 6:10, *V...S* order occurs. Although at first glance this second thetic might look like another anaphoric explanation, δέ suggests instead that the discourse is moving forward. So I assume that *V...S* is preferred since the clause primarily sets the stage for what follows. Thus, if anything, the clause serves as a *cataphoric* explanation, explaining why so many could (comfortably) recline.

Another near 'minimal pair' worth comparing are **Luk 1:66**, with γάρ and *S...V* order, and **Act 11:21**, with καί…τε and *V...S* order.

Luk 1:66   καὶ   <u>γὰρ</u> **χεὶρ κυρίου** ἦν   μετ'   αὐτοῦ.
             indeed   for   hand   of.Lord   3S.was   with   him

67   Καὶ   Ζαχαρίας   ὁ   πατὴρ   αὐτοῦ   ἐπλήσθη   πνεύματος   ἁγίου   κτλ
             and   Zechariah   the   father   of.him   3S.was.filled   Spirit   of.Holy

             NRS: [66] All who heard them pondered them and said, "What then will this child become?" <u>For, indeed, the hand of the Lord was with him.</u> ¶ [67] Then his father Zechariah was filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke this prophecy:…

Act 11:21   <u>καὶ</u> ἦν   **χεὶρ κυρίου** μετ'   αὐτῶν,
             and   3S.was   hand   of.Lord   with   them

             πολύς <u>τε</u>   ἀριθμὸς   ὁ   πιστεύσας   ἐπέστρεψεν   ἐπὶ   τὸν   κύριον.
             large   and   number   the   having.believed   3S.turned   to   the   Lord

             NRS: [20] But among them were some men of Cyprus and Cyrene who, on coming to Antioch, spoke to the Hellenists also, proclaiming the Lord Jesus. [21] <u>The hand of the Lord was with them,</u> and a great number became believers and turned to the Lord.

Since in both clauses the subject '(the) hand of the Lord' is identifiable and both clauses are predicate locatives, it is possible to take the subjects as topic expressions. But (as argued in §4.1 for a similar state of affairs in Luk 2:25) both contexts are also compatible with a thetic

reading that is paraphrasable as *'The LORD'S HAND was with him/them'* (where 'with him' is topical and unaccented). Under the latter interpretation, *S...V* order in Luke would again be coinciding with a thetic explanation that is anaphorically oriented, explaining the peoples' astonishment (v 67 begins a new paragraph in many translations, '¶'). In contrast, the story in Acts, where *V...S* occurs, is moving on. Τε 'and' in the next clause indicates a close connection with this thetic. So again, this thetic serves as an explanation for what follows.

And, finally, this same form-function alternative can be illustrated by thetics that indicate a known hour, although these tokens differ somewhat from those illustrated so far: (i) the anaphorically oriented tokens make use of $S_1...V...S_2$ rather than *S...V* (see §4.8.1 on why strings like 'hour…sixth' are a single NP functioning as the subject); (ii) none of the anaphorically oriented tokens make use of γάρ or ὅτι.

Consider first the cataphorically oriented token, **Luk 23:44** with *V...S* order. The narrative is moving ahead and the time statement explains when the darkness began. But in **Jhn 1:39** with $S_1...V...S_2$, the time statement relates primarily to the preceding. This circumstance, that it was the tenth hour (=16:00), need not be interpreted as a reason for the two disciples staying for the rest of the day, although some commentators make this inference. Some in fact take it to indicate they spent the night (Morris 1995). In any case, given this thetic relates primarily to the preceding, it is justifiable that the RSV (and NAS) add the weak conjunction 'for'.

Luk 23:44 Καὶ ἦν   ἤδη   **ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη** καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο   ἐφ᾽ ὅλην
         and 3S.was already about hour sixth and darkness 3S.happened over whole

         τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης 45 τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος,
         the land until hour ninth   the sun   having.been.darkened

         NRS: It was now about noon, and darkness came over the whole land until…

Jhn 1:39 καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην· **ὥρα ἦν   ὡς δεκάτη.**
         and with him remained the day   that   hour 3S.was about tenth

         RSV: He said to them, "Come and see." They came and saw where he was staying; and they stayed with him that day, **for** it was about the tenth hour. [=16:00]

For similar $S_1...V...S_2$ 'hour' tokens, see Jhn 4:6 (it being noon suggests why Jesus would sit down by a well after travelling) and Jhn 19:14 (that it was noon expands the preceding time thetic, that it was the Passover preparation day).[421]

Now to consider **apparent exceptions**, where anaphorically oriented explanations nonetheless have *V…S* order. Many of these are easily explained; *V...S* can be accounted for by other competing (and apparently stronger) forces.

One situation where this happens is where the thetic is followed by a subsequent predication that is a relative clause. This is illustrated by **Jhn 5:28**, with ὅτι, which introduces an unidentifiable time, 'an hour' (see also Jhn 16:21, ὅτι; 2Ti 4:3, γάρ; and Luk 19:43, ὅτι,— where the following καί clause functions as a relative clause). As mentioned at the end of §4.10.2, thetics that introduce an unidentifiable time and follow with a relative clause strongly prefer *V...S* (see Luk 23:29 where despite the presence of ἰδού, *V...S* occurs).

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[421] The *V...S* token, Mrk 15:25, may fit here too. But see §4.8.3 on its implicit constituent-focus function.

Jhn 5:28 μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο, ὅτι <u>ἔρχεται</u> **ὥρα** ἐν ᾗ πάντες οἱ
          not 2P.do.marvel this for 3S.comes hour in which all the.ones

ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις ἀκούσουσιν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κτλ
in the graves will.hear the voice of.him

NRS: [24] …anyone who hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life, and does not come under judgment, but has passed from death to life…[28] Do not be astonished at this; <u>for the hour is coming</u> when all who are in their graves will hear his voice [29] and will come out–those who have done good, to the resurrection of life,…

V…S order in other anaphorically oriented explanations may be explained on the grounds that the utterance is closely related to the theme line of the discourse (i.e. the foreground 'information').[422] In other words, the utterance does not represent a discontinuity. And again, the entities introduced in such tokens often persist, a fact that may also suggest the relative importance of such assertions.[423] Consider **Mrk 4:29** (conjoined by ὅτι), which is the final point of the parable (assuming a thetic interpretation, *the HARVEST has come!*).

Mrk 4:29 εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλει τὸ δρέπανον, ὅτι <u>παρέστηκεν</u> **ὁ θερισμός.**
          immediately 3S.puts.forth the sickle for 3S.has.come the harvest

NRS: [26] …The kingdom of God is as if someone would scatter seed on the ground, [27] and would sleep and rise night and day, and the seed would sprout and grow, he does not know how. [28] The earth produces of itself, first the stalk, then the head, then the full grain in the head. [29] But when the grain is ripe, at once he goes in with his sickle, <u>because the harvest has come.</u>

See also the following (with γάρ unless noted otherwise): Mat 2:6 ('a ruler' persists in relative clause); Mat 3:2 (if indeed thetic; main point); Mat 15:19 (main point and persists; also the sheer weight of the compound subject makes *V…S* preferred); Mrk 13:22 (moving on, entity persists); Luk 21:23 (main point); Luk 21:28 (διότι, main point); Jhn 14:30 (persists); Act 2:15 ('for it is *indeed only 9 o'clock* in the morning!', which is a main point, and probably emphatic and/or simultaneous postverbal constituent-focus); Act 27:23 (main point, heavy subject). Perhaps several ὅτι 'because' clauses from Revelation also belong here, all of which introduce important entities (e.g. 'the hour of judgment', 'the Lamb's wedding'): Rev 6:17; Rev 14:7; Rev 14:15; Rev 19:7.

But Act 4:3, with γάρ, is problematic, because the assertion is clearly a background circumstance but nonetheless has *V…S* order.

4.10.3.5.3 Surprise and emotive emphasis with *S…V* and *S₁…V…S₂*

S…V often occurs in tokens involving surprising states of affairs, and $S_1…V…S_2$ often occurs where an element of the subject NP could naturally 'attract stress' because of emotive emphasis. Since what is surprising may also be emotively emphatic, these categories are related (§2.2.7.3). Moreover, both may also sometimes coincide with contrastiveness. Thus, it is hard at times to be certain what really accounts for the marked order.

For **surprising** state of affairs, the *S…V* tokens that stand out most are ones that report states of affairs that occur *sequentially* in a narrative, since the default order *V…S* would have been expected.

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[422] See footnote 106 on *theme line* and *foreground.*

[423] Still, it must be admitted that a few anaphorically oriented explanations with *S…V* order probably make main points. See 1Co 16:9 (with γάρ) and Act 18:10 (διότι) with straddling subjects, and Rev 1:3 (γάρ).

This is illustrated by **Mat 25:6** and **Mat 26:74**. Both have clause-initial time phrases; in Levinsohn's system these would presumably be topical temporal points of departure, although perhaps εὐθέως 'immediately' could also be emotively emphatic. Most of the parallel 'rooster' passages also have preverbal subjects (Mrk 14:72; Jhn 18:27; Mrk 14:68 lacks a temporal phrase) except for **Luk 22:60**, which shows that, in the end, the speaker is free to make use of either order. In other words, the fact that a thetic event is surprising does not guarantee *S…V* order. (Another potentially surprising *V…S* token is Act 9:18, 'immediately from his eyes fell something like scales'.)

Mat 25:6   μέσης δὲ νυκτὸς **κραυγὴ** γέγονεν,[424]   Ἰδοὺ ὁ   νυμφίος,   κτλ
           mid- – night   shout   3S.(had).happened *   the bridegroom

NRS: [5] As the bridegroom was delayed, all of [the bridesmaids] became drowsy and slept. [6] But at midnight there was a shout, 'Look! Here is the bridegroom! Come out to meet him.'

Mat 26:74   καὶ εὐθέως   **ἀλέκτωρ** ἐφώνησεν. καὶ ἐμνήσθη   ὁ   Πέτρος κτλ
            and immediately rooster   3S.crowed and remembered the Peter

NRS: [69-74] [Several people accuse Peter of being one of Jesus' disciples, one after another, but each time he denies it…] [74] Then he began to curse, and he swore an oath, "I do not know the man!" At that moment the cock crowed. [75] Then Peter remembered what Jesus had said: "Before the cock crows, you will deny me three times."

Luk 22:60   καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔτι   λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐφώνησεν **ἀλέκτωρ**.
            and immediately while speaking   him   3S.crowed rooster

NRS: But Peter said, "Man, I do not know what you are talking about!" At that moment, while he was still speaking, the cock crowed.

Other *S…V* tokens that introduce what are likely surprising sequential events include Luk 3:22 (infinitival) and Luk 9:35 (in both 'a voice' suddenly speaks), perhaps Rev 6:12 and Rev 12:1 (but the preverbal subjects, 'a great earthquake' and 'a great sign', could equally be cases of cataphoric contrast), and Rev 11:13 ('a tenth part of the city fell'). The participial token in Act 28:3 may also fit here (with the order *Subject–Source–Verb* 'a viper coming out of the fire').

But there are other *S…V* tokens introducing surprising events that probably do not occur sequentially (some may be simultaneous with the preceding). See Mrk 15:33 ('and there was darkness over the land'; and ||Mat 27:45 and Luk 23:44); Luk 2:9 (the appearance of 'an angel of the Lord' and 'glory of the Lord' occur simultaneously with the preceding).

S₁…V…S₂ tokens tend to be difficult to analyze. Often, but not always, the postverbal subject element (S_2) appears to be **emotively emphatic**. (Contrast H. Dik's discussion of 'discontinuous constituents' [1996:79-80] where she argues that in Herodotus the 'pragmatically marked element' usually precedes the verb; but exceptions occur.)

Consider **Act 16:26.** We might account for $S_1…V…S_2$ as follows: 'Earthquake' comes preverbally given the surprising nature of the state of affairs as a whole, and the adjective 'great' comes postverbally to mark this subject element as emotively emphatic. Other explanations for the split subject could be offered (see the discussion of 'salient elements of a broad focus domain' in §2.2.7.4). But since, according to Lambrecht's definitions, there is

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[424] Although γέγονεν is perfect in form, Z&G and others suggest it is aorist in meaning. Robertson (1934:897) considers this a good instance of the 'dramatic historical present perfect' (which adds vividness).

only *one* focus of assertion per clause, we cannot speak of 'multiple foci' (1994:329). The entire clause is in the focus domain and for some reason 'great' is set off.[425]

Act 16:26 ἄφνω   δὲ   **σεισμὸς**   ἐγένετο   **μέγας**
           suddenly and earthquake   3S.happened great

ὥστε   σαλευθῆναι   τὰ   θεμέλια   τοῦ   δεσμωτηρίου·
so.as   to.be.shaken the foundations of.the jail

RSV: [25] But about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God, and the prisoners were listening to them, [26] and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken;…

For the possessive thetic in **Act 18:10**, I propose that 'people' is preverbal because the clause is an anaphoric explanation, and the adjective 'many' is postverbal to indicate emphasis.

Act 18:10 διότι **λαός** ἐστί   μοι   **πολὺς** ἐν τῇ   πόλει ταύτῃ.
           for   people 3S.is to.me many   in the city   this

NRS: [9] One night the Lord said to Paul in a vision, "Do not be afraid, but speak and do not be silent; [10] for I am with you, and no one will lay a hand on you to harm you, for there are many in this city who are my people."

Quantifiers like πολύς 'much/many' and words indicating a degree like μέγας 'great' tend to 'attract stress' (§2.2.7.4). But, as with the imperfect correlation between surprise and *S...V* order, so here words like 'great' and 'many' are not always treated in the same way. They often occur in non-split subject phrases, whether of the preverbal type (e.g. Luk 4:25 'many widows') or of the default postverbal type (e.g. Mat 8:26 'a great calm', Mat 8:30 'a herd of many pigs').[426]

Another surprising state of affairs, 'sudden destruction', is introduced in **1Th 5:3**, where the head noun 'destruction' is postverbal. In this token, it would seem that, of the two subject elements, it is the preverbal one that would attract emphatic stress (it is also, again, the adjective).

1Th 5:3 ὅταν   λέγωσιν, Εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε **αἰφνίδιος** αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται
         whenever 3P.say   peace   and security   then sudden   them   3S.comes.upon

ὄλεθρος   ὥσπερ ἡ   ὠδὶν   τῇ   ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ,
destruction as   the birth.pain to.the.one in womb   having

NRS: When they say, "There is peace and security," then sudden destruction will come upon them, as labor pains come upon a pregnant woman,…

Other possible instances of emotive emphasis with $S_1...V...S_2$ order include Mat 26:60 (participial, 'many…false witnesses'); Jhn 7:12 ('murmuring about him…much'); Act 20:37 ('crying…of everyone'); Act 19:34 ('outcry…one', i.e. 'a united outcry'); Act 21:18

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[425] In Classical literature, similar phenomena are called 'hyperbaton' (Smyth §3028) or 'Sperrung' (Kühner-Gerth, II, §607, p. 600); compare BDF §477 on hyperbaton and §473 on the 'separation of elements…belonging together'. Rutger Allan (p.c.) suspects there is a historical connection between hyperbaton and right-dislocation. One could well imagine the present example paraphrased as *Suddenly there was an earthquake, a big one,* in which case *a big one* would count not so much as an afterthought but as a separate assertion.

[426] While subjects modified by words like πολύς 'much/many' may be split, the tendency is not strong. Nor do such subjects prefer preverbal over postverbal position. Here are, for example, the facts for the sample tokens with πολύς 'much/many' in the subject (underlined = split subject): *9x preverbal* πολύς: Mat 26:60; Mrk 8:1; Luk 4:25; Luk 4:27; Jhn 3:23; Jhn 14:2; Act 15:7; Act 21:40; Act 23:10. *8x postverbal* πολύς: Mat 15:30; Luk 5:29; Jhn 6:10; Jhn 7:12; Act 5:12; Act 8:8; Act 18:10; Tit 1:10.

('all…the elders'); Act 23:10 (participial, 'much…dissension'); Rom 9:2 ('grief…great', with ὅτι 'that'); 1Co 16:9 ('door…great and effective', anaphoric explanation with γάρ); Rev 16:18 ('earthquake…great').

Some $S_1...V...S_2$ tokens must be explained in other ways. In **Heb 7:18**, with μέν…δέ, preverbal 'an annulment' can be explained on the grounds that it contrastively anticipates a switch to 'an introduction of a better hope' in v 19. The postverbal element 'of a preceding commandment', which is topical (it refers to the old Aaronic priesthood and its legislation, which is discourse-old), comes in what would otherwise be the default position.

Heb 7:18   **ἀθέτησις**   μὲν   γὰρ <u>γίνεται</u>   **προαγούσης ἐντολῆς**
          annulment   on.one.hand   for   3S.happens   of.preceding   commandment

          διὰ   τὸ αὐτῆς ἀσθενὲς   καὶ   ἀνωφελές— κτλ
          because.of   the of.it   weakness   and   uselessness

19   ἐπεισαγωγὴ δὲ   κρείττονος ἐλπίδος
          introduction   on.other.hand   of.better   hope

          δι'   ἧς   ἐγγίζομεν   τῷ   θεῷ.
          through   which   we.draw.near   to.the   God

NAS: [A new and greater priest and priestly system has come onto the scene…] [18] <u>For, on the one hand, there is a setting aside [=an annulment] of a former commandment</u> because of its weakness and uselessness [19] (for the Law made nothing perfect), and on the other hand there is a bringing in of a better hope, through which we draw near to God.

For other $S_1...V...S_2$ tokens that cannot be explained in terms of emphasis, see Luk 23:54 ('day…of preparation'), and the discourse-initial tokens already discussed like Mat 21:33 (Ἄνθρωπος ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης ὅστις 'man was house.master who…' i.e. there was a landlord who…), among others.

Finally, we can mention tokens with *S...V* order where the preverbal subject may be emotively emphatic (but not necessarily surprising), although other factors may also be at work in some of these: Mat 9:16 ('a worse tear occurs'; but this also contrasts with the implied original tear; also ||Mrk 2:21); Luk 8:42 (ὅτι 'an only daughter'); Luk 16:21 ('even the dogs', also contrastive); Luk 24:15 ('Jesus himself approached', which follows ἐγένετο 'it happened that'; compare the more mundane *V...S* thetics following ἐγένετο 'it happened that': Mrk 1:9; Luk 2:1; Luk 5:17; Luk 9:37); Jhn 1:4 ('life', but perhaps cataphoric contrast); Jhn 5:14 ('something worse happens'); Jhn 14:2 ('many rooms', or surprising); Act 4:33 ('great grace', but also anaphorically contrastive). I am uncertain if Jhn 7:43 ('so a division occurred in the crowd') involves emphasis, surprise, or something else.

4.10.3.6 Participial thetics and *S…V*

Most tokens cited so far have had finite verbs rather than infinitives or participles. In most respects non-finite tokens seem to behave like finite ones. But participial tokens, which are fairly numerous, and in particular genitive ones, raise some special issues (infinitival tokens in my database are too few to make claims about). For one, *S...V* order occurs much more frequently among participial thetics than among other types. From the thetics represented in Table 13, Table 14, and Table 15 in §4.10.1 (thetics with εἰμί, γίνομαι and 'selected verbs'), about 60% of the participial tokens have *S...V* order.

Before looking at constituent order, let us first consider some general facts. If we consider our sample represented in tables just mentioned, we find that, of a total of 348 tokens, only 8

are infinitival but 61 are participial clauses (=PCs—all of the participles are anarthrous).[427] Of these 61 PCs, 39 are genitive (=GPC), 14 nominative (=NPC), and 8 accusative (=APC; none are dative in this sample). The APCs are mostly object complements of verbs like 'see', 'hear', and 'know' (§5.3), and 4 NPCs involve ἰδού. The GPCs[428] and other NPCs involve '**circumstantial**' (or 'adverbial') participial clauses (Smyth §2054, Robertson 1934, Wallace 1996:621-640): the PC is subordinated to a 'nuclear' (i.e. main) clause (with a finite verb), which follows or precedes it. The tag 'circumstantial' is conveniently vague, since the function of the PC in relation to its nuclear clause is underspecified: depending on context, this relationship may be interpreted as indicating a time, manner, means, cause, purpose, condition, among other possibilities (Smyth §2054-2069, Funk 1973:669 [cited by Levinsohn p. 183], Wallace 1996:623).

What sets apart such circumstantial **GPCs** from nominative ones is that the subject of the GPC is essentially never coreferential with the subject of the nuclear clause. In other words, the GPC instructs the hearer that the subject of the main clause is different. For this reason, the GPC circumstantial clause has been described as a 'switch-reference' construction (in traditional grammars it is called the 'genitive absolute').[429]

I find that the position of the subject in all types of PCs, whatever case, can be usually explained in the same ways it was explained in finite verb clauses (some tokens I cite from here on involve verbs not in our sample): In participial thetics, *S...V* is the default order in perception reports (e.g. Jhn 1:29, APC) and in discourse-initial tokens (e.g. Mat 16:2, GPC), and it is the only order that occurs in ἰδού tokens (e.g. Mat 8:2, NPC).[430] In most other environments, *V...S* is the default order (coinciding with general discourse continuity, e.g. the NPCs in Mat 13:4, Mrk 12:42, and Luk 20:27), and *S...V* typically coincides with situations where the subject is anaphorically contrastive or surprising (e.g. the NPCs in Luk 24:15, Act 28:3, and Luk 10:32) or is an anaphorically oriented explanation (e.g. Jhn 5:13, GPC); etc.

But GPCs, which number 39 out of the 61 sample PCs—thus the largest subset of our sample—pattern a bit differently in the way they are used in discourse. Like many circumstantial PCs, the 39 GPC tokens usually indicate a temporal circumstance, and of the 39, 33 are pre-nuclear and 32 make use of γίνομαι. These γίνομαι tokens usually introduce second order entities like '(becoming) evening' or 'day', but sometimes entities like 'supper (occurred)' or 'a flood' or 'a plot', and all but one of these (Act 24:2) provide a temporal circumstance for the following states of affairs. Finally, the entities introduced by GPCs seldom ever persist (something we would expect given their 'switch-reference' function).[431]

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[427] The clausal use of the participle, where the participle functions as a predicator, contrasts with the adjectival and substantival uses, which function at the NP level. In the adjectival and substantival uses, the participle may take the article (i.e. be 'arthrous'), but in what is called the 'circumstantial' participial clause, it never takes the article (Smyth §2054b; Healey & Healey 1990).

[428] Since all of the GPCs in this set are circumstantial, none are participial object complement clauses of 'hear' or another verb.

[429] See Healey & Healey 1990; Levinsohn 2000:181-2; and Givón 1983b:70–71 (cited in Healey & Healey). While the grammatical subject of the NPC is most typically the same as the subject of the nuclear clause, the GPC subject is almost always different. Healey & Healey only found three or four exceptions out of 313 GPCs in the NT, and Levinsohn says that these exceptions 'show changes consistent with the behavior of switch-reference markers in other languages' (2000:182).

[430] As I will argue in §6.3.4.2, a participle following ἰδού+NP_NOM is actually a separate clause (there are four tokens in our sample: Mat 8:2; Mat 9:10; Mat 9:18; Mat 19:16).

[431] The only two tokens that introduce first order entities that also immediately persist are Mrk 8:1 and 3Jn 1:3. In these, the subsequent predication is another genitive clause.

Consider a typical token, **Act 16:35**, which is paraphrasable by the English thetic *'When DAY came…'* Like most GPC tokens, this one is pre-nuclear and functions as a temporal point of departure for its nuclear clause ('the magistrates sent the police'). Thus, it holds a topical relation to the main predication, even though **internally** it has thetic construal, introducing a state of affairs, the inception of a new day (see on (36) and (37) in §2.2.6.3).

Act 16:35   Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης   ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους κτλ
        day.G   and   having.become.G   3P.sent   the   magistrates   the   policemen

> NRS: [[9-34] Paul and Silas have been thrown in jail by the authorities. While there, an earthquake occurs at midnight, they rescue the jailor from killing himself, the jailor takes them home to tend their wounds and feed them, and that same night he becomes a Christian.] [35] When morning came, the magistrates sent the police [to the jailor], saying, "Let those men go."

Now *S…V* order occurs in 21 out of the 32 γίνομαι GPCs (i.e. 65%) and *V…S* in 10 and *S₁…V…S₂* in one (recall that for other subsets *V…S* tokens usually outnumber *S…V* ones). Having studied this subset, I conclude that, even though less frequent, *V…S* is pragmatically unmarked. This is because *S…V* coincides with relatively more discontinuity, much as we found in thetics with finite verbs. Such discontinuity involves situations where the discourse is turning to

(a) something more significant (a crescendo effect), or

(b) to something new, in which case a relatively significant juncture in the discourse has been reached.

(c) Much less frequently it may be that what is introduced is emphasized or anaphorically contrasts with something else. (i.e. as we saw for finite thetics).

In some tokens, more than one of the above may be relevant.

For Act 16:35 above, *S…V* coincides with situation (b), a relatively significant juncture in the discourse. Although moving ahead sequentially, the story is returning to an unresolved issue—the authorities (magistrates) who have imprisoned Paul and Silas. In what follows, Paul scolds these authorities and secures a formal apology for the rough treatment they have endured without trial (they are Roman citizens). Of the consulted translations, only the NET lacks a paragraph break here; the others have one, and the GND even has a subtitle. Situation (a) seems less relevant here: one can hardly claim that Paul's confrontation with the authorities is more significant than the jailor's conversion.

But in other passages, (a) applies: *S…V* initiates something that is more significant or pivotal in the overall discourse, and this is so whether or not the juncture is particularly significant or deserves a paragraph break. For example, in **Luk 6:48**, the introduction of 'a flood', brings us to a pivotal point in this short parable, and in **Mat 20:8**, when it becomes 'evening' is when the problems between the vineyard owner and his workers surface, which then leads to the point of the parable. I know of no translation that puts a paragraph break in Luk 6:48, but some do in Mat 20:8 (e.g. NIV, GNT, CEV; but not REB, NRS, NLT, NET).[432]

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[432] It is true that in Mat 20:8 the 'evening' implicitly contrasts with the previous times mentioned—early in the morning, at the third hour, etc.—but this seems secondary to the fact that this is a turning point in the story.

Luk 6:48 **πλημμύρης** δὲ <u>γενομένης</u> προσέρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ,
flood.G   and having.come.G struck.against the river   the house that

> NRS: [47] I will show you what someone is like who…hears my words, and acts on them. [48] That one is like a man building a house, who dug deeply and laid the foundation on rock; <u>when a flood arose,</u> the river burst against that house but could not shake it, because it had been well built. [49] But the one who hears and does not act is…

Mat 20:8 <u>ὀψίας</u> δὲ **γενομένης** λέγει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος τῷ κτλ
evening.G and having.come.G 3S.says the owner of.the vineyard   to.the

> RSV: [1-7 Early in the morning a vineyard owner found laborers in the market place and sent them to work in his vineyard, agreeing to pay each a denarius a day. Later in the day at different times he again found laborers to work for him—at the third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hours.] [8] <u>And when evening came,</u> the owner of the vineyard said to his steward, 'Call the laborers and pay them their wages, beginning with the last, up to the first.' [9] And when those hired about the eleventh hour came, each of them received a denarius. [10] Now when the first came, they thought they would receive more; but each of them also received a denarius.…

For more type (a) *S...V* GPCs coming at minor junctures that nonetheless present circumstances for more significant events, see: Mat 13:6 (the withering of the sprouted seed that fell among the rocks);[433] Mrk 6:35 (and ||Mat 14:15; the miraculous feeding of the five thousand); Jhn 13:2 (Jesus washing the disciples' feet); Jhn 21:4 (Jesus appearing to the disciples); Act 15:7 (Peter's speech; '*much* discussion' could also be emphasized); Act 21:40 (Paul's speech; 'a great silence' could also be emphasized); Act 23:10 (a riot nearly begins; the split subject also involves emphasis). To these can be added Mrk 6:47 and ||Mat 14:23 (which precede Jesus' walking on water), but 'evening' also cataphorically contrasts with 'the fourth watch of the night' (see also *S...V* order in ||Jhn 6:17 but with finite γίνομαι and no mention of the fourth watch).

Type (b) *S...V* GPCs that coincide with relatively major junctures and present circumstances for significant events also occur in Mat 26:20 (||Mrk 14:17; initiates the Passover/Last Supper) and Mat 27:1 (all the chief priests confer to put Jesus to death). And in Mat 27:57 and ||Mrk 15:42 the narrative is moving on to a new episode (Jesus' burial).

Now let's consider some *V...S* GPCs. If this is indeed the default form, which is *unmarked* for discontinuity, then in principle at least we should not assume that *V...S* implies anything about continuity, since it is neutral (see Levinsohn 2000:14-5). As it turns out, they generally occur where there is no significant juncture in the discourse and/or where the discourse is continuing in a routine fashion.

This characterization seems relevant to **Mrk 6:2**. The coming of the Sabbath continues to develop the scene of Jesus being in his hometown. There does not seem to be any reason to infer this is a major juncture or that the narrative is turning to something pivotal. Other comparable *V...S* tokens would be Mat 13:21 and ||Mrk 4:17 ('when troubles come'); Mrk 6:21 ('when a suitable day came'); Jhn 20:19 (with εἰμί; 'when it was evening' and Christ's second appearance); Act 12:18 ('when day came' and the fate of the guards); Act 15:2 ('when a debate happened'); Act 20:3 ('when a plot against Paul occurred'); Rom 7:9 ('when the commandment came').

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[433] *V...S* in ||Mrk 4:6 may be functionally equivalent here, since the clause is headed by ὅτε 'when' (§4.8.2).

Mrk 6:2   καὶ <u>γενομένου</u>   **σαββάτου** ἤρξατο   διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, κτλ
          and having.become.G Sabbath.G 3S.began to.teach   in the synagogue

> NIV: [1] Jesus left there and went to his hometown, accompanied by his disciples. [2] <u>When the Sabbath came,</u> he began to teach in the synagogue, and many who heard him were amazed. "Where did this man get these things?" they asked.

Consider also **Act 23:12**. Although many add a subtitle here (GNT 'The plot against Paul's life'), we might instead take *V...S* to indicate that the narrative is developing along the same thematic lines as the preceding. Despite Paul being in custody and having nearly been torn in two in a hearing before the Sanhedrin the day before (v 10), the Lord has just told him in a night vision to keep up his courage, because he wants Paul to be his witness in Rome (v 11). So we might infer that the forming of a plot to murder Paul in v 12 is to be closely related to the preceding and even part of God's plan.

Act 23:12 <u>Γενομένης</u>   δὲ   **ἡμέρας** ποιήσαντες   συστροφὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κτλ
           having.become.G now day.G   having.formed conspiracy the Jews

> NRS: [11] That night [after the hearing before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem] the Lord stood near him and said, "Keep up your courage! For just as you have testified for me in Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also in Rome." [12] <u>In the morning</u> the Jews joined in a conspiracy and bound themselves by an oath neither to eat nor drink until they had killed Paul.

It is noteworthy that *V...S* order also occurs in **Mrk 15:33** (as well as in parallel Luk 23:44 where finite ἦν occurs: καὶ ἦν ἤδη ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη [and 3S.was already about hour sixth]). Even though this comes in the middle of the crucifixion episode, because of the subject matter—the darkening sky and then Christ's final words and death—many translations add a subtitle and a new paragraph here (e.g. GNT's 'The Death of Jesus'). While this may seem natural enough, I would argue that we are nonetheless to take *V...S* order here to imply general thematic continuity in the narrative. This might seem odd to suggest, given the significance of what is about to happen. But the narrator is in fact reporting these events in a routine fashion, as if everything was happening as expected.

Mrk 15:33 Καὶ <u>γενομένης</u>   **ὥρας ἕκτης** σκότος ἐγένετο   ἐφ'   κτλ
           and having.become.G   hour.G sixth.G darkness 3S.happened over

> RSV: "… [32] Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe." Those who were crucified with him also reviled him. [33] <u>And when the sixth hour had come,</u> there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour.

Finally, we can compare two GPCs in **Luk 4:40** with *V...S* order and one in **Mat 8:16** (also ||Mrk 1:32) with *S...V* order.

Luk 4:40   Δύνοντος   δὲ   **τοῦ**   **ἡλίου**   ἅπαντες   ὅσοι   εἶχον   ἀσθενοῦντας   κτλ
           setting.G   and   the.G   sun.G   all   who   3P.had   ailing.ones

Luk 4:42   Γενομένης   δὲ   **ἡμέρας**   ἐξελθὼν   ἐπορεύθη   εἰς   ἔρημον   τόπον·
           having.come.G   and   day.G   having.gone.forth   3S.went.out   to   desolate   place

NRS: [³⁸⁻³⁹ Jesus goes to Simon-Peter's home and heals his mother-in-law.] ⁴⁰ As the sun was setting, all those who had any who were sick with various kinds of diseases brought them to him; and he laid his hands on each of them and cured them. ⁴¹ Demons also came out of many, shouting, "You are the Son of God!" But he rebuked them and would not allow them to speak, because they knew that he was the Messiah. ⁴² At daybreak he departed and went into a deserted place. And the crowds were looking for him; and when they reached him, they wanted to prevent him from leaving them. ⁴³ But he said to them, "I must proclaim the good news of the kingdom of God to the other cities also; for I was sent for this purpose." ⁴⁴ So he continued proclaiming the message in the synagogues of Judea.

Mat 8:16   **Ὀψίας**   δὲ   γενομένης   προσήνεγκαν   αὐτῷ   δαιμονιζομένους   πολλούς·
           evening   and   having.come   3P.brought   to.him   demon-possessed.ones   many

NRS: [Jesus heals Peter's mother-in-law.] ¹⁶ That evening they brought to him many who were possessed with demons; and he cast out the spirits with a word, and cured all who were sick. ¹⁷ This was to fulfill what had been spoken through the prophet Isaiah, "He took our infirmities and bore our diseases." ¹⁸ Now when Jesus saw great crowds around him, he gave orders to go over to the other side. [The narrative turns to 'The cost of following Jesus' and then 'Jesus calms a storm'.]

In *Matthew's* version, we might infer the narrative is moving on from one mini-episode to another, or from a less significant event (the healing of Peter's mother-in-law) to a more significant one (the healing of many). But *Luke* seems to want his reader to see these mini-episodes as integrally connected. Moreover, the same would apply to the events of the next day, vv 42-44, which are initiated by another *V...S* clause, in **Luk 4:42** above. Thus, the healing in Peter's home is connected to the events through v 44, all three mini-units tracing the beginning of Jesus' ministry, its blossoming and ever widening topographical scope (the NRS and GNT's subtitle at Luk 4:42 'Jesus Preaches in the Synagogues' distracts from this cohesion). *Matthew,* in contrast, follows a different train of thought since, by the time he reports the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, Jesus is already well into his ministry.

As a final note about constituent order in participial thetics, we can turn to Levinsohn's characterization of pre-nuclear participial clauses (2000:187-8). Levinsohn assumes that when such a clause begins with the participle, especially in a GPC, no discontinuity is implied. But when it 'begins with a constituent other than the participle, the constituent is either a point of departure [i.e. a sentence topic], as in Acts 25:8 and 9a […], or has been preposed for focus, as in Acts 25:7c' (p. 188).

Now I agree with Levinsohn's analysis of the clauses he mentions since they are not thetic. But how should the preverbal subjects in our thetic GPCs be described in terms of focus structure? I take this up in 4.10.6.2, where I will argue against the idea that the subject is moved into a preverbal narrow focus position (or moved forward in order to emphasize it), but that, instead, the template *S...V* is simply a generic marker of discontinuity.

4.10.4 The position of adverbial phrases, especially locatives and temporals

So far, little has been said about the position of adverbial phrases in thetics, something we will now briefly consider. Besides the typical locative and temporal phrases, I have in mind here possessive locative phrases, source and goal locatives (e.g. 'from the heart come evil

thoughts', Mat 15:19), and pre-nuclear subordinate clauses that are sentence-initial.[434] (I am thus using the term 'adverbial' somewhat loosely, as some of these phrases are really oblique arguments.) My discussion here is restricted to a sample set of tokens, ones with *finite forms* of εἰμί and γίνομαι (see tables in §4.2.5.2) and the 'selected verbs' (Table 15). Perception reports and ἰδού clauses are not included since they follow different rules.

As it turns out, some of the most interesting facts concern the position of such adverbials in relation to the subject when both occur in the *postverbal area.* But before getting to that, let's first consider some general facts about the sample set.

In most tokens, the adverbials clearly hold a **topical** relation to the assertion. This is so when they refer to (i) active entities (e.g. when pronominal) or to (ii) identifiable entities that are discourse-old or inferrable from the context. **Luk 10:39** and **Act 21:23** illustrate respectively pre- and postverbal dative possessive pronouns, and **Act 6:1** and **Act 8:1** illustrate pre- and postverbal temporals. Without getting into the details, I will assume with Levinsohn that the preverbal forms (as 'points of departure') generally indicate more discontinuity and are the primary basis for relating what follows to the context (§3.3.1).

Luk 10:39 καὶ **τῇδε**   ἦν   ἀδελφὴ καλουμένη Μαριάμ,
           and to.her.D.s.f 3S.was sister being.called Mary

NRS: [38] …he entered a certain village, where a woman named Martha welcomed him into her home. [39] She had a sister named Mary, who…

Act 21:23 εἰσὶν **ἡμῖν** ἄνδρες   τέσσαρες   εὐχὴν ἔχοντες   ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν.
           3P.are to.us.D men.N.p.m four.N.p.m vow.A having.Prs.act.N.p.m on themselves

NAS: Therefore do this that we tell you. We have four men who are under a vow;…

Act 6:1 **Ἐν δὲ   ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν** ἐγένετο
         in now the days   these   increasing.G the disciples.G 3S.happened

         γογγυσμὸς τῶν   Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς   τοὺς Ἑβραίους,
         complaint by.the Hellenists against the Hebrews

NRS: Now during those days, when the disciples were increasing in number, the Hellenists complained against the Hebrews because their widows were being neglected…

Act 8:1 Ἐγένετο   δὲ   ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωγμὸς   μέγας
         3S. happened and in that   the day   persecution great

         ἐπὶ   τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις,
         against the church   the in Jerusalem

NRS: And Saul approved of their killing him. ¶ That day a severe persecution began against the church in Jerusalem,…

(iii) Only rarely is the entity unidentifiable, as in Luk 18:2 (κριτής τις ἦν ἔν τινι πόλει 'there was a judge *in a certain city*') discussed in §4.2.4, etc. (see also 'to a certain creditor', Luk 7:41; 'to any man', Mat 18:2). Although some might dispute their information status, I assumed in §4.2.4 that they are accommodated topic expressions.

(iv) The information status of adverbials like 'immediately' and 'suddenly' is at times less clear to me. If taken as deictics meaning 'at that time' or 'then', they seem analogous to topical temporals. Alternatively, they could be viewed as aspectual verb modifiers and this

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[434] Pre-nuclear subordinate clauses are always temporal in my sample. For that matter, most preverbal adverbials are temporal. This makes sense because most tokens occur in narrative.

would suggest they belong to the focus domain.[435] In any case, I have included tokens with them in my counts.[436] Usually they occur right before or after the verb, but in **Mrk 14:43**, what is presumably a second temporal point of departure intervenes. (See also Act 16:26, *'suddenly'–S–V….*)

Mrk 14:43 Καὶ **εὐθὺς** ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος <u>παραγίνεται</u> Ἰούδας κτλ
    and immediately while he speaking 3S.arrives Judas

   NRS: <u>Immediately,</u> while he was still speaking, Judas, one of the twelve, arrived;…

Finally, there are a few heavy tokens where one could argue that an adverbial is unpredictable and therefore focal. This would be so for 'until the ninth hour' in **Mrk 15:33**. As illustrated by the REB (also GNT and CEV), it is readily paraphrased as a subsequent predication.

Mrk 15:33 Καὶ γενομένης ὥρας ἕκτης *σκότος* <u>ἐγένετο</u>
    and having.become.G hour.G sixth.G darkness 3S.happened

   ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν **ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης.**
   over whole the land until hour ninth

   RSV: And when the sixth hour had come, there was darkness over the whole land <u>until the ninth hour.</u>

   REB: At midday a darkness fell over the whole land, <u>which lasted till three in the afternoon</u>

To begin to get a handle on the data, I threw out for the time being tokens in my sample with more than one adverbial (including heavy ones like Mrk 15:33) or a split subject ($S_1...V...S_2$ tokens),[437] and then I sorted the remaining 'light' tokens. As Table 17 shows, the adverbial is usually postverbal (63 tokens). But if it is preverbal, the subject is usually postverbal (20 tokens).

Table 17. 'Light' thetics from the sample set

	Postverbal <u>A</u>dverbial			Preverbal <u>A</u>dverbial		
	V<u>S</u><u>A</u>	V<u>AS</u>	SV<u>A</u>	<u>A</u>VS	<u>A</u>SV	S<u>A</u>V[438]
subtotals	27	22	14	20	6	3
	63 postverbal A			*26 clause-initial A*		*3 other*

It is noteworthy that *VSA* tokens (27) number only a bit more than *VAS* ones (22). From a theoretical perspective, we might have expected there to be no *VAS* thetics. Lambrecht (2000:656-9) has noted that, given the strong syntactic relationship between the subject and verb in sentence-focus thetic constructions (analogous to the strong syntactic relationship that holds between object and verb in predicate-focus constructions), some languages do not allow for elements, such as adverbials, to intervene.

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[435] In any case, I have not included tokens like 1Co 16:2 for discussion here, since τότε 'then' is an instance of constituent-focus.

[436] Whether topical or focal, one might expect that they can often be emphatic.

[437] There are seven $S_1...V...S_2$ tokens with an adverbial somewhere in the clause.

[438] In two *SAV* tokens, *A* appears to involve anaphoric contrast: Act 2:43 ('through the apostles' vs. 'to every person'); Act 16:9 (the vision occurring 'to Paul' apparently contrasts with other revelations to the group as a whole in vv 6-7). In the third *SAV* token, Rom 11:25, *A* appears to involve cataphoric contrast ('Israel' vs. 'Gentiles'). Outside of my sample, I have found a few more *SAV* tokens. Contrast is irrelevant to the topical adverbials in the non-finite clauses in Luk 3:22 ('out of heaven'), Act 28:3 ('from the heat'), and 2Co 2:12 ('to me'). 'Still' in participial Jhn 20:1 is in the focus domain. Finite Mat 2:18 is a LXX quote and reflects the Hebrew order. I have not included likely cases of constituent-focus (Luk 15:7 and 1Co 11:19), where the adverbial's position may be automatic (see Levinsohn's principle (1.1) in §3.3.3).

NTG, in contrast, allows at least one intervening topical constituent. This is illustrated not only by the 22 *VAS* light tokens, but also by the heavier tokens, Act 21:23 (ἡμῖν 'to us') and Act 8:1 ('on that day') illustrated above. Given the strong tendency in Greek for pronouns to follow the verb (i.e. postpositive behavior, §3.3.3), maybe we should not be surprised by the short pronominal 'intruders' or even by intruding lexical NPs when fully activated. But tokens like **Jhn 5:2** show that even a long (compound?) constituent with a discourse-new element may intervene. 'Jerusalem' is active, but 'the Sheep Gate', which would be inferentially identifiable,[439] is discourse-new.

Jhn 5:2   ἔστιν δὲ   **ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ** *κολυμβήθρα*
            3S.is now in   –   Jerusalem   at   the Sheep.Gate pool

            ἡ   ἐπιλεγομένη   Ἑβραϊστὶ   Βηθζαθὰ   πέντε στοὰς   ἔχουσα.
            the.one being.called in.Hebrew Bethzatha five   porches having

            NRS: [1] After this… Jesus went up to Jerusalem. [2] Now <u>in Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate</u> there is a pool, called in Hebrew Beth-zatha, which has five porticoes.

So we may ask, what accounts for the different orders, *SA* and *AS*, in the postverbal area? To gain more perspective, I studied not only the light clauses represented in the above table (27 *VSA* and 22 *VAS*), but also the tokens in my sample with more than one adverbial (including heavy ones) and with split subjects ($S_1...V...S_2$). The results (for a total of 70 tokens) are represented in Table 18. They are sorted according to entity type ('1oe'=first order entity or 'other'), persistence, and constituent order ('#' = end of clause).

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[439] For readers well acquainted with Jerusalem, the gate would be hearer-old, but for those who were not, it would be inferentially identifiable (people know that cities have gates). That one would be named 'the Sheep Gate' would have to be instantly accommodated as uniquely identifiable.

Table 18. 'Sample' tokens, including light and complex ones

		…V…S…A#	**…V…A…S#**
persists as **argument**	1oe	7 (3 with τις)	20
	other	3	2
	subtotals	**10 tokens**[440]	**22 tokens**[441]
persists as **proposition**	1oe	1	–
	other	9	1
	subtotals	**10 tokens**[442]	**1 tokens**[443]
no **persistence**	1oe	4	2
	other	18	3
	subtotals	**22 tokens**[444]	**5 tokens**[445]
	totals	*42*	*28*

This table reveals some noteworthy tendencies. One of the strongest tendencies occurs with thetic subjects expressing *first order entities* that will persist as an argument (e.g. subject, object, etc.) in a SP (=subsequent predication). They tend to come clause finally (*…V…A…S#*), that is, right before their SP. This was illustrated by 'pool' in Jhn 5:2 above. But if an entity (first, second, or third order) will only persist as a proposition or if it will not persist at all, then *…V…S…A#* is preferred. In fact, the subject usually comes immediately after the verb, as in **Luk 4:36**, which illustrates zero persistence, and **Jhn 18:39**, which illustrates propositional persistence. In only a few cases does something slip between the verb and subject, such as a topical lexical phrase or postpositive pronoun.[446] In fact, topical pronominal elements even occasionally *follow* the subject, as illustrated here by ὑμῖν 'to.you' in Jhn 18:39 (see also σοι 'to.you' in Luk 1:14 and πρὸς αὐτόν 'to him' in Act 10:13). While this behavior would appear to be contrary to the normal postpositive behavior of pronouns, it is in harmony with Lambrecht's above-mentioned point how the tight syntactic relationship between the subject and verb in thetic constructions *resists* intruders.

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[440] *…V…S…A#,* persists as an *argument: 1oe:* Mrk 12:18; Luk 6:6; Luk 8:49; Jhn 5:5; Jhn 6:9; Act 9:10; Rev 14:20 (if 'up to the bridles of the horses' is really a SP). *Other (all 2oe)*: Mat 24:7 and Mrk 13:8 (questionable persistence, ταῦτα 'these'); Rev 11:15 ('voices' persists both as argument of 'saying' and propositionally!).

[441] *…V…A…S#,* persists as an *argument: 1oe:* Mat 12:11; Mat 15:30; Mat 18:12; Mat 22:25; Mat 26:7; Mrk 1:40; Mrk 3:1; Mrk 9:4; Mrk 11:27; Luk 1:11; Luk 2:13; Luk 8:19; Luk 22:43; Jhn 2:6; Jhn 5:2; Jhn 19:41; Act 2:3 ('tongues of fire' is presumably first order since it can be seen); Act 13:1; Act 21:23; 2Co 9:4. *Other (all 2oe):* Mat 24:21; Act 2:2.

[442] *…V…S…A#,* persists as a *proposition: 1oe:* Luk 23:38 ('inscription'). *Other (mostly 2oe):* Mrk 9:7; Luk 22:24; Jhn 7:12; Jhn 18:39; Act 10:13; Act 12:18; Act 19:34; Rev 12:3; Rev 12:7.

[443] *…V…A…S#,* persists as a *proposition, Other (2oe):* Act 10:10.

[444] *…V…S…A#, no* persistence, *1oe*: Jhn 6:10 ('much grass'); Act 18:10 ('many…people'); Act 20:8 ('many lamps'); 2Pe 2:1 ('false prophets'). *2oe:* Luk 1:14; Luk 1:65 (split locative); Luk 4:25; Luk 4:36; Luk 14:10; Luk 15:10; Luk 15:14; Luk 21:23; Luk 21:25; Act 5:5; Act 5:11; Act 5:12; Act 8:1 (?); Act 8:8; Act 19:23 (?); 1Co 12:25; Rev 16:2. *3oe:* Act 13:15 ('an encouraging message').

[445] *…V…A…S#, no* persistence: Luk 9:28 (? maybe ἐγένετο really means 'it happened that'; 2oe 'about eight days'); Jhn 19:34 (1oe 'blood and water'; if the adverbial 'immediately' counts as an aspectual verb modifier, then the clause could be viewed as *VS* rather than *VAS*); Act 2:43 (2oe 'awe'); Act 25:5 (split subject, ? 3oe 'something wrong with a person'); Rom 9:9 (1oe 'son'; this marked order is an exact quote of LXX Gen 18:14, which paraphrases Gen 18:10).

[446] Of the 32 *…V…S…A#* tokens where the thetic subject entity does not persist as an argument (i.e. the 10 persisting as a proposition plus the 22 lacking persistence), in only 6 does an element other than a postpositive conjunction (e.g. δέ) intrude between *V* and *S*. In 3, the element is a topical pronominal element (Luk 14:10 σοι 'to.you'; Act 13:15 ἐν ὑμῖν 'among you'; Act 18:10 possessive μοι 'to.me'). Twice it is a topical temporal (Act 8:1; Act 19:23), and one involves a split topical NP (Luk 1:65 ἐπὶ πάντας *Subject* τοὺς περιοικοῦντας αὐτούς 'upon all *Subject* the.ones living.around them').

Luk 4:36   καὶ <u>ἐγένετο</u>   *θάμβος* **ἐπὶ** **πάντας**
            and 3S.happened fear   upon everyone

nab: [Jesus healed a possessed person.] [36] And amazement came <u>upon everyone</u> and they kept saying to one another, "…With authority…he commands even evil spirits,…"

Jhn 18:39   <u>ἔστιν</u> δέ *συνήθεια* **ὑμῖν** ἵνα ἕνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα·
            3S.is but custom   to.you that one I.may.release to.you during the Passover

NRS: But <u>you</u> have a custom that I release someone for you at the Passover.

All this suggests something approaching a **rule**: *If an entity will persist as an* **argument** *in its first SP, then the thetic subject normally comes finally in its clause.*[447] (The SPs come in several varieties: many are anarthrous participial clauses, one arthrous, e.g. Jhn 5:2 above, a couple verbless, several are conjoined finite clauses, etc.)

But, as Table 18 shows, there are exceptions to this rule. Apparently, other competing factors can override it.

One competing factor is clear (and expected). Subjects involving τις (especially when singular) behave like postpositives. This is illustrated by **Jhn 5:5** (also Luk 8:49 and Act 9:10).[448]

Jhn 5:5   <u>ἦν</u>   δέ τις   *ἄνθρωπος* **ἐκεῖ**
           3S.was and a.certain man   there

           τριάκοντα (καὶ) ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ αὐτοῦ·
           thirty   and   eight years having in the sickness his

NRS: <u>Beside the pool [Greek='there']</u> was a man who had been sick for 38 years.

There might be good explanations for other apparent exceptions (e.g. see comments in footnote 445 on *…V…<u>A</u>…S#* tokens lacking persistence). But other exceptions to my rule represented in the table are harder to explain. For example, I cannot think of a reason why the thetic subject would not come finally in two tokens following with a relative clause SP, as illustrated by **Jhn 6:9** (and Mrk 12:18).

Jhn 6:9   Ἔστιν *παιδάριον* **ὧδε** ὃς ἔχει πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους καὶ δύο ὀψάρια·
           3S.is young.boy here who 3S.has five loaves barley   and two fish

NRS: There is a boy <u>here</u> who has five barley loaves and two fish.

If time allowed, I would increase my database to make a fuller investigation. I would also study to see if the position of focal (thetic-like) objects is influenced by persistence type.

4.10.5 Presence and absence of the definite article with thetic subjects

In this section, we take up issues relating to the presence and absence of the definite article with subjects expressing unidentifiable and identifiable entities, especially proper names.

As assumed in §3.3.4, of the different uses of the article, one of the most basic is to indicate that a nominal refers to an identifiable entity. Thetics introducing an identifiable entity by means of a **common noun** are no different in this regard. When an entity is introduced by means of a common noun that is *anarthrous,* as in **Jhn 12:29**, then the entity is

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[447] So there seems to be a special syntactic relation between a thetic subject and its SP when the entity is expressed as an argument in the SP. Note that this rule does not apply to thetics with preverbal subjects. As amply illustrated in this study, thetic subjects may be preverbal even when they persist as arguments.

[448] In contrast, Act 13:15 and Act 25:5, both with the order S_1VAS_2, where S_1 is τις, are no problem for my rule.

normally taken to be unidentifiable—'an angel' in this case. But if it is arthrous, as in **Jhn 11:28**, the entity is identifiable—'the teacher' (see also Luk 15:27 and Jhn 12:15).

Jhn 12:29 Ἄγγελος αὐτῷ λελάληκεν.
           an.angel to.him has.spoken

           NRS: [To explain a sound from the sky] others said, <u>"An angel has spoken to him."</u>

Jhn 11:28 Ὁ διδάσκαλος πάρεστιν καὶ φωνεῖ σε.
           the teacher 3S.is.here and 3S.calls you

           NRS: [Martha calls her sister Mary,] <u>"The Teacher is here</u> and is calling for you."

I have chosen the above examples because the subjects are preverbal. As we saw in §3.3.4, constituents in the preverbal focus position are often anarthrous even when they refer to identifiable entities. But this rule *seldom* seems relevant to common nouns in thetics (possible exceptions will be mentioned below). This makes sense if we assume the need to distinguish identifiable and unidentifiable entities from each other is greater for entities being introduced via thetics *and which therefore often have no history in the discourse* than for entities occurring in other focus constructions and that are typically already established in the discourse.

Proper names behave differently. Since a name has uniquely identifiable reference (much like a deictic expression, Anderson 2004:437-9, 444), the article is not needed to indicate identifiability. So it is noteworthy that in virtually all unambiguous thetics in the NT where the subject is a proper name, the name is anarthrous, whether it is *preverbal* or *postverbal*. A few exceptions or borderline cases are taken up below. Another set of 'exceptions' involves object complement clauses in perception reports, but these involve multiple perspectives; see the discussion of Mat 8:14 and Mrk 14:67 in §5.3.1.

Let's first consider some straightforward examples. Anarthrous names as thetic subjects are illustrated by two postverbal instances in **Mat 17:3** and two preverbal ones in **Luk 9:7-8** (the second token is heavy given the nominal 'dead').

Mat 17:3 καὶ ἰδοὺ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς **Μωϋσῆς** καὶ Ἠλίας συλλαλοῦντες μετ' αὐτοῦ.
        and behold 3S.appeared to.them Moses and Elijah talking with him

        NRS: [Jesus is on a high mountain with Peter, James and John…] Suddenly there appeared to them Moses and Elijah, talking with him.

Luk 9:7-8 **Ἰωάννης** ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν, ὑπό τινων δὲ ὅτι Ἠλίας ἐφάνη,
        John 3S.was.raised from dead by some also that Elijah 3S.appeared

        NRS: [7] [Having heard about Jesus, Herod was perplexed], because it was said by some that <u>John had been raised from the dead,</u> [8] by some that <u>Elijah had appeared,</u>…

Now we may ask, what precisely is the significance of the anarthrous marking of names in thetics? As we saw in §3.3.4, three different discourse-pragmatic categories coincided with the anarthrous marking of proper names and common nouns referring to identifiable entities: (i) focus (especially in preverbal position), (ii) (re)activation of an identifiable entity by name, and (iii) discourse prominence (especially for topical entities). The last category seems least relevant to thetics, since in the clearest instances of such discourse prominence the entities are topical. But the other two categories, (i) focus and (ii) activation, both seem to apply, as illustrated in the last two examples.[449]

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[449] That anarthrous marking coincides with two such categories is not that surprising. The situation is somewhat analogous to how, in English, sentence accents may coincide with both focus and topic expressions (§2.2.6.3), not to mention emotive emphasis.

Still, there is one context where (ii) activation does not apply, at least not without redefinition. Consider **Mat 20:30**, which, as a ὅτι perception report, involves more than one perspective. Since 'Jesus' is on stage, he does not need to be activated for the audience (i.e. the reader). It is only for the two blind men that 'Jesus' is being activated. But from their perspective, the report is also thetic, since Jesus' coming is newsworthy. In Chapter 5, which is dedicated to such perception reports, I will argue that an anarthrous name (especially with this order) indicates embedded thetic construal for the perceivers.

Mat 20:30 καὶ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι **Ἰησοῦς** παράγει,   ἔκραξαν   λέγοντες, κτλ
           and having.heard that Jesus   3S.is.passing.by 3P.cried.out saying

> RSV: [29] And as [Jesus and the disciples] went out of Jericho, a great crowd followed him. [30] And behold, two blind men sitting by the roadside, when they heard <u>that Jesus was passing by,</u> cried out, "Have mercy on us, Son of David!"

We may therefore wish to take such anarthrous marking of names as evidence for focality and theticity, and we might be tempted also to take the presence of the article for names that can lose it as evidence for topicality. But given the other functions of anarthrous marking (activation and prominence) and other idiosyncrasies of Greek names, the matter is not straightforward.[450]

For more anarthrous names in thetics, see Mat 3:1 (‖Mrk 1:4); Mat 28:9 (with ἰδού); Mrk 1:9 (heavy); Mrk 14:43; Mrk 15:43; Act 7:20; 1Co 16:10. (Mat 1:16 might fit here, although a constituent-focus interpretation of anarthrous 'Jesus' may be preferred.)

In what follows, I will sketch the behavior of a few names and unique titles. Some suggest a mixed picture.

'**Satan**'—Since this name is declinable, the article is unexpected in **Mrk 4:15** where everything else suggests a thetic reading (the clause is light, the state of affairs is sudden, and Satan is being introduced into the parable's exposition for the first time; he was last mentioned in 3:26). This behavior may suggest that Σατανᾶς functions for Mark as a common noun (e.g. 'the accuser/slanderer'). For other possible thetics where this name is arthrous, see Jhn 13:27 and Luk 10:18 (a perception report). In Luk 22:3 alone is 'Satan' anarthrous (the clause is heavy). That ὁ διάβολος 'the Devil' in Luk 8:12 is arthrous is expected: 'devil' is a common noun.

Mrk 4:15 εὐθὺς   ἔρχεται   ὁ **Σατανᾶς** καὶ αἴρει τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον
           immediately comes   the Satan   and takes the word   the having.been.sown

> NRS: [13] …"Do you not understand this parable?… [14] The sower sows the word. [15] These are the ones on the path where the word is sown: when they hear, <u>Satan immediately comes</u> and takes away the word that is sown in them.…"

The use of the article with **κύριος 'lord'** is very complex (BDF §254.1). Typically, κύριος in the LXX and NT 'translates' the unpronounceable Hebrew name of God, 'YHWH', and ὁ κύριος most typically in the NT is a title (as a common noun) and so is used for especially Jesus. Therefore, assuming ὁ κύριος in **Act 23:11** refers to Jesus and not YHWH, there is nothing unusual about the presence of the article if this participial clause is read as thetic (Jesus appears in a night vision to Paul who is in custody).

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[450] Compare parallel Mrk 1:9 (Ἰησοῦς) and Mat 3:13 (ὁ Ἰησοῦς). The latter may indicate either that 'Jesus' is sufficiently active or topic, or both. The former is at least functionally thetic (both clauses are heavy). Compare also Jhn 20:19 (the best manuscripts have ὁ Ἰησοῦς) and Jhn 20:24 (most manuscripts have Ἰησοῦς), both of which concern Jesus' resurrection appearance; in the former, ὁ Ἰησοῦς is probably best viewed as topic.

Act 23:11 Τῇ   δὲ   ἐπιούσῃ   νυκτὶ ἐπιστὰς   αὐτῷ   ὁ   κύριος | εἶπεν,
          on.the and following night having.stood by.him the Lord   3S.said

> NRS: That night the Lord stood near him and said, "Keep up your courage! For just as you have testified for me in Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also in Rome."

'The hand of the Lord' (i.e. God's power)—It is a fact that both nouns in this phrase are always anarthrous in the UBS NT (and almost always in the LXX). So the absence of the article tells us nothing about the focus structure of **Luk 1:66**. But as argued in §4.10.3.5.2, a thetic reading is reasonable. See also Act 11:21 and Act 13:11, as well as '(the) voice of (the) Lord' in Act 7:31 (clearly thetic). **'Power'** (δύναμις) in similar phrases may also be identifiable, as in Luk 1:35 (illustrated below) and Luk 5:17 (compare also anarthrous δύναμις in Luk 6:19 with arthrous τὴν…δύναμιν in the perception report in ||Mrk 5:30; both involve theticity at some level).

Luk 1:66   καὶ   γὰρ **χεὶρ κυρίου** ἦν   μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
          indeed for hand of.Lord 3S.was with him

> NRS: All who heard them pondered them and said, "What then will this child become?" <u>For, indeed, the hand of the Lord was with him.</u>

The Sun—Given its unique reference, it qualifies as a proper name. But see §4.8.2 on how it is arthrous in thetics except in the one token where it occurs preverbally.

The Holy Spirit—This title may be either arthrous or anarthrous. As Levinsohn has shown (1993, 2000:161-3), anarthrous instances are often focal, whether they occur preverbally or postverbally. In the most likely candidates as thetics that are not perception reports, this title is also anarthrous (again, in perception reports, it is usually arthrous; e.g. Mrk 1:10, Jhn 1:32-33; see also infinitival Luk 3:10). **Luk 1:35** (repeated from §4.2.2) illustrates two thetics. See also Luk 2:25 (given the identifiable subject, this is a true predicate locative) and Luk 4:18 (εἰμί is unexpressed).

Luk 1:35   **Πνεῦμα ἅγιον** ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ   σὲ
          Spirit   Holy   3S.will.come upon you

          καὶ **δύναμις ὑψίστου**   ἐπισκιάσει   σοι·
          and power   of.Most.High 3S.will.overshadow you

> NRS: [34] Mary said to the angel, "How can this be, since I am a virgin?" [35] The angel said to her, "<u>The Holy Spirit will come upon you,</u> <u>and the power of the Most High will overshadow you;</u> therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God.…"

To conclude, anarthrous marking of subject proper names (both pre- and postverbal) *can be* evidence for both focality and theticity. But given the other functions of anarthrous marking (activation and prominence) and other idiosyncrasies of Greek names, the correlation between theticity and anarthrous marking is imperfect.

4.10.6 Summary discussion: systematic motivations for the different orders

4.10.6.1 A synopsis: seven observations on constituent order in thetics

The preceding discussion can be summarized by the following observations:

- Observation 1. *V…S* is the default order for thetic clauses in most environments. Defined negatively, *V...S* is preferred in contexts lacking certain elements (e.g. contrast, surprise, etc.). Defined positively, this order is preferred in the following environments:

Discourse environments: The thetic *prototypically* introduces something into an established scene, which in turn sets the stage for what is to come. So there is typically a significant amount of discourse continuity, both anaphorically and cataphorically, despite the fact that the thetic itself introduces something new.

Syntactic environments: V...S appears to be default (i) when the thetic is itself a relative clause or (ii) when it introduces an unidentifiable entity (especially times) and the first subsequent predication is a relative clause (e.g. 'Days are coming when you will…'). *V...S* is preferred for certain 'existential' clause types not treated in this study, such as in (non-negated) partitive εἰμί clauses followed by a relative clause.

- Obs. 2. *S...V* is the default for thetics that (2.a) follow ἰδού 'behold' and (2.b) that occur as participial object complement clauses of perception verbs (see details in Chapters 5 and 6). The same order seems to be the default in (2.c) thetic ὅτι perception reports (§5.5).

- Obs. 3. *S...V* is the default for thetics occurring discourse-initially that make a fresh start and do not involve an established setting. This rule applies to 'heavy' thetics too.

- Obs. 4. In most other environments, *S...V* is a pragmatically marked order in contrast to default *V...S*. It is preferred for thetics where:

    4.a. The subject contrasts with or parallels something in the anaphoric context or (less frequently) in the cataphoric context;

    4.b. The thetic explains or elaborates on something in the anaphoric context;

    4.c. The thetic is especially surprising or otherwise emotively emphatic ($S_1...V...S_2$ may occur if the subject is complex).

- Obs. 5. The above observations generally apply to thetic *participial clauses* as well. But constituent order in pre-nuclear genitive participial clauses ('GPCs'), especially with γίνομαι, can have a more generic function. *V...S* is the default and *S...V* is a generic indicator of a significant discourse discontinuity: either the discourse is turning to (a) something more significant (a crescendo effect), or (b) to something new, in which case a relatively significant juncture has been reached. As is often the case with subordinate clauses, the information structure of such GPCs has two construals. Internally, they have thetic function, but, externally, they function as topical circumstantial adverbials to their main clause.

- Obs. 6. When *adverbials* (locatives, temporals, and oblique arguments) occur in thetics, they may be preverbal as topical points of departure. When both the subject and an adverbial occur in the *postverbal* area and the subject's entity persists as an *argument* in its subsequent predication, the default position of the thetic subject is clause final. (Observation 6 does not apply to perception reports, ἰδού clauses, or discourse-initial thetics.)

- Obs. 7. *The definite article.* Thetic subjects that are *common nouns* are anarthrous when unidentifiable but arthrous when identifiable, whether the subject is pre- or postverbal (this is noteworthy, since preverbal focal constituents with identifiable reference are, as a rule, anarthrous). If the thetic subject is a *proper name,* it will be anarthrous (this does not apply to some names), and this is so, again, whether comes pre- or postverbally. Thus, anarthrous marking of names can be evidence for focality and theticity.

It is unlikely that either my seven observations here or the longer discussion before it will be the last word on constituent order of NTG thetics. There are no doubt other ways of looking at the data. In fact, some of my factors (e.g. contrast, surprise) may be *etic* instances

of an overarching *emic* category. For example, perhaps anaphoric contrast and anaphoric explanation are really the same phenomenon.

Another obvious weakness in my observations is that they cannot fully predict all forms. The problem at hand is somewhat like trying to predict the weather. The weatherman can identify specific factors that are typically present for a weather pattern, but given certain unknown factors, he is unable to forecast the weather with 100% precision. Similarly, we can identify specific discourse factors that are typically present for a linguistic form, but given certain complexities or unknown factors, we cannot yet predict all forms.[451] This sort of dilemma seems to be the status quo for languages with relatively free constituent order, and probably also to some extent for all languages. Real life is complicated.

4.10.6.2 The focus structure of Greek thetics: the different orders and the systematic motivations for each

Despite the above-mentioned uncertainties, we are still in a position to make some claims about the focus structure of NTG thetics.

Recall the templates presented at the end of §3.3.3, which are repeated here:

(237)   *H. Dik:* Setting – P1:Topic – PØ:Focus – Verb – X:pragmatically unmarked area

(238)   *Matić:* Frame Setting Topic(s)[452] – [Verb] – Continuous Topic – [Focal Material]

   (*Note:* [Verb+Focal Material] = Broad Focus)

H. Dik had hoped by a single template to account for the information structure of all declarative clauses in Herodotus. But she admitted that 'presentative' εἰμί clauses (our εἰμί thetics) with *V...S* order were problematic for her theory, because their subjects were informationally 'new' and thus focal (1995:221-35). So she attempted to salvage the single-template-system by explaining εἰμί as a *topical verb* (pp. 207-35) that was assigned to P1, in which case the focal subject would land in PØ. But she seemed to realize that this analysis too was questionable (see §3.3.3 on the weaknesses of her analysis).

Levinsohn and Matić, in contrast, have recognized the need for more than one template (see Levinsohn's different templates, i.e. 'principles', in §3.3.3). Matić explicitly states, and Levinsohn implies, that different templates are needed for 'narrow focus' (i.e. constituent-focus) and for 'broad focus' (i.e. a focus domain that harbors more than one constituent; Levinsohn actually uses the term '(topic-) comment', which is essentially the same as Matić's 'broad focus'). Matić (2003a:626), in fact, concludes that for Classical Greek, at least three templates are required: one for broad focus, one for preverbal narrow focus, and one for postverbal narrow focus. Moreover, as both Levinsohn and Matić recognize, a broad focus domain (alias focal 'comment') can be broken up by an intervening topical constituent (e.g. Matić's 'Continuous Topic' and Levinsohn's unmarked topical constituent).

Thus, a template like Matić's above accounts for the thetics in my data with a postverbal subject, that is, tokens represented schematically by (239) below (both the verb and subject are part of a broad focus domain); this would also cover tokens where a topical adverbial intervenes between the verb and subject. Nevertheless, neither Matić's template nor (239) account for the *S...V* thetics we have encountered (recall that Matić had no ready explanation why thetic subjects could be both pre- and postverbal; p. 586). Nor are *S...V* thetics covered

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[451] See Tomlin's (1995:541-2) discussion on the difference between 'actuarial versus individuated prediction' in relation to the weather and in identifying factors that fully account for linguistic phenomena involving attention.

[452] For all practical purposes, Matić's 'Frame Setting Topic' is equal to Levinsohn's topical point of departure and Matić's 'Continuous Topic' is equal to Levinsohn's unmarked topical constituent in his Principle (1).

by a template like Dik's above or a comparable one proposed by Matić with a preverbal narrow focus position. The preverbal thetic subject is neither an instance of narrow focus (constituent-focus) nor a sentence topic. So another template, something like (240), is needed. In harmony with our definition of a sentence-focus thetic construction, both (239) and (240) have a broad focus domain, encompassing both subject and verb.

(239)   …[Verb – ($X_{TOP'L}$) – Subject]$_{FD}$…

(240)   …[Subject – ($X_{TOP'L}$) – Verb]$_{FD}$…

Now, what is noteworthy is that some thetics having structure (240)—namely those with contrastive subjects or involving surprise or emotive emphasis (i.e. Observation 4.a and 4.c.)—are reminiscent of certain focal structures of non-thetics. I have in mind preverbal focal elements that were contrastive or emotively emphatic and that nonetheless belonged to a larger focus domain (e.g. part of a broad focus). Examples illustrated in §3.3.2 included focal objects in particular.[453] As I argued there (based on claims or data presented by Pike and Levinsohn for Koine and Davidson and Matić for Classical), there is a strong tendency for focal objects to be *preverbal* when contrastive, emotively emphatic, or in some other sense salient, but otherwise, focal objects strongly tend to be *postverbal.* I will also give evidence in the next chapter that this applies equally to focal objects of perception verbs.

With these facts in mind, we can underscore a systematic harmony in the way some types of focal material, including focal objects and thetic subjects, react to the pragmatic factors of contrast and emotive emphasis. These facts, in turn, would seem to support Lambrecht's prediction (2000) that across languages thetic subjects in sentence-focus constructions behave like focal objects in predicate-focus constructions (see §2.2.3).[454] Table 19 summarizes this harmony (note that the verb in *marked-Focal-Object—Verb* is usually, but not always, outside of the focus domain, but in *Verb—Focal-Object* it is usually inside of it):

Table 19. Harmony in the way thetic subjects and focal objects behave

	marked construction	*unmarked construction*
thetic	marked-Thetic-Subject – Verb	Verb – Thetic-Subject
other	marked-Focal-Object – Verb	Verb – Focal-Object

Moreover, this harmony underscores another reason why thetics with *V…S* order in most environments must be the default order (Obs. 1). The unmarked thetic subject is behaving like an unmarked focal object.

Finally, there appears to be another prominent systematic harmony, namely that contrastive thetic subjects appear to be treated in the same way as contrastive topics: both tend to come preverbally. But more research is needed to substantiate the details of this claim. This fact may be related to the fact that *X…V* clauses (especially where X is subject) tend to occur in more discontinuous contexts, not just for thetics (as I have claimed), but also for topic-comment assertions (as Levinsohn has claimed; see discussion of ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ 'his mother' in Luk 1:59-65, §3.3.1).

Now several types of thetics we encountered are not covered by the binary distinction of pragmatically marked versus unmarked thetics in Table 19. Thetics not covered include *S…V* tokens in anaphoric explanations (Obs. 4.b) as well as the pre-nuclear genitive participial type

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[453] As Lambrecht argues (2000:611, 616, 619, and 1994:131-6), in a predicate-focus sentence (alias 'topic-comment' structure), which is the unmarked information structure, the subject prototypically expresses the topic and the predicate expresses the focus domain. Thus, when the predicate contains an object, it too is prototypically in the focus domain (in fact, the object is 'the prototypical focus constituent'; 2000:627).

[454] But as shown in §4.10.5, this harmony does not extend to the use of the article with focal identifiable entities.

that signal a significant discontinuity in the discourse (Obs. 5). There seems little sense in appealing to contrast or some kind of saliency to explain these preverbal subjects. Instead, I take *S…V* order to be a generic means to indicate discourse discontinuity. In other words, since *V…S* is prototypically used for relatively continuous situations, *S…V* is available as the paradigmatic alternative to indicate discontinuity.

And what about thetics under Observations 2 and 3, that is, (i) discourse-initial thetics, (ii) thetics in perception reports,[455] and (iii) thetics with ἰδού 'behold' (i.e. deictic thetics)? I argued that *S…V* is a default order for all three. The subjects are not pragmatically marked— they seldom if ever involve contrast or emphasis (although surprise is relevant to some ἰδού tokens). Is there a functional explanation for *S…V* in these? Whether or not it is a coincidence, all three often require the hearer to create a new mental space. This is certainly so where a new discourse is beginning and it is probably always so whenever the hearer is being invited to perceive a state of affairs from the perspective of a discourse internal participant (but it is not clear to me if it is so for all ἰδού thetics). Besides that, there is an obvious resemblance between ἰδού deictic thetics and perception reports—the most basic types involve physical sight (see the introduction in §2.4 and see §5). Finally, for what it's worth, discourse-initial tokens can be viewed as cases that totally lack anaphoric continuity.

Whether or not it is right to seek a common trait for (i), (ii), and (iii), it is clear that they represent a very different system. The two systems are schematically contrasted as follows:

Table 20. Two systems: unmarked and marked orders

	unmarked	*marked*
System 1: *environments under Obs. 1, 4, and 5*	*V…S*	*S…V*
System 2: *environments under Obs. 2 and 3 (i.e. i, ii, and iii)*	*S…V*	*V…S*

So, there are at least two different systems at work in Greek that govern constituent order in thetics. They might be viewed as systems that are usually in complementary distribution, but which may sometimes compete with each other. In any case, the data presented in this chapter underscore the complexity of Classical and Koine Greek constituent order, and they suggest one reason why different scholars have at times made opposite claims for 'basic' constituent order in Greek (see e.g. Cervin 1993 on the different parties claiming either Subject-Verb or Verb-Subject as more 'basic').

To sum up, the foregoing discussion underscores the complexity of Greek constituent order, and it stands as a warning against overly simple solutions. There is good evidence that different systems with different unmarked orders have staked out different domains. Of the various criteria that have been identified which appear to influence or condition these orders, some are of syntactic (grammatical or formal) nature and others are of discourse-pragmatic nature. Many of the pragmatic factors that have been identified (contrast, emotive emphasis, surprise, discourse continuity) have been shown by others to influence constituent order in Greek in non-thetic clauses. And such factors are *not* of the pure information structure categories (topic, focus, activation) but concern other discourse-pragmatic categories. As Matić (2003a:573) correctly notes about Classical Greek, 'The strict one-to-one correspondence between word order and information structure, assumed for the languages labeled discourse configurational, thus turns out to be only one of the possible relationships between form and pragmatic content.'

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[455] Since the object complement type of perception report (ii) (but not the ὅτι type) is a non-finite subordinate clause type (with an accusative subject), it might be considered to belong to a system all its own, i.e. a subtype of the noun phrase.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: PERCEPTION REPORTS WITH THETIC-LIKE OBJECTS

> Καὶ εἶδον οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν.
> 'And I saw a new heaven and a new earth.' (Rev 21:1)

5.1 Introductory issues and the unmarked position of objects

Martin Johannessohn published three articles in 1937, 1939, and 1942 in the journal *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Göttingen). These articles primarily investigated two sets of conceptually related constructions in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX: (i) the first set of constructions involved various types of *Wahrnehmungssätze* ('perception sentences') with the verb 'see', and (ii) the second set involved sentences with וְהִנֵּה (*wə)hinnēh* 'behold' and (καὶ) ἰδού 'behold' (especially with the conjunctions).[456] Johannessohn's work shed light on (a) the way the different Hebrew constructions were rendered by the LXX translators, (b) the typical structures used for these constructions in both languages (including some of the syntactic and semantic restrictions on the verb and arguments), and (c) constituent order issues. Although he made many interesting observations, he was often unable to explain their significance.

In this and the next chapter, I have chosen much the same subject matter: Chapter 5 treats perception reports with thetic-like objects of perception verbs, especially ὁράω 'see' (including its suppleted forms, aorist εἶδον and future ὄψομαι); and Chapter 6 treats constructions with ἰδού/ἴδε 'behold! (look!)'. My contribution differs from Johannessohn's in that I explore these constructions in terms of information structure categories, including theticity. I also go beyond Johannessohn's casual comments on constituent order. As foreshadowed in §4.10.3.1 and §4.10.6.1 (Observation 2), I will claim that for some construction subtypes the order *S...V* is default and pragmatically neutral while *V...S* is marked. Similar claims also apply to most thetic ἰδού sentences with a finite verb, as will be shown in Chapter 6.

As Johannessohn recognized, these two different sets of constructions are obviously related, in both form and function. First, the deictic particles ἰδού and ἴδε 'behold' derive from aorist forms of ὁράω. Second, we note that both constructions are typically used to introduce new entities into the discourse from someone's perspective, typically (but not always) involving physical sight. Besides other reasons, ancient translators[457] and Gospel writers[458] sometimes even used these constructions interchangeably.

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[456] Similar constructions from other languages are also mentioned (e.g. from Classical Greek, Classical Arabic), especially from Bible translations (e.g. from certain Semitic and modern European languages). One can't help noticing that after Johannessohn's 1937 article, the Hebrew script was replaced by Latin script transcription, what is a sad testimony to the evil times his works were published in.

[457] See Johannessohn (1937:196-201) on how the Hebrew idiom וְהִנֵּה 'and behold', though often rendered by καὶ ἰδού in the LXX, is frequently rendered in some other way (or left untranslated), in which case it could involve a perception report with a participial complement (e.g. Gen 24:63; Jos 8:20). But Johannessohn (p. 152) notes Jdg 1:24 where a LXX manuscript (Rahlfs' 'B' version, based on Codex Vaticanus) actually inserts καὶ ἰδού into a perception report (the Masoretic Text lacks וְהִנֵּה). There are in fact other contexts where the LXX has καὶ ἰδού and the Masoretic Text lacks וְהִנֵּה (in narrative: Jdg 18:22; 2Ki 4:40; in non-narrative: Gen 32:7; Rut 2:13; etc.).

[458] Compare Mat 3:16 (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἠνεῴχθησαν [αὐτῷ] οἱ οὐρανοί [and behold 3P.were.opened.Aor to.him the.N heavens.N]) with the perception report in ‖Mrk 1:10 (εἶδεν σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς [3S.saw being.divided.A the.A heavens.A]).

Although the present chapter focuses on perception reports with the verb ὁράω 'see' (which are the most frequent, numbering over 300), my discussion will sometimes be supplemented by tokens of other perception verbs, such as ἀκούω 'hear' and several vision verbs.

This chapter builds on my introductory discussion of **perception reports** in §2.4.4. As explained there, my selection of tokens of perception reports is somewhat restricted (in comparison to Johannessohn's) in that I tend to avoid tokens where the object is *nothing* or the verb is irrealis (e.g. *hope to see*) or negated. The distinction I am making here for perception reports is similar to the one I made when distinguishing different types of *there+be* sentences in English, where only a subset were considered prototypical thetics (because they succeed in introducing something into the discourse), but others, while being 'existential in a broad sense', were in one way or another unlike prototypical thetics (because they were negated, or involved polar focus, etc.).

Before outlining the structure of this chapter, I will make some comments on the position of objects, both focal and non-focal, especially of ὁράω, and then introduce the main types of perception reports to be discussed in this chapter.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, there are at least two statements in the literature that can be interpreted in our terminology as claims that (for certain syntactic environments) (i) the unmarked position for focal objects is postverbal and that (ii) contrastive or emotively emphatic focal objects strongly tend to be preverbal. See §3.3.2.1 where I summarized such claims made by Pike (2000) for *The Book of Acts* and Davidson (1999) for Herodotus' *Histories*. To be sure, these claims are not entirely parallel since Pike's claim applies to (Koine) clauses with indicative (finite) verbs (including subordinate and main clauses) and Davidson's applies to (Classical) clauses with finite and participial verbs (but excludes objects that are pronouns and tokens that are subordinate clauses, etc.; see footnote 193).

Despite the imperfect parallel, there is still significant overlap in the claims made by Pike and Davidson, and my own findings for focal objects of ὁράω confirm their claims.[459] But for that matter, if we ignore for the moment the information status of the object and the grammatical status of the verb and clause, it is clear that the preferred position for *all types of object expressions of ὁράω* is postverbal. Consider the facts summarized in Table 21 for various types of ὁράω objects.

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[459] Admittedly, ὁράω may not be representative of all Koine verbs. Still, for our purposes it is an ideal choice given its common function of introducing entities into the discourse and thereby making it functionally comparable to prototypical thetics.

Table 21. The position of objects of ὁράω 'see' according to object type[460]

		preverbal	postverbal	subtotals	totals
pronominal	pronoun, simple	13	46	59	
	pronoun, complex	7[461]	15[462]	22	
	subtotals	**20 (25%)**	**61 (75%)**		*81*
other	NP, simple[463]	17 (22%)	62 (78%)	79	
	NP, complex	9 (9%)[464]	93 (91%)[465]	102	
	NP, compound	–	7	7	
	NP, nominalized participle	–	7	7	
	NP, relative clause	–	4	4	
	subor. clause[466]	–	23 (19 with ὅτι)	23	
	rel.pro. that heads ὁράω[467]	27	–	27	
	wh-word	3	3[468]	6	
	subtotals	**56 (22%)**	**199 (78%)**		*255*
	totals	*76*	*260*		*336*

Of the 454 clauses with ὁράω in the NT, 118 lack an explicit object while **336** have either an **accusative** object or some **subordinate construction** that functions as one (e.g. headed by case-neutral ὅτι 'that' or an accusative relative pronoun, etc.). It is only when the object is an accusative relative pronoun heading a relative clause (27 tokens) that it is consistently preverbal and clause-initial (indeed, this 'exception' is trivial given the syntax of relative pronouns). Otherwise, for most types of objects, the preferred or only position is postverbal. This is true for all types of pronominal objects: they occur postverbally in 61 out of 81 tokens (i.e. 75% of the tokens). It is equally true for all non-pronominal types of objects: they occur postverbally in 199 out of 255 tokens (78%).[469]

Of course, Table 21 reveals nothing about the information statuses of the objects, and these statuses are not homogenous. Without going into all the details (some to be spelled out

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[460] Some figures in the table are approximate. For example, although Mrk 12:34 is counted as a postverbal object pronoun, it also involves a ὅτι clause (ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼν [αὐτὸν] ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη [the Jesus having.seen him that wisely 3S.answered]). Unlike the UBS text, many manuscripts lack αὐτὸν.

[461] For simplicity sake, complex object phrases that are split (i.e. straddle the verb) have not been distinguished from the preverbal type. Thus, both (a) 'preverbal/pronoun, complex' and (b) 'preverbal/NP, complex' usually involve a postverbal element. See footnote 464.

[462] Jhn 1:48 and Act 8:23, with postverbal pronouns, are exceptional because they involve preverbal elements.

[463] I tagged tokens as 'simple' if the object NP was not split and at most involved a modifying genitive or adjective (e.g. Mat 2:2 εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα [we.saw for *his the star*] 'for we saw his star'; Mat 14:14 εἶδεν πολὺν ὄχλον [3S.saw *great crowd*]; Mat 24:33 ὅταν ἴδητε πάντα ταῦτα [when you.saw *all these*]).

[464] Most of these involve split NPs and/or some type of postverbal subsequent predication: Mat 4:16 (split 'light…great'); Mrk 8:24 (participle follows); Luk 24:23 (relative clause follows); Jhn 4:45 (restrictive relative clause follows); Jhn 4:48 (compound 'signs and wonders'); Jhn 12:9 (restrictive relative clause follows); Gal 1:19 ('except…' follows); Rev 21:2 (participle follows).

[465] These involve some type of subsequent predication, typically with a participle. A few also involve compound object NPs.

[466] The object is a nominalized subordinate clause: 19x ὅτι 'that'; 2x πῶς 'how'; 2x εἰ 'whether/if'.

[467] E.g. Luk 7:22: ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ εἴδετε [2P.report! to.John what.A 2P.saw] 'Report to John what you saw!'

[468] Admittedly, tokens with a postverbal 'wh-word' (Mrk 5:14; Luk 19:3; 1Jn 3:1) might be categorized in other ways.

[469] I also made counts for the position of **subject** in relation to the verb. Out of 454 ὁράω tokens, there are 61 preverbal subjects, 62 postverbal subjects, and 331 with Ø subjects (i.e. marked on the verb if finite). So, for this verb, preverbal and postverbal subjects occur in equal frequency!

later), I would still claim that in the majority of cases, especially when postverbal, the object is, by Lambrecht's definitions, **part of a predicate-focus** structure (i.e. a broad focus domain). This is obvious for cases like **Mat 4:18** where the object, 'two brothers', is unidentifiable and neither it nor the verb is predictable from the context. And this is often so even when the object is pronominal. For example, even though αὐτὸν 'him' ('the son') in **Luk 15:20** refers to an activated entity and so entails a consciousness presupposition (§2.2.6), still, since the predicate as a whole is unpredictable in relation to the subject entity (the primary topic), it forms the focus of assertion (the utterance is neither a case of verb focus nor polar focus, in which case what is denoted by αὐτὸν 'him' would be part of a larger topical presupposition).

Mat 4:18   [εἶδεν **δύο ἀδελφούς,**]_FD Σίμωνα τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν
3S.saw two brothers.A Simon.A the being.called Peter.A and Andrew.A

τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν·
the brother.A of.him casting.A.p.m net into the sea

NRS: As he [=Jesus] walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw <u>two brothers,</u> Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea—for they were fishermen.

Luk 15:20   ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος [εἶδεν **αὐτὸν**]_FD ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ
while – he distance being.away 3S.saw him.A the father of.him

καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ δραμὼν ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ
and 3S.felt.compassion and having.run 3S.fell upon the neck of.him

NRS: [The (prodigal) son was away for a long time but now unbeknownst to his father he is returning home.] But while he was still far off, <u>his father saw him</u> and was filled with compassion; he ran and put his arms around him and kissed him.

Therefore, assuming that most cases of postverbal objects are indeed focal, these facts dovetail with the claim made at the end of the last chapter about the unmarked position of thetic subjects being postverbal. In other words—according to Lambrecht's prediction—thetic subjects behave like focal objects. More support for this claim will be given below in §5.2.2 when we show that (much as we showed for thetic subjects in §4.10.3.5) objects in perception reports that are pragmatically marked (e.g. that are contrastive, etc.) tend to come preverbally.

Now, what is of course especially interesting to us is the fact that the object in ὁράω perception reports typically has a **thetic-like** function in the discourse, in that it introduces an entity into the discourse from the perspective of the audience and/or discourse-internal viewer (see §2.4.4.1). For the above examples, in Mat 4:18, the 'two brothers' are both new to the audience (i.e. reader) and the viewer (Jesus). For Luk 15:20, although the son's identity is known to both the audience (i.e. reader) and the viewer (the father), his appearance to the viewer is nevertheless newsworthy at this point in the narrative, and so in this sense the clause is thetic-like. In subsequent sections, we will explore various perspective constellations in relation to arthrousity and the type of matrix verb (finite or nonfinite) and consider how these features may be manipulated to play up or suppress the perspective of especially the viewer.

Also of special interest to us is the fact that, much as we found for many thetics, once the entity is introduced in a focus domain—in this case as the object of 'see'—it is then typically described by one or more **modifiers** that function as **subsequent predications**. (Even a pronominal object may take such a modifier; tokens listed above in Table 21 under the categories of 'pronoun, complex' and 'NP, complex' usually involve such a modifier.) Consider Mat 4:18 above, where 'two brothers' is modified by first some naming

constructions ('Simon, who is called Peter…') and then a participial phrase ('casting a net into the sea'). The naming modifiers are static descriptions and the participial modifier indicates a state of affairs (in this case an activity) that the viewer actually sees. The modifiers in this example, including the participle, are only loosely related to the object, standing in apposition to it (but accusative like the object). But in other tokens, the *object+modifier* form a stronger syntactic relationship. This is so when what functions as the object is a **ὅτι+complement clause** (with finite verb), as in **Mrk 9:25** 'that a crowd (nominative) is running together'.[470] It also seems to be so for the two complex object phrases in **Mrk 9:14**: (i) an **object+locative phrase** ('a crowd around them') and (ii) **object+participial phrase** ('scribes arguing with them').

Mrk 9:25 <u>ἰδὼν</u>   δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς **ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει   ὄχλος,**
          having.seen and the Jesus   that 3S.is.running.together crowd.N

          ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ
          3S.rebuked the spirit   –   unclean

          NRS: When Jesus saw <u>that a crowd came running together,</u> he rebuked the unclean spirit,…

Mrk 9:14 Καὶ ἐλθόντες   πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς <u>εἶδον</u> **ὄχλον πολὺν** περὶ αὐτοὺς
          and having.come to   the   disciples 3P.saw crowd.A great.A around them

          καὶ **γραμματεῖς** συζητοῦντας πρὸς αὐτούς.
          and scribes.A   arguing.A   with them

          NRS: When they_a [=Jesus, Peter, James, and John descended from the mountain and] came to the disciples_b, they_a saw <u>a great crowd around them_b,</u> and <u>some scribes arguing with them_b.</u>

Greek grammars note the special nature of such participial constructions in perception reports. Hf&S §233 describe them as '**prädikativ**' and call them instances of *accusativus cum participio,* distinguishing them from the *participium coniunctum* (which, like the genitive absolute, are considered 'adverbial'). In the terminology of BDF §416 (and Smyth §2110ff), the former are 'supplementary'. BDF actually imply that the *object+participle* in such constructions form a single unit in most but not all cases. This would seem to be the case especially when the participle indicates a state of affairs that the viewer physically sees, and so the entity plus state of affairs is (apparently) perceived as a **conceptual unit**. I will assume with BDF that in most cases they form a **syntactic unit**, while admitting that in some cases this is doubtful or unclear. What is however interesting for our purposes is that there is a choice between the orders *object–participle* versus *participle–object,* something that we explore in detail below in §5.3.2. That a choice exists also seems to be evidence that the two elements form a kind of (subordinate) complement clause.

The results of my study of perception reports are presented in four sections according to the following four object types:

- §5.2 — **object (+/– a modifier other than a participle, locative, or adjective)** (e.g. Luk 15:20)

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[470] As throughout this work, I consider the structure and discourse function of both main and subordinate clauses. That ἰδὼν…ὄχλος 'having seen that a crowd…' in Mrk 9:25 is itself an adverbial point of departure that holds a topical relation to its main clause, ἐπετίμησεν 'he rebuked…' is irrelevant to the matters being explored in this chapter. For our purposes, what is significant is that the sentence functions as a perception report which introduces something into the discourse and that both the 'see'-matrix-clause and the ὅτι-clause have their own internal focus structures (recall the discussion of (36) and (37) in §2.2.6.3).

- §5.3 — **object + participial modifier** (e.g. Mrk 9:14)

- §5.4 — **object + locative or adjectival modifier** (e.g. Mrk 9:14)

- §5.5 — **ὅτι finite verb clause** (e.g. Mrk 9:25)

What is not treated in the last three sections is treated in the first, §5.2. In contrast to the last three types, modifiers following objects in the first type probably never form a syntactic unit since they are appositional to the object. Many of the tokens of this first type in fact lack a modifier altogether.

For most types, we will consider first the different degrees to which the constructions are thetic-like (from both the audience and viewer's perspectives), in function and in form, including the role that arthrousity may play. Then we look at constituent order issues in relation to the matrix verb ὁράω 'see' and, when the object is clausal, within the object clause itself.

5.2 Perception verb + object (+/– a modifier other than a participle, locative, or adjective)

This section treats **accusative objects** in perception reports that have a thetic-like function from at least one perspective (apparently always from at least the viewer's perspective). There are 71 tokens with ὁράω 'see' (tokens with other verbs are mentioned in notes), and some involve more than one object. While some objects are followed by a modifier that functions as a subsequent predication, many have no modifier. None of the modifiers that immediately follow are participles or predicate adjectives, although occasionally a participle may follow after an intervening modifier that is appositional. A few tokens are also mentioned where a locative occurs that does not (necessarily) modify the object (instead it modifies the perception verb).

In §5.2.1, we begin by looking at tokens where an entity is introduced from (i) the perspective of both *the viewer and the audience*. I will promote this as a kind of prototype in that it is thetic-like from both perspectives and so involves a 'higher degree' of theticity; other ways in which this type can be viewed as a kind of prototype are mentioned. After that, we consider tokens where the entity is audience-old but new to the scene for the viewer, whether (ii) viewer-new or (iii) viewer-old. A couple of tokens are of special interest since the NPs express audience-old entities, including proper names that are anarthrous. Most entities introduced are first order but a few are second order (e.g. 'earthquake').

The tokens treated in §5.2.1 all have postverbal objects, and the matrix verbs are all indicative or participial. §5.2.2 treats the fairly rare tokens with objects occurring in other positions (some tokens cited there involve infinitival matrix verbs).

5.2.1 The data: different perspectives and different degrees of theticity

Rev 1:12 is representative of prototypical instances of the construction *ὁράω+object*. The object introduces a *viewer-new and audience-new* entity, 'seven golden lampstands'; given its total unidentifiable status, it is naturally **anarthrous**. The new entity then persists in the discourse (e.g. 'the lampstands' is repeated in vv 13 and 20 where their significance is explained).

Rev 1:12f   καὶ   ἐπιστρέψας   <u>εἶδον</u>   **ἑπτὰ   λυχνίας   χρυσᾶς**
            and   having.turned   I.saw   seven   lampstands   golden

    13   καὶ   ἐν   μέσῳ   τῶν   λυχνιῶν   ὅμοιον   υἱὸν   ἀνθρώπου
       and   in   midst   of.the   lampstands   like   son   of.man

NRS: [12] Then I turned to see whose voice it was that spoke to me, and on turning I saw <u>seven golden lampstands,</u> [13] and in the midst of the lampstands I saw one like the Son of Man, clothed with a long robe and with a golden sash across his chest.

Several tokens, especially ones introducing human entities, are followed by some descriptive modifiers, such as a proper name, and then maybe a participle indicating a state of affairs. This is illustrated in **Mat 4:18** (repeated from §5.1), where the object 'two brothers' is first followed by appositional naming constructions and then a participial clause that describes the current state of affairs Jesus sees the two brothers in. Occasionally, an anarthrous proper name is used to introduce a new entity, as in **Mrk 1:19**.

Mat 4:18   <u>εἶδεν</u>   **δύο   ἀδελφούς,**   Σίμωνα   τὸν   λεγόμενον   Πέτρον   καὶ   Ἀνδρέαν
        3S.saw   two   brothers.A   Simon.A   the   being.called   Peter.A   and   Andrew.A

        τὸν   ἀδελφὸν   αὐτοῦ,   βάλλοντας   ἀμφίβληστρον   εἰς   τὴν   θάλασσαν·
        the   brother.A   of.him   casting.A.p.m   net   into   the   sea

NRS: As he [=Jesus] walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw <u>two brothers,</u> Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea—for they were fishermen.

Mrk 1:19   <u>εἶδεν</u>   **Ἰάκωβον**   τὸν   τοῦ   Ζεβεδαίου   καὶ   **Ἰωάννην**   τὸν   ἀδελφὸν   αὐτοῦ
        3S.saw   James.A   the.A   of.G   Zebedee.G   and   John.A   the.A   brother.A   of.him

        καὶ   αὐτοὺς   ἐν   τῷ   πλοίῳ   καταρτίζοντας   τὰ   δίκτυα,
        and   they.A   in   the   boat   mending.A.p.m   the   nets

nab: As [Jesus] went a little farther, he saw <u>James the son of Zebedee</u> and <u>John his brother,</u> and they [were] in their boat mending the nets.

In total there are 11 prototypical instances of objects of ὁράω in the NT: Mat 4:18; Mat 4:21; Mat 14:14 (∥Mrk 6:34); Mrk 1:16 (proper names); Mrk 1:19 (proper names); Act 11:5 ('a vision'); Rev 1:12; Rev 20:4; Rev 20:11; Rev 21:1.

Three other points should be made about the above 11 tokens in terms of prototypicality: (i) The objects are always *lexical,* a fact that follows from their being new from both perspectives; in this way they are like thetic subjects (recall that thetic subjects must be lexical; §2.2.3). (ii) The objects are always *postverbal.* (iii) The matrix verb 'see' is always finite and the clause independent, and so the sentence is always an assertion on the story's event line. Fact (iii) seems to reflect the general tendency for the narrator to give more 'narrative attention' to the introduction of such entities. Thus, I suggest we view this constellation—*an audience-new/viewer-new entity expressed as the postverbal object of an independent matrix verb*—as a kind of benchmark and prototype by which other constellations may be compared.

Let's now consider discourse-pragmatic constellations other than audience-new and viewer-new. The object can also be *viewer-new and audience-old.* In **Mat 27:54**, the audience knows of (lexical) τὸν σεισμόν 'the earthquake' and accompanying events, but for the centurion these second order entities are new. The same is true of the pronoun αὐτήν 'her' in **Mat 9:22**. The use of the **pronoun** αὐτήν and the **arthrous** noun τὸν σεισμόν thus reflect the audience's activation states of these entities, not those of the viewers. From the perspective of the viewers, the entities are new, and if it had been relevant, the narrator could have developed their perspectives, saying, for example in Mat 9:22, something like, *Turning*

around, Jesus saw a woman... But he didn't. Finally, note that, unlike our prototype, in both the matrix verb is a (subordinate) participle. This is because they are backgrounded in relation to the main events expressed by independent clauses (which report the reactions of Jesus and the centurion, etc.).

Mat 27:54 Ὁ   δὲ   ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ οἱ   μετ' αὐτοῦ τηροῦντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν
the and centurion   and the.ones with him   guarding   the Jesus

ἰδόντες **τὸν σεισμὸν** καὶ **τὰ   γενόμενα**
seeing the earthquake and the.things taking.place

ἐφοβήθησαν   σφόδρα, λέγοντες, Ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν   οὗτος.
3P.were.afraid.Aor greatly saying   truly   God's Son 3S.was this.one

NRS: [50] Then Jesus…breathed his last. [51] At that moment the curtain of the temple was torn in two,… The earth shook, and the rocks were split.… [54] Now when the centurion and those with him, who were keeping watch over Jesus, saw <u>the earthquake</u> and <u>what took place,</u> they were terrified and said, 'Truly this man was God's Son!'

Mat 9:22 ὁ   δὲ   Ἰησοῦς στραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν **αὐτὴν** εἶπεν, Θάρσει, θύγατερ·
the and Jesus   turning and seeing her   3S.said cheer.up daughter

NRS: [20] …a woman who had been suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years came up behind him and touched the fringe of his cloak,… [22] Jesus turned, and seeing <u>her</u> he said, 'Take heart, daughter; your faith has made you well.'

Or an entity may be *viewer-old and audience-old*, yet new to the scene for the viewer. This is the case in the next two examples, in Mat 26:71 where the object is a pronoun αὐτόν 'him', and in Mrk 5:6 where it is an arthrous lexical noun τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

In **Mat 26:71**, the entity 'Peter' is obviously known to the viewer, the servant-girl, but his presence in that scene is news to her. When she saw him she could have said to herself (using a deictic thetic), *Oh, THERE'S one of Jesus' DISCIPLES* or something like that. But our text instead refers to him by the pronoun αὐτόν, catering to the audience's perspective for whom 'Peter' is activated. Since εἶδεν is finite and the clause is independent, it appears the narrator has made more of this event. The need to give more narrative attention to this event derives, at least partially, from the fact that the subject of the matrix verb, 'another [servant-girl]', is unidentifiable. (Incidentally, this clause is probably a case of postverbal subject constituent-focus.)[471]

Mat 26:71 ἐξελθόντα   δὲ εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα εἶδεν **αὐτὸν** ἄλλη
having.gone.out and to the gate   3S.saw him   another.N.f.s

καὶ λέγει   τοῖς   ἐκεῖ,
and 3S.says to.the.ones there

NRS: [69-70] [Peter had just denied being a companion of Jesus to a servant-girl.] [71] When he went out to the porch, another servant-girl saw <u>him,</u> and she said to the bystanders, 'This man was with Jesus of Nazareth.'

Similarly, in **Mrk 5:6**, it is implied that 'Jesus' is already known to the demonized man (or at least his demons). The proper name is arthrous, τὸν Ἰησοῦν, what I assume also reflects the audience's perspective. That a lexical noun is used instead of a pronoun serves to

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[471] Although peripheral to my discussion about the interaction of the different perspectives, the subject 'another [servant-girl]' may be construed as a case of constituent-focus. In the foregoing, the first servant girl approached Peter and accused him of being a companion of Jesus. Although the verb 'saw' is not used, it is implied that she saw Peter. So the open proposition 'X saw Peter' is sufficiently accessible to count as a topical presupposition.

disambiguate the two third person masculine entities for the audience. (Here the matrix verb is a participle.)

Mrk 5:6   καὶ ἰδὼν   **τὸν Ἰησοῦν** ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔδραμεν καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ
           and having.seen the.A Jesus.A from afar   3S.ran   and bowed.down   to.him

           NRS: When he [=the demonized man] saw Jesus from a distance, he ran and bowed down before him;…

Given the patterns reviewed so far, it is interesting to consider rare cases like **Luk 16:23**, which involves two **anarthrous** proper names that are old to both audience and viewer. 'Abraham'[472] and 'Lazarus' were both just mentioned in v 22. To be sure, the second object is followed by a locative, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις 'in his bosoms', which modifies the object 'Lazarus' (and so I also list this token in §5.4); but the first locative, '*from* far away', may actually be an adverb of 'see' (unlike the NRS's rendering).

Luk 16:23 καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδη   ἐπάρας   τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις,
           and in the Hades having.raised the   eyes   of.him   being   in torments

           ὁρᾶ   **Ἀβραὰμ** ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ **Λάζαρον** ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ.
           3S.sees Abraham.A   from far.away   and Lazarus.A   in the   bosoms of.him

           NRS: [22] The poor man [Lazarus] died and was carried away by the angels to be with Abraham. The rich man also died and was buried. [23] In Hades, where he was being tormented, he looked up and saw Abraham far away with Lazarus by his side.

As we saw in §3.3.4 and §4.10.5, proper names are usually anarthrous when a person is being (re)activated, or is focal, or in some way prominent. In the present case, I take the anarthrous names to be playing up viewer's online perspective at the expense of the audience's. Other elements here also favor the viewer's perspective (e.g. the prelude 'lifting up his eyes' and the present finite verb ὁρᾶ). So I conclude that the audience is being invited to fully share the viewer's vivid perception of the events.

Similarly, in **Act 9:12**, both anarthrous objects, ἄνδρα 'a man' and 'Ananias', reflect entirely the perspective of the viewer, Saul (the manuscript variants here do not affect my argument).[473] The rhetorical effect is remarkable since the story-internal audience is Ananias himself. Note also that the matrix verb εἶδεν 'he saw' is finite. As in the previous example, here too the viewer's perspective has been more fully developed. (See also Act 7:55, discussed in §5.3.)

Act 9:12   ἰδοὺ γὰρ προσεύχεται 12 καὶ εἶδεν   **ἄνδρα** (ἐν ὁράματι)
           *   for 3S.is.praying   and 3S.saw   man   in   vision

           Ἀνανίαν ὀνόματι εἰσελθόντα   καὶ ἐπιθέντα   κτλ
           Ananias by.name having.entered and having.placed.upon

           NRS: [11] The Lord said to him [=Ananias], "Get up and go to the street called Straight, and at the house of Judas look for a man of Tarsus named Saul. At this moment [ἰδού 'behold'] he is praying, [12] and he has seen in a vision a man named Ananias come in and lay his hands on him so that he might regain his sight."

To sum up, this section accounts for 71 ὁράω perception reports that have a thetic-like object (the object follows the matrix verb in all tokens). The first set concerned 11 tokens that I described as a prototypical use, because (among other reasons) the introduced object was

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[472] Accusative Ἀβραὰμ is all the more noteworthy because it is an indeclinable name. Non-nominative instances of indeclinable names usually take the article (see § 3.3.4; BDF §260.2; Levinsohn 2000:151).

[473] Some manuscripts lack ἐν ὁράματι 'in vision'. This locative may be an adverb to 'see' rather than a modifier of the object 'man'.

thetic-like for both audience and viewer. The remaining 60 tokens are summarized in two groups, first where the object is lexical, and then where it is pronominal.

Most passages favor the audience's perspective. There are 35 tokens that have a **lexical object** expressing an audience-old entity that the viewer becomes aware of (whether viewer-new or viewer-old). As a general tendency, tokens with a finite matrix verb, especially if in an independent clause (=ind.cl.), seem to portray more of the viewer's perspective. Unless noted otherwise, the matrix verbs are participles and thus subordinate: Mat 2:10; Mat 5:1; Mat 9:2; Mat 9:4;[474] Mat 9:36; Mat 18:31; Mat 21:15 (object modified by relative clause); Mat 21:38; Mat 27:54; Mrk 2:5; Mrk 5:6; Mrk 8:33; Luk 5:12; Luk 5:20; Luk 8:28; Luk 8:34; Luk 9:32 (finite, ind.cl.); Luk 16:23 (finite, ind.cl.); Luk 19:41; Luk 22:49;[475] Luk 23:8; Luk 23:47; Jhn 6:14; Jhn 20:20; Act 7:55 (finite, ind.cl., anarthrous δόξαν θεοῦ is viewer-old but new to the scene); Act 9:12 (finite, ind.cl.); Act 9:40; Act 11:6 (finite, ind.cl., arthrous NPs 'the four-footed animals…of the earth' are known classes of animals to viewer and audience, but new to the scene); Act 11:23; Act 13:12; Act 13:45; Act 14:11; Act 21:32; Rev 8:2 (finite, ind.cl., object modified by relative clause); Rev 20:12 (finite, ind.cl.; while discourse-old, this is the first appearance of all 'the dead').[476] [477]

There are at least 25 tokens with a **pronominal object** of ὁράω expressing an audience-old entity that a viewer becomes aware of (either viewer-new or viewer-old). Again, most have participles as matrix verbs: Mat 8:34; Mat 9:22; Mat 26:71 (finite, ind.cl.); Mat 28:17; Mrk 5:22; Mrk 9:15; Mrk 9:20; Mrk 14:69; Luk 2:48; Luk 7:13; Luk 10:31; Luk 13:12; Luk 15:20 (finite, ind.cl.); Luk 20:14; Luk 22:58; Luk 23:49; Jhn 9:37 (finite, ind.cl.); Jhn 11:32; Jhn 14:7 (finite, ind.cl.); Jhn 19:6 (finite, 'when' clause); Jhn 20:29 (finite, 'because' clause); Act 9:35 (finite, ind.cl.); Act 12:16 (finite, ind.cl.); Rev 1:17 (finite, 'when' clause); Rev 17:6.

5.2.2 Constituent order

All of the tokens cited thus far (i.e. in §5.2.1) involved **postverbal** thetic-like objects. These tokens belonged not only to the first constellation—what I suggested as a prototype, where the entity was both audience-new and viewer-new—but also to the latter constellations where an entity could be audience-old or even viewer-old. These facts illustrate the overwhelming tendency for such thetic-like objects (at least of ὁράω) to be postverbal. And this strong tendency dovetails with the previously mentioned claims that the unmarked position of focal objects is postverbal and that this is the default position of thetic subjects in most environments.

Tokens with thetic-like objects that are **preverbal** (i.e. precedes the matrix verb 'see') or **split** are rare. One finds more tokens if we cast our net wider to include cases that differ in

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[474] Mat 9:2, Mat 9:4, and Luk 5:20 are atypical in that 'their faith' and 'their thoughts' are not normally things that can be directly seen.

[475] Luk 22:49 is marginal because what is seen, τὸ ἐσόμενον ([the will.being.A.n] 'what would happen'), is not fully actualized. Interestingly, in contrast to this future participle of εἰμί 'be', participial forms of γίνομαι 'happen' (aorist or perfect) are used in my data to refer to similar state of affairs in the past (Mat 18:31; Mat 27:54; Luk 8:34; Luk 23:47; Act 13:12). See §4.9.3 on how εἰμί is used instead of γίνομαι for future thetics.

[476] Mrk 5:32 could be added to the list, but the verb is an infinitive and the perception is not actualized (only implied), and so it does not fit our narrow definition of a perception report. See also Rev 1:12 with βλέπω.

[477] For (postverbal) thetic-like lexical objects with matrix verbs other than ὁράω, see: Mat 11:2; Mat 14:30; Mrk 5:38; Mrk 13:2; Luk 5:27; Luk 7:44 (rhetorical question); Luk 9:7; Luk 23:48; Luk 24:12; Jhn 2:23; Act 9:7 ('hearing the voice'); Eph 3:2 (the genitive participle modifies 'grace', not 'stewardship'); Heb 2:9 (anarthrous name, first mention of Jesus' name); Rev 5:11; Rev 18:9.

significant ways from our narrow definition of a perception report (see footnote 478 below). The preverbal element can usually be explained by some pragmatic or syntactic factor.

For example, in **Luk 24:23**, 'a vision of angels' is introduced to the story-internal audience (something that is known to the reader). But καί 'even/also' indicates that the phrase is contrastive (either the 'vision of angels' is constituent-focus or perhaps the whole infinitival clause is counter-presuppositional). This token is also syntactically complex in that the matrix verb is an infinitive (reporting indirect speech), unlike the tokens cited in §5.2.1.

Luk 24:23 λέγουσαι **καὶ ὀπτασίαν ἀγγέλων** <u>ἑωρακέναι</u>, οἳ   λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ζῆν.
           saying   also vision.A   of.angels to.have.seen who 3P.say   him   to.live

RSV: and [the women] did not find his body; and they came back saying that they had <u>even</u> seen <u>a vision of angels,</u> who said that he was alive.

In **Jhn 4:45**, part of the object phrase, 'all (things)', precedes the verb, apparently for emphasis. In **Luk 1:22** (with finite perfect verb), the clause is embedded in a ὅτι clause 'they knew that', which makes this syntactically complex (the audience is already aware of the 'vision'). Perhaps the order indicates emphasis on 'vision' given the surprising nature of the event.[478]

Jhn 4:45 ὅτε   οὖν   ἦλθεν   εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι
          when therefore 3S.came into the Galilee   received him   the Galileans

          πάντα <u>ἑωρακότες</u> ὅσα   ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν   τῇ   ἑορτῇ,
          all.A   having.seen   which.A 3S.did   in Jerusalem   during the Festival

NRS: When he came to Galilee, the Galileans welcomed him, since they had seen <u>all that he had done in Jerusalem at the festival;</u> for they too had gone to the festival.

Luk 1:22 καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν ὅτι **ὀπτασίαν** <u>ἑώρακεν</u>   ἐν τῷ ναῷ·
          and 3P.knew   that vision   3S.has.seen in the temple

NRS: When he did come out, he could not speak to them, and they realized that he had seen <u>a vision</u> in the sanctuary.

If we look beyond ὁράω tokens, we can fetch **Act 22:9**, an instance of θεάομαι. Here the two preverbal objects can be explained in terms of contrastive topicality.

Act 22:9 οἱ   δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες **τὸ** μὲν   **φῶς**   <u>ἐθεάσαντο</u>
          the.ones and with me being the.A on.the.one.hand light.A 3P.saw

          τὴν δὲ   **φωνὴν** <u>οὐκ ἤκουσαν</u> τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι.
          the.A but.on.the.other.hand voice.A not 3P.heard the.G speaking.G to.me

NRS: [In vv 6-8 Paul tells how on the way to Damascus he saw a great light from heaven and heard Christ speak to him] [9] Now those who were with me saw <u>the light</u> but did not hear <u>the voice</u> of the one who was speaking to me.

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[478] The poetic LXX quote in Mat 4:16 (ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει φῶς εἶδεν μέγα [the people the living in darkness light.A 3P.saw great.A]) could also be cited; the object 'a great light' is split, straddling the verb. Preverbal 'the vision' in Act 16:10 (in a 'when' clause) is harder to explain (perhaps discourse topicality or Levinsohn's 'anticipatory topic' is a factor here).

There are also clauses with preverbal objects of ὁράω that are *not* perception reports by our narrow definition (§2.4.3; they are atypical because they involve negation, or are irrealis, etc.). Many can be explained in terms of contrastiveness, emotive emphasis, and negation (Jhn 5:37; Jhn 8:57; Jhn 12:9; Act 2:17; Act 19:21; 1Co 9:1; Gal 1:19; Jas 5:11; perhaps Jhn 4:48, Gal 1:19 and Heb 11:27), though perhaps not all (e.g. Mat 5:8). Some can probably be explained in terms of topicality (Jhn 1:18; Jhn 6:46; Rev 21:22). A frequent pattern is for the object to be sandwiched between a volitional verb on the left and an infinitive on the right (Mat 12:38; Luk 17:22; Jhn 12:21; 1Th 2:17; see also Luk 23:8 with participial modifier; with other perception verbs, see Luk 24:37 and Act 12:9).

Given the preceding narrative, one would expect that Paul's companions would have 'seen the light' and 'heard the voice' that Paul saw and heard. The sentence confirms the first proposition 'they saw the light' (a positive polar assertion), but negates the second 'they heard the voice' (a negated polar assertion). The subject NP 'those being with me' is the first topical point of departure; its scope spans both clauses that follow. The two preverbal objects also function as topical points of departure (i.e. contrastive topics), each for its respective clause: the first, τὸ μὲν φῶς 'the light μέν', and then the second, τὴν δὲ φωνήν 'the voice δέ', are each commented on in turn. The μέν…δέ construction formally indicates the contrastive nature of these topics. (See also the contrastive preverbal object μηδένα 'no one' in Act 9:7; and the apparent instance in Rev 21:2 discussed in §5.3.2.)

5.3 Perception verb + object + participial modifier

This section treats about 77 tokens where the (accusative) **object** of ὁράω is modified by an (accusative) **participle**, which immediately follows or precedes the object. (Occasionally, a constituent of the matrix clause, e.g. the subject, may intervene between the object and its participle.) Similar constructions with matrix verbs other than ὁράω are also noted.

In §5.3.1, the data are discussed especially in terms of the different perspective constellations and arthrousity (much as in the previous section). Comments are also made about the syntactic structure of *object+participle.* Unlike in the previous section, we shall note a few cases where the *object* is not thetic-like from the viewer's perspective, but instead has topic function (these account for 5 out of the 77 tokens).

Constituent order issues are then taken up in §5.3.2, where another 71 tokens with perception verbs other than ὁράω are taken into consideration.

5.3.1 The data: syntactic structure and different perspectives and degrees of theticity

The *object+participial modifier* construction was already illustrated in §5.1 by Mrk 9:14, as well as back in §4.10.3.1 by **Mat 9:9**, which I repeat here.

Mat 9:9   Καὶ παράγων   ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν <u>εἶδεν</u> **ἄνθρωπον** <u>καθήμενον</u>
           and going.away the Jesus   from.there 3S.saw man.A   sitting.Pres.A

           ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον, Μαθθαῖον λεγόμενον, καὶ λέγει   αὐτῷ, Ἀκολούθει μοι.
           in the tax.booth Matthew   being.called and 3S.says to.him follow!   me

           nab: As Jesus was walking along, he saw <u>a man sitting at the tax booth</u>, [who was] called Matthew, and he says to him, 'Follow me.' And he got up and followed him.

As mentioned in §5.1, participial modifiers distinguish themselves from several other types of modifiers in that they typically indicate an activity or state that the entity is currently involved in and that is physically seen by the viewer. Thus, in the current example, 'sitting in the tax booth' is part of the perceived scene, but 'called Matthew' is not (see also the examples of the latter type in the previous section). So I suggested in §5.1 that the structure *object+participle* (+*peripheral elements,* e.g. 'in the tax booth'), which is apparently perceived as a conceptual unit, is also a syntactic unit (as BDF imply), that is, a type of complement clause. That is to say, the matrix clause object functions as the **subject** of the complement clause and the participle as its **predicate**.

Admittedly, some participles are probably better viewed as syntactically separate (i.e. appositional or parenthetical, that is, the so-called *participium coniunctum*). This is clearly so when the participle is separated by an intervening appositional modifier. And perhaps it may even be occasionally so when the participle immediately follows the object. But in most

cases, I assume that *object+participle* form a complement clause. It does not seem to make a difference what (tense)-aspect the participle is; in my data most are in any case present or perfect,[479] while only a few are aorist.[480]

Assuming that *object+participle* normally forms a complement clause helps us to make sense of how this construction behaves. First, much as we find in main clauses, so in this construction different constituent orders are possible: *object–participle* is most common, but *participle–object* also occurs. Second, this construction functionally contrasts with the ὅτι *finite verb clause* perception report, which is clearly a clause.[481] And finally, the way constituent order behaves for this construction is similar to how it behaves for certain ἰδού+*clause* constructions with finite verbs; there is thus a resemblance between these constructions on several points (in function, deixis, and constituent order).

Incidentally, while I wish to portray *object–participle* as a complement clause and as a conceptual unit, it is clear that (in its typical use) it serves **two distinct** information structure functions: (i) the object introduces the new entity—the thetic function; and (ii) the participial phrase predicates something about it—the (topic)-comment function. The thetic function depends on the focal status of the object in the matrix clause and the (topic)-comment function on the focal status of the participial phrase, which serves as a subsequent predication.

Leaving these matters at that, I will now present a handful of tokens that illustrate different perspective constellations and different patterns of arthrousity.

To begin, the perception report in Mat 9:9 above illustrates the perspective constellation which I characterized as a prototype in the last section, one that was most thetic-like: the object introduces an entity, ἄνθρωπον 'a man', that is both *audience-new and viewer-new.* And given the entity's total unidentifiable status, it is, as we saw before, **anarthrous**. The same constellation occurs in **Luk 21:2**, where (anarthrous) 'a poor widow' (modified by 'thetic τις') is engaged in the activity of 'putting in two copper coins' into the Temple treasury.

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[479] In contrast to the **present** participle, which indicates an ongoing state of affairs, the **perfect** indicates a resultant state. This being said, there is often a mismatch between Greek and English uses of the perfect. This is especially so for posture verbs like ἥστημι 'stand'. For example, in Luk 9:32 (εἶδον…τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας τοὺς συνεστῶτας αὐτῷ [3P.saw…the.A two.A men.A having.stood.Prf.A with.him]) the context makes clear that the perfect participle indicates the entity is in a state of standing that is simultaneous with the viewing. The Greek can be understood as (literally) 'having taken [their] stand', but English demands the present participle: 'they saw…the two men standing with him' (not 'who had stood with him'). Other cases of the Greek perfect participle may nevertheless be rendered by English perfects. Thus, regarding εἶδον ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν [I.saw star.A from the.G heaven.G having.fallen.A to the earth] in Rev 9:1, it is generally agreed that the viewer did *not* view the actual falling, only the final resultant state: 'and I saw a star [which had] fallen to earth' (not 'I saw a star falling').

[480] The **aorist** participle is only used in this way in Luke's writings (Johannessohn 1937:240). It apparently functions to indicate aspectual nuances that the present and perfect do not, such as what is (presumably) a punctiliar event: e.g. Act 10:3; Act 11:13; Act 26:13; (see also Act 9:12, where the object is divided off by an intervening naming construction; for that matter, 'in his house' in Act 10:3, which precedes the aorist participle, could also count as an additional intervening predicate, so the participles would be *participium coniunctum*—as pointed out to me by Rutger Allan); Luk 10:18 with matrix verb 'watching' θεωρέω (see Zerwick §269 for his interpretation). Perhaps other nuances are possible: For example, it may be that the state of affairs is not cotemporaneous with the perception, especially when the matrix verb is other than 'see' (see, e.g. 'know' in Mrk 5:30, and 'hear' in Luk 4:23).

[481] BDF §412.4 suggest that such attributive participles are often found in the NT where in Attic Greek a relative clause would have been used.

Luk 21:2 εἶδεν   δέ **τινα   χήραν   πενιχρὰν** βάλλουσαν   ἐκεῖ λεπτὰ δύο,
           3S.saw – a.certain.A widow.A poor.A putting.in.Pres.A there leptas two

NRS: [2] he also saw <u>a poor widow put in two small copper coins.</u> [3] He said, "Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all of them;…"

    Another frequent constellation in my data is where the entity is both *audience-old and viewer-old* but new to the scene (and so thetic-like). This is illustrated by **Mrk 14:67**, where **arthrous** τὸν Πέτρον 'the Peter' comes into view for the viewer (the audience is already aware of his presence in the scene). Still, given the object is arthrous and the perception verb (participial ἰδοῦσα) is subordinate, the viewer's perspective has been suppressed. In fact, it seems to me that τὸν Πέτρον has been used rather than αὐτόν 'him' for clarity ('the high priest' is also active). Compare ||Luk 22:56 below with αὐτόν.

Mrk 14:67 καὶ ἰδοῦσα   **τὸν   Πέτρον** <u>θερμαινόμενον</u>   ἐμβλέψασα   αὐτῷ λέγει,
          and having.seen the.A Peter.A warming.self.Pres.A having.looked.at him 3S.says

NRS: [66] While Peter was below in the courtyard, one of the servant-girls of the high priest came by (ἔρχεται μία τῶν παιδισκῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως). [67] When she saw <u>Peter warming himself,</u> she stared at him and said, "You also were with Jesus, the man from Nazareth."

    The information status of the object, τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτοῦ 'the mother-in-law of him', in **Mat 8:14** differs in a subtle way from the last example. Here too the object is arthrous. From an absolute perspective, Peter's mother-in-law is audience-new (because she is discourse-new). But because she is inferentially identifiable (she is anchored to αὐτοῦ 'Peter' who is audience-old, and it is common for a man to have a mother-in-law), she may still be treated as audience-old and so the noun takes the article. In any case, her presence in the given scene is newsworthy to both viewer and audience.

Mat 8:14 Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου <u>εἶδεν</u> **τὴν   πενθερὰν**
         and coming the Jesus into the house of.Peter 3S.saw the.A mother-in-law.A

    αὐτοῦ <u>βεβλημένην</u>   καὶ <u>πυρέσσουσαν</u>
    of.him having.been.thrown.down.Prf.A and fever-stricken.Pres.A

NRS: [14] When Jesus entered Peter's house, he saw <u>his mother-in-law lying in bed [βεβλημένην perfect] with a fever [πυρέσσουσαν present];</u> [15] he touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she got up and began to serve him.

    Pronouns are also often used when the entity is audience-old and viewer-old. As expected, a pronoun is appropriate when the entity is activated from the audience's perspective and the viewer's perspective is not being played up. Such is the case of αὐτόν (i.e. 'Peter') in **Luk 22:56** (||Mrk 14:67 above).[482]

Luk 22:56 ἰδοῦσα   δὲ **αὐτὸν** παιδίσκη τις   <u>καθήμενον</u> πρὸς τὸ φῶς
         having.seen and him servant.girl a.certain sitting near the light

    καὶ ἀτενίσασα   αὐτῷ εἶπεν,
    and having.looked.intently at.him 3S.said

RSV: [55] and when they had kindled a fire in the middle of the courtyard and sat down together, Peter sat among them. [56] Then a maid, seeing <u>him as he sat in the light</u> and gazing at him, said, "This man also was with him."

    In **Mat 14:26,** 'Jesus' is also referred to by a pronoun since he is activated for the audience. While obviously known to the disciples, they do not expect to see him in the scene.

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[482] That αὐτόν follows the verb is expected of the (postpositive) pronoun, so, as I see it, the intervening subject does not render the participle syntactically separate from the pronoun.

In fact, on sighting him, it is clear they are not aware who or what they are seeing (they suspect a phantom). If the disciples' perspective of this perception report had been developed more, the narrator could have reported that 'they saw a ghost' or 'they saw a man walking on the sea'. Instead, the narrator backgrounds the perception report (via the participial matrix verb 'seeing' and pronoun 'him') in order to foreground their terrified response (expressed by two finite aorists).

Mat 14:26   οἱ   δὲ   μαθηταὶ   <u>ἰδόντες</u>   **αὐτὸν**   ἐπὶ   τῆς   θαλάσσης   <u>περιπατοῦντα</u>
            the   but   disciples   having.seen   him   on   the   lake   walking.about

            ἐταράχθησαν   λέγοντες   ὅτι   Φάντασμά   ἐστιν,
            3P.were.terrified.Aor   saying   that   apparition   3S.is

            καὶ   ἀπὸ   τοῦ   φόβου   ἔκραξαν.
            and   from   the   fear   3P.cried.out.Aor

    NRS: [The disciples are rowing a boat across the sea, fighting wind and waves.] [25] And early in the morning he came walking toward them on the sea. [26] But when the disciples saw <u>him walking on the sea,</u> they were terrified, saying, "It is a ghost!" And they cried out in fear.

These last two tokens with pronouns are clearly thetic from the viewer's perspective given the viewer does not expect to see the entity in the given scene. Occasionally, *pronoun+participle* is used when the viewer *is already aware* of the entity in the given scene. In such cases, the construction is *not* thetic from the viewer's perspective, but instead has **topic-comment** construal. (For a comparable English example, see (217) in §2.4.4.1.)

For example, in **Jhn 19:33**, the soldiers are expecting to see Jesus when they come to his cross, but they are not expecting that he is 'already dead'. In **Jhn 11:33**, Jesus is already aware of Mary's presence, but that she is 'weeping' is portrayed as newsworthy to him. And in **Luk 18:24**, where the matrix verb is a participle, it is the man's 'becoming sad' that is newsworthy (while some manuscripts lack 'becoming sad' altogether, the UBS text retains it in brackets). In these three object complements, the pronoun has a **topical status** for the viewer (whose perspective the audience is obliged to share). (Note that, unlike a finite verb clause where the subject is indexed on the verb, a participial complement clause requires an explicit subject, whether lexical or pronominal.)

Jhn 19:33   ἐπὶ   δὲ   τὸν   Ἰησοῦν   ἐλθόντες,   ὡς   <u>εἶδον</u>   ἤδη   **αὐτὸν**   <u>τεθνηκότα</u>,
            to   but   the   Jesus   having.come   when   3P.saw   already   him.A   having.died.Prf.A

            οὐ   κατέαξαν   αὐτοῦ   τὰ   σκέλη,
            not   3P.do.break   his   the   legs

    NRS: [32] Then the soldiers came and broke the legs of the first and of the other who had been crucified with him. [33] But when they came to Jesus and saw that <u>he was already dead,</u> they did not break his legs.

Jhn 11:33   Ἰησοῦς   οὖν   ὡς   <u>εἶδεν</u>   **αὐτὴν**   <u>κλαίουσαν</u>
            Jesus   therefore   when   3S.saw   her.A   weeping.A

            καὶ   τοὺς   συνελθόντας   αὐτῇ   Ἰουδαίους   κλαίοντας,
            and   the.A   having.come.with.A   her   Jews.A   weeping.A

    NRS: [32] When Mary came where Jesus was and saw him, she knelt at his feet and said to him, "Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died." [33] When Jesus saw <u>her weeping,</u> and <u>the Jews who came with her also weeping,</u> he was greatly disturbed in spirit and deeply moved.

Luk 18:24 Ἰδὼν   δὲ **αὐτὸν** ὁ Ἰησοῦς (περίλυπον γενόμενον)   εἶπεν,
          having.seen and him   the Jesus   very.sad   having.become 3S.said

> nab: [23] But when he heard this, he became sad; for he was very rich. [24] When Jesus saw <u>he became so sad,</u> he said, 'How hard it is for rich people to enter the kingdom of God!'

In at least one case, a **lexical** object is topical for the viewer. Consider τὴν γυναῖκα 'the woman' in **Rev 17:6**. This woman was already introduced to the viewer in v 3, and it seems fairly certain that her presence in the scene is assumed in v 6 as well. What is newsworthy is her 'being drunk…'.

Rev 17:6 καὶ εἶδον **τὴν γυναῖκα** μεθύουσαν ἐκ   τοῦ αἵματος τῶν   ἁγίων
          and I.saw the   woman   being.drunk from the blood   of.the saints

          καὶ ἐκ   τοῦ αἵματος τῶν   μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ.
          and from the blood   of.the witnesses of.Jesus

> NRS: [3] …I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast [εἶδον γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον κόκκινον] that was full of blasphemous names,… [6] And I saw that <u>the woman was drunk with the blood of the saints</u>…

Thus, we have seen that the object—which is simultaneously the subject of a complement clause—can have either a topic or thetic-like relation for the viewer. And its referent can be either activated or inactivated, known or unknown, for the audience and viewer. And in all the examples reviewed thus far, the complement's subject (alias object) precedes its participle. This leads us to an important point: *Whether the entity is topical or thetic-like, lexical or pronominal, known or unknown, the complement's subject normally precedes its participle.* I take this **initial position** within the complement to be pragmatically unmarked for the complement's subject. Exceptions are taken up in the next section (§5.3.2).

We must now illustrate one final constellation of arthrousity and perspective, one already encountered in §5.2.1 (e.g. Luk 16:23). This is where the entity being introduced is both *audience-old and viewer-old*, but its NP is nonetheless **anarthrous**. There are three such tokens with ὁράω (Luk 21:20, discussed in §5.3.2; Act 3:3; Act 7:55) and one with ἀκούω (Act 15:12). I conclude that each indicates special prominence and/or that the viewer's vivid perspective is being played up.

For example, in **Act 7:55**, both the bare object δόξαν θεοῦ '[the] Glory of God'[483] and Ἰησοῦν 'Jesus' are anarthrous yet their entities are audience-old and viewer-old. Their appearance to Stephen in a heavenly vision is of course unexpected, and so the perception report as a whole appears to be fully played up (the matrix verb is also finite). Once Stephen reports this pivotal event to the vicious mob, his terrible fate is settled.

Act 7:55 ὑπάρχων δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου   ἀτενίσας   εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
          being   but full   Spirit   of.Holy having.gazed into the heaven

          εἶδεν **δόξαν θεοῦ** καὶ **Ἰησοῦν** ἑστῶτα   ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ   θεοῦ
          3S.saw glory.A of.God and Jesus.A   standing.Prf.A at right of.the God

> NRS: [55] But filled with the Holy Spirit, he gazed into heaven and saw <u>the glory of God and Jesus standing at the right hand of God.</u> [56] "Look," he said, "I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!"

Act 3:3, which precedes Peter and John's healing of a lame man, is different. Here it is doubtful that the perception report itself is being played up (the matrix verb is a subordinate

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[483] 'The Glory of God' is often arthrous and so identifiable in the NT (e.g. Jhn 11:40; Rev 21:23). I assume it is identifiable here too.

participle, and names are used even though we might assume the lame man does not know Peter and John). Rather, as Levinsohn argues (2000:156), the entities 'Peter' and 'John' are probably being highlighted in some special way (in v 1, 4 and 6 they are also anarthrous). See also anarthrous 'Barnabas and Paul' (genitive objects of ἀκούω) in Act 15:12, who appear to be similarly highlighted (Barnabas and Paul are established in the scene; anarthrous 'Peter' was also a thetic subject in v 7).

Act 3:3	ὃς	ἰδὼν	**Πέτρον** καὶ Ἰωάννην	μέλλοντας	εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν,
	who	having.seen	Peter.A and John.A	being.about.A	to.enter into the temple

ἠρώτα   ἐλεημοσύνην   λαβεῖν.
3S.was.begging alms   to.receive

NRS: [2] And a man lame from birth was being carried in…. [3] When he saw <u>Peter and John about to go into the temple,</u> he asked them for alms.

To summarize, the discussion has taken into account 77 instances of the *object+participle* construction with matrix verb ὁράω (a few tokens involve two object complements).[484] In 72 tokens, the object is thetic-like at least for the viewer. In many, especially with pronominal objects, but also with lexical nouns, the theticity is suppressed. Below, the tokens have been sorted according to whether the object is expressed by an anarthrous NP, an arthrous NP, or a pronoun, and according to the different identifiability and awareness states of the entity. Only categories (v) and (vii) concern tokens that are not thetic-like—another 5 tokens.

- When the object is an *anarthrous* NP

(i) in 30 tokens the entity introduced is *new* from the perspective of both audience and viewer: Mat 3:7; Mat 9:9; Mat 20:3; Mat 22:11 (with negated participle); Mrk 2:14 (anarthrous name) Mrk 9:14 (2x); Mrk 9:38; Mrk 11:13; Mrk 16:5; Luk 5:2; Luk 9:49; Luk 21:2; Act 7:24; Act 10:3; Act 11:5 ('some object descending'); Act 26:13; Rev 5:1; Rev 5:2;[485] Rev 7:1; Rev 7:2; Rev 9:1; Rev 10:1; Rev 13:1; Rev 13:11; Rev 14:6; Rev 15:2; Rev 17:3; Rev 18:1; Rev 19:17; Rev 20:1.

(ii) in 3 tokens, the entity introduced is *old* for the audience and usually the viewer: Luk 21:20; Act 3:3 (apparently new entity to viewer; participial matrix verb); Act 7:55.

- When the object is an *arthrous* NP

(iii) in 23 tokens the entity introduced is *old* for both audience and viewer: Mat 3:16; Mrk 1:10 (2x); Mrk 11:20; Mrk 14:67; Luk 9:32 (with arthrous participle); Jhn 1:47 (arthrous probably because 'Nathanael' is indeclinable); Jhn 19:26; Act 11:13 (UBS text has [τόν] in parentheses); Act 28:4; Rev 19:11; Rev 19:19; Rev 21:2. Of the 23 tokens, 11 involve future predictions: Mat 16:28 (the proposition is clearly discourse topical); Mat 24:15 (‖Mrk 13:14); Mat 24:30; Mat 26:64; Mrk 9:1; Mrk 13:26 and ‖Luk 21:27 (passive?); Luk 12:54 (questionable, UBS text has [τήν] in parentheses); Jhn 1:33; Jhn 1:51 (2x).

(iv) in up to 5 tokens the entity introduced appears to be *new* for the audience in an absolute sense (i.e. discourse-new); in some the entity is implicitly *old* for the viewer. Some tokens involve entities that are inferentially identifiable because they are anchored to an identifiable entity or predictable in the situation, as was illustrated above in Mat 8:14 ('his [=Peter's] mother-in-law'); see also Mat 9:23; Act 16:27; Luk 21:1 probably fits here too (the…rich; see

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[484] This count includes 5 tokens with aorist subjunctive matrix verbs that refer to future events that are certain: Mat 24:15; Mrk 13:14; Luk 12:54; Luk 21:20; Jhn 1:33.

[485] To these could be added Rev 5:6, but it is exceptional in that the participle is clearly in the nominative (and thus by association neuter 'lamb' is also nominative).

§5.3.2). That 'the children' were crying Hosanna is made explicit for the first time in Mat 21:15 (v 9 only mentions the crowd crying Hosanna).

(v) in 1 token, the entity is *old in the scene* for the viewer, so it is topical and *not thetic-like*: Rev 17:6.

- When the object is a *pronoun,* the entity is audience-old and

(vi) in 11 tokens the entity is *new in the scene* for the viewer (usually viewer-old but occasionally viewer-new): Mat 14:26; Mrk 6:33; Mrk 6:48; Mrk 6:49; Luk 22:56; Jhn 1:48; Jhn 5:6 (viewer-new); Act 3:9; Act 22:18 (with infinitival matrix verb; note Paul's diplomatic use of the pronoun, presumably to conceal who he saw). In Mrk 13:29 and Luk 21:31, the states of affairs, while thetic, are discourse topics.[486]

(vii) in 4 tokens, the entity is *old in the scene* for the viewer, so it is topical and *not thetic-like*: Luk 18:24; Jhn 11:33 (2x); Jhn 19:33; Act 8:23. (See similar tokens discussed in §5.4.)

In most sets, the matrix verb ὁράω is usually finite, as shown in Table 22. Except for one infinitive, the non-finite verbs are participles. That so many are finite (especially aorist) reflects the tendency for participial perception reports to report events on the story's line.

Table 22. Type of ὁράω matrix verb and totals for different token sets

	lexical NP object					pronoun object		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	**totals**
finite	27	2	21	2	1	5	3	**61**
non-finite	3	1	2	3	–	6	1	**16**
totals	**30**	**3**	**23**	**5**	**1**	**11**	**4**	**77**

When discussing constituent order in the next section, I shall draw on the above 77 ὁράω tokens plus another 71 involving other perception verbs, for a total of 148 tokens. See the footnote here for the additional tokens.[487] A larger database is helpful because orders other than *object–participle* are scarce.

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[486] To these might be added some cases in wh-questions (with pronominal objects that precede their participles): Mat 25:37; Mat 25:39; Mat 25:44.

[487] For participial perception reports with matrix verbs other than ὁράω, consider the following three sets, which total 71 tokens (some have multiple object complements).

Lexical objects: With **vision** verbs other than ὁράω, I have collected 26 tokens. Most objects (including names) are arthrous and most are thetic-like for at least the perceiver (unless tagged 'topic'): Mat 15:31 (3x); Mat 20:6; Mat 21:2; Mrk 5:15 (topic?); Mrk 5:31 (topic?); Luk 10:18; Luk 24:2; Jhn 1:29 (arthrous name); Jhn 1:32; Jhn 6:19; Jhn 10:12 (arthrous 'the wolf' is new to audience and viewer, but belongs to the semantic frame of 'shepherding', and so it is inferrable); Jhn 20:1; Jhn 20:5; Jhn 20:6; Jhn 20:12; Jhn 20:14; Jhn 21:9 (2x); Jhn 21:20; Act 4:14 (topic); Act 5:23 (2x, topic?); Act 7:56 (2x); Act 8:13; Act 10:11 (2x); Act 17:16 (topic); Heb 10:25 (topic?); 1Jn 3:17. (This set excludes Mat 11:7, an answer to a rhetorical question.)

For similar tokens with **ἀκούω** 'hear', I have collected 31. A bit more than half the objects are genitive; accusative ones (=A) are indicated (see footnote 498 on the difference): Luk 18:36; Jhn 7:32 (topic?); Act 7:12 (A); Act 9:4 (A); Act 11:7 (καί 'also'); Act 14:9 (topic); Act 15:12 (anarthrous names, topic); Act 22:7; Act 26:14 (A); 2Th 3:11 (A); 3Jn 1:4 (A) (topic); Rev 1:10 (A); Rev 5:13 (A); Rev 6:1 (topic); Rev 6:3 (topic); Rev 6:5 (topic); Rev 6:6 (A); Rev 6:7 (A, topic?); Rev 8:13; Rev 9:13 (A); Rev 10:4 (A); Rev 11:12; Rev 12:10 (A); Rev 14:13; Rev 16:1; Rev 16:5 (topic); Rev 16:7 (topic?); Rev 18:4 (A); Rev 19:1 (A); Rev 19:6 (A); Rev 21:3.

Pronominal objects (14 tokens): Most count as topics for the perceiver. With **vision** verbs: Mrk 16:14; Luk 24:39; Jhn 1:38; Act 1:11. With **ἀκούω** 'hear': Mrk 12:28; Mrk 14:58; Jhn 1:37; Jhn 12:18 (A); Act 2:6; Act 2:11; Act 6:11; Act 6:14; Act 8:30; Act 10:46.

5.3.2 **Constituent order**

As was suggested by the many examples cited thus far, the order *object–participle* is by far most frequent. So we may ask why do other orders occur, such as the inverse order *participle–object,* or where the object precedes its matrix verb. The following discussion will concentrate on the position of the object, especially in relation to the participle. The object in a perception report is after all the element that is most like a thetic subject, and it is in particular the correspondences between thetic-like objects and thetic subjects that we are interested in. And if we assume that *object+participle* (in any order) usually functions as a complement clause, then the matrix clause object functions as the complement's **subject** and similarities between the behavior of the two types of 'thetic subjects' should not be surprising.

I will usually ignore issues concerning the position of peripheral constituents, such as locatives and other adverbs that modify the participle and may even occasionally come between the object and participle.[488]

Johannessohn (1937), who made a handful of (mostly casual) comments about the position of the object in relation to the participle, noted that, while the most common order in the LXX and NT is *object–participle,* Classical texts display more variety (pp. 150-1, 236). That the LXX prefers *object-participle* may be, Johannessohn suggested, because the translators were imitating the Hebrew order, whose analogous construction also strongly prefers the order *object–participle* (p. 147).[489] But this reasoning does not apply to the NT, except perhaps as a case of language contact that influenced the way NT writers used Greek. So we must try to make sense of the different orders in the NT Koine as best we can.

As mentioned at the end of the last section, I collected 148 tokens, of which most objects are thetic-like for at least the viewer (among the non-ὁράω tokens, there is a higher proportion of objects, especially pronominal ones, that have a topical function for the viewer). Of these 148, 23 have marked orders, and of these 23, 20 involve objects in marked positions—these tokens are the first 20 listed below. The last 3 tokens listed involve other marked orders. About 9 of the 23 tokens lack thetic-like function for the viewer/perceiver.

- In 10, the object follows its participle: Mrk 1:10; Luk 21:20; Jhn 20:5; Act 2:11 (not thetic-like); Act 7:12; Act 10:11; Act 11:5; Act 16:27; Act 28:4; Heb 10:25 (perhaps not thetic-like).

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[488] It seems the default position for adverbial-like elements modifying the participle, especially locatives and prepositional phrases, is after the participle (*locatives:* Mat 9:9; Mat 20:3; Mat 21:15; Mrk 2:14; Mrk 16:5; Luk 5:2; etc.; *other prepositional phrases:* Mat 16:28; Mrk 9:1; Mrk 9:14 'arguing with them'; Mrk 11:20; Jhn 1:47; etc.). But locatives may also immediately follow the matrix verb, in which case they may be some kind of topical point of departure (e.g. Mat 22:11; Rev 5:1; Rev 5:6; probably also Rev 6:9; contrast also the prepositional phrases in Rev 13:1 and Rev 13:11). Occasionally, one finds the order *object–adverb–participle,* as in Mrk 9:38 and ‖Luk 9:49 (εἴδομέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια [we.saw someone.A in the name of.you casting.out.A demons]). Johannessohn (1937:237-8) says the adverb 'in your name' is emphasized. In my terms, the special position coincides with an emotively emphatic element that is part of a larger focal predicate.

Locatives coming between the object and the participle can be difficult to analyze, as in Act 11:13 (εἶδεν [τὸν] ἄγγελον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ σταθέντα καὶ εἰπόντα [3S.saw the.A angel.A in the house of.him having.stood.Aor and having.said.Aor]). The locative 'in his house' may in fact be a separate (intervening) predicate, so the participle would count as a second modifying predicate (i.e. a *participium coniunctum*—as suggested to me by Rutger Allan). See also Mrk 11:13.

[489] Interestingly, Johannessohn (p. 151 note 2 and p. 236 note 2) points out that order *participle–object* may be imitating the order of the Hebrew infinitive construct: e.g. 2Ch 7:3 and Deu 32:36.

- In 2, the object follows the participle and a predicate element precedes it: Act 2:6 (not thetic-like); Act 17:16 (not thetic-like).

- In 2, the object is split (it straddles the participle): Luk 21:1; Act 26:13.

- In 6, the object precedes the matrix verb: Luk 24:39 (not thetic-like); Jhn 5:6; Act 4:14 (not thetic-like); Act 5:23 ('the jail' and probably also 'the guards' are not thetic-like); Rev 5:13; Rev 21:2.

- In 1, the participle and its locative precede the matrix verb: Jhn 1:48.

- In 2, the object comes in its unmarked position, but a predicate element of the participle has a marked position; neither are thetic-like: Jhn 12:18 (the predicate element is split); Act 8:23 (the predicate element precedes the matrix verb).

The order *object–participle* is the obvious candidate for a pragmatically unmarked order. It is not only most common, but, as noted in the last section, it prevails whether the object is thetic-like or topical, lexical or pronominal, known or unknown, to either audience or viewer (perceiver). So I propose that this is a default order and designate this as **Rule 1**. I will now attempt to explain the other orders in relation to it.

Let's first consider tokens where the object follows its participle. One of the uses of this position seems to be to *overtly* signal that the entity and state of affairs being introduced are **demoted** (i.e. downplayed, 'backgrounded') relative to other things. This is clear, for example, when the entity does not persist or feature prominently in the following discourse. Let's call this **Rule 2**. (Recall Callow's observation, discussed in §3.3.2, that for some types of Koine copular clauses with predicate complements, a postverbal complement is 'downplayed' or 'off the theme-line' while preverbal ones are in some way more prominent and often the idea persists. Recall also D. Payne's claims for Papago, §2.3.5, that constituent order may signal persistence or discourse salience.)

Consider first **Act 16:27**. The phrase 'the doors' follows its participle and does not persist. 'The doors being opened' is secondary to the jailer's drawing his sword to kill himself (the same principle may also explain post-infinitival τοὺς δεσμίους). That the matrix verb ἰδὼν plus complement is grammatically subordinate to what follows reinforces the secondary role.

Act 16:27   καὶ   <u>ἰδὼν</u>   <u>ἀνεῳγμένας</u>   **τὰς   θύρας   τῆς   φυλακῆς,**
           and   having.seen   having.been.opened.A   the.A   doors.A   of.the   prison

           σπασάμενος   (τὴν)   μάχαιραν   ἤμελλεν   ἑαυτὸν   ἀναιρεῖν
           having.drawn   the   sword   3S.was.about   himself   to.kill

           νομίζων   ἐκπεφευγέναι   τοὺς   δεσμίους.
           thinking   to.have.run.away.Inf   the   prisoners

           NRS: [26] Suddenly there was an earthquake, so violent that the foundations of the prison were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened and everyone's chains were unfastened. [27] When the jailer woke up and saw <u>the prison doors wide open,</u> he drew his sword and was about to kill himself, since he supposed that the prisoners had escaped.

In **Jhn 20:5-6**, τὰ ὀθόνια 'the linen (burial) cloths' are introduced twice, first from the perspective of 'the other disciple' and then from Peter's perspective. In v 5, 'the linen cloths' *follows* its participle and does not persist; instead, the following comment, 'but he did not enter', seems more prominent (as it contrasts with Peter's bolder action). In v 6, when introduced from Peter's perspective, 'the linen cloths' *precedes* its participle and they are

mentioned again in v 7. So the linen cloths (together with the head cloth) feature more prominently in the narrative in the latter introduction.

Jhn 20:5 καὶ παρακύψας <u>βλέπει</u> <u>κείμενα</u> **τὰ ὀθόνια,** οὐ μέντοι εἰσῆλθεν.
and having.stooped 3S.sees lying the linen.cloths not however 3S.entered

6 ἔρχεται οὖν καὶ Σίμων Πέτρος ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν
3S.comes then also Simon Peter following him and 3S.entered

εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ <u>θεωρεῖ</u> **τὰ ὀθόνια** <u>κείμενα,</u>
into the tomb and 3S.observes the linen.cloths lying

7 καὶ τὸ σουδάριον, ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, οὐ μετὰ
and the face.cloth which 3S.was upon the head of.him not with

τῶν ὀθονίων κείμενον ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐντετυλιγμένον εἰς ἕνα τόπον.
the linen.cloths lying but apart having.been.folded.up in one place

NRS: [4] The two were running together, but the other disciple outran Peter and reached the tomb first. [5] He bent down to look in and saw <u>the linen wrappings lying</u> there, but he did not go in. [6] Then Simon Peter came, following him, and went into the tomb. He saw <u>the linen wrappings lying</u> there, [7] and the cloth that had been on Jesus' head, not lying with the linen wrappings but rolled up in a place by itself.

And in **Mrk 1:10**, the heavens' opening seems secondary to what follows. True, 'the heavens' are mentioned again in v 11, but this is in relation to the (more prominent) voice speaking. (Compare ||Mat 3:16 with similar order in an ἰδού clause.)

Mrk 1:10 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος <u>εἶδεν</u> <u>σχιζομένους</u> **τοὺς οὐρανοὺς**
and at.once coming.up out of.the water 3S.saw being.divided the heavens

καὶ **τὸ πνεῦμα** ὡς περιστερὰν <u>καταβαῖνον</u> εἰς αὐτόν·
and the Spirit as dove descending towards him

11 καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,
and voice 3S.happened from the heavens

NRS: [10] And just as he was coming up out of the water, he saw <u>the heavens torn apart</u> and the Spirit descending like a dove on him. [11] And a voice came from heaven, "You are my Son, the Beloved; with you I am well pleased."

Thus, *participle–object* may occur when either the entity does not persist in the discourse or the state of affairs is demoted in relation to other state of affairs. (Act 28:4 and Act 7:12 are probably two more cases of Rule 2.)

However, the fact that an entity does not persist or the state of affairs is in some sense secondary *does not guarantee* the order *participle–object* will be used. My point is that *participle–object* **overtly marks** such complements as 'demoted'. The other order, *object–participle,* in contrast, is **neutral**, being compatible with either type of statement.[490] So in **Act 7:56**, neither 'the heavens' nor 'the Son of Man' persist, and even if the heaven's being opened seems secondary to the appearance of the Son of Man at God's right side, this is not overtly marked.

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[490] Levinsohn (2000:ix, 14-15) holds that this type of markedness applies to the NTG distinction between (i) *verb-initial* clauses and (ii) *point of departure—verb* clauses. Construction (ii) is *overtly marked* for discontinuity while (i) is neutral in relation to continuity versus discontinuity—see §3.3.1. But note that, regarding the position of the object in complements, the reverse state of affairs holds: the unmarked construction has a preverbal element!

Act 7:56   καὶ   εἶπεν,   Ἰδοὺ   <u>θεωρῶ</u>   **τοὺς   οὐρανοὺς**   <u>διηνοιγμένους</u>   καὶ   **τὸν   υἱὸν**
           and   3S.said   behold   I.see   the   heavens   having.been.opened   and   the   Son

           τοῦ   ἀνθρώπου   ἐκ   δεξιῶν   <u>ἑστῶτα</u>   τοῦ   θεοῦ.
           of.the   Man   at   right   standing.Prf   -   of.God

NRS: ⁵⁶ "Look," he said, "I see <u>the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!</u>' ⁵⁷ But they covered their ears… [and attacked and stoned him.]

There are, in fact, several *object–participle* tokens where the object entity does not persist. See, for example, '[the] mute' and '[the] lame' etc. in Mat 15:31; 'the children' Mat 21:15; 'the abomination of desolation' Mat 24:15; 'scribes' Mrk 9:14; '[the] cloud' Luk 12:54; 'the stone' Jhn 20:1; 'a charcoal fire' and 'a fish' Jhn 21:9.

     Now it is clear that we need another rule since there are a couple of instances of *participle–object* that do not appear to be demoted. In both passages, **multiple** complements occur, and in the second complement of each passage, the order *participle–object* occurs.

     Consider **Act 10:11**. The first object, 'the heaven', is in its default position (if anything, it is *this* state of affairs that is secondary). The second one, σκεῦός τι 'a certain object', follows its participle. Since this new entity persists and features prominently in the vision, it is obviously not demoted.

Act 10:11   καὶ   <u>θεωρεῖ</u>   **τὸν   οὐρανὸν**   <u>ἀνεῳγμένον</u>
           and   3S.observes   the.A   heaven.A   having.been.opened.A

           καὶ   <u>καταβαῖνον</u>   **σκεῦός   τι**   ὡς   ὀθόνην   μεγάλην
           and   descending.A.s.n   object.A.s.n   a.certain.A.s.n   like   linen.cloth.A.s.f   large.A.s.f

           τέσσαρσιν   ἀρχαῖς   καθιέμενον   ἐπὶ   τῆς   γῆς,   12   ἐν   ᾧ   κτλ
           by.four   corners   being.let.down.A.s.n   upon   the   ground   in   which

nab: [Peter was hungry and fell into a trance.] ¹¹ He saw <u>the heaven opened</u> and <u>something coming down</u> like a large sheet being lowered to the ground by its four corners, ¹² in which were all kinds of four-footed creatures and reptiles and birds…

That the object σκεῦός τι (the complement's subject) follows its participle here, is functionally analogous to the unmarked position for thetic subjects being introduced into an already established scene (recall §4.10.2). This is **Rule 3**.

     The second token that Rule 3 covers occurs in **Act 11:5**, which recounts the same story. Here, I assume that the first thetic-like object, ὅραμα 'vision', counts as 'establishing the scene' against which καταβαῖνον σκεῦός τι 'a certain object coming down' is introduced (unlike the previous example, here καθιεμένην is feminine). I know of no other tokens like these two, but see 6.7.3.2 for a comparable construction with ἰδού.

Act 11:5   καὶ   <u>εἶδον</u>   ἐν   ἐκστάσει   ὅραμα,   <u>καταβαῖνον</u>   **σκεῦός   τι**
           and   I.saw   in   trance   vision.A.s.n   coming.down.A.s.n   object.A.s.n   a.certain.A.s.n

           ὡς   ὀθόνην   μεγάλην   τέσσαρσιν   ἀρχαῖς   καθιεμένην
           like   linen.cloth.A.s.f   large.A.s.f   by.four   corners   being.let.down.A.s.f

           ἐκ   τοῦ   οὐρανοῦ,   καὶ   ἦλθεν   ἄχρι   ἐμοῦ.
           from   -   heaven   and   3S.came   up.to   me

NRS: ⁵ I was in the city of Joppa praying, and in a trance I saw <u>a vision. There was something like a large sheet coming down from heaven,</u> being lowered by its four corners; and it came close to me. ⁶ As I looked at it closely I saw four-footed animals, beasts of prey, reptiles, and birds of the air.…

Rule 4: When, however, multiple states of affairs are being reported one after another and the states of affairs are neutrally related to each other or perhaps happening simultaneously, then *object–participle* is preferred. Rule 4 is in fact just the default order, Rule 1. It is illustrated by **Mat 15:31**.[491] See also Mat 21:15; Mrk 1:10 (the second and third complements, the first is demoted); Mrk 9:14; Luk 9:32; Jhn 1:51 (?); Jhn 21:9; Act 5:23; Act 7:56.

Mat 15:31 ὥστε   τὸν   ὄχλον   θαυμάσαι   <u>βλέποντας</u>   **κωφοὺς**   <u>λαλοῦντας</u>,
           so.as the   crowd   to.amaze   seeing   mute.ones.A   speaking.A

κυλλοὺς   <u>ὑγιεῖς</u>   καὶ   **χωλοὺς**   <u>περιπατοῦντας</u>
crippled.ones.A   healthy.Adj.A   and   lame.ones.A   walking.around.A

καὶ   **τυφλοὺς**   <u>βλέποντας</u>·   καὶ   ἐδόξασαν   τὸν   θεὸν   Ἰσραήλ.
and   blind.ones.A   seeing.A   and   3P.glorified   the   God   of.Israel

NRS: [They brought the lame, blind…to him, and he cured them,] [31] so that the crowd was amazed when they saw <u>the mute speaking,</u> <u>the maimed whole,</u> <u>the lame walking,</u> and <u>the blind seeing.</u> And they praised the God of Israel.

There are a few more tokens that require special comment. These concern marked positions of both objects and other elements, some of which involve topical objects for the viewer.

Act 26:13 introduces a complex state of affairs that is clearly thetic-like for both audience ('the king') and viewer (Paul). The object φῶς 'light' follows the participle (the postpositive pronoun με comes in its expected position), and the adverb 'from heaven' plus 'beyond the brilliance of the sun' precede. It does not seem that φῶς 'light' follows in order to 'demote' it but rather that the complex focal object phrase is broken up so that each part stands out in relief (the initial element 'from heaven' may function as a topical point of departure; see footnote 488 for similar tokens).

Act 26:13 ἡμέρας μέσης   κατὰ   τὴν   ὁδὸν   <u>εἶδον</u>,   βασιλεῦ,
           midday   along   the   way   I.saw   king

οὐρανόθεν   ὑπὲρ   τὴν   λαμπρότητα   τοῦ   ἡλίου   <u>περιλάμψαν</u>
from.heaven beyond the   brilliance   of.the   sun   having.shone.about.A

με   **φῶς**   καὶ   τοὺς   σὺν   ἐμοὶ   πορευομένους.
me   light.A   and   the.ones   with   me   traveling

NRS: [12] With this in mind, I was traveling to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests, [13] when at midday along the road, your Excellency, I saw <u>a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, shining around me and my companions.</u>

In **Luk 21:1-2**, two states of affairs are introduced, the rich giving their donations and a poor widow giving her two pennies. I assume that τοὺς…πλουσίους 'the…rich (people)' is a split object, but it is not clear to me why τοὺς 'the' precedes and πλουσίους 'rich' is delayed until the end of the complement. Otherwise, this token seems to fit Rule 2, since, although 'the rich' do persist in the discourse, they have a demoted role. The widow, who is introduced before the participle, is prominent, as her charity is praised.

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[491] There is little sense in appealing to the notion of point of departure (i.e. contrastive topic) to explain these pre-participial objects, and it would be hard to prove either way. Instead, the order seems to me to be unmarked, that is, equivalent to Rule 1.

Luk 21:1 Ἀναβλέψας   δὲ   εἶδεν
         having.looked.up and 3S.saw

         τοὺς <u>βάλλοντας</u> εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν **πλουσίους**.
         the.A putting.A into the treasury   the gifts of.them rich.A

      2 <u>εἶδεν</u> δέ **τινα** **χήραν πενιχρὰν** <u>βάλλουσαν</u> ἐκεῖ λεπτὰ δύο,
         3S.saw and a.certain widow poor   putting   there leptas two

         NRS: [1] He [=Jesus] looked up and saw <u>rich people putting their gifts into the treasury;</u> [2]
         he also saw <u>a poor widow put in two small copper coins.</u> [3] He said, "Truly I tell you, this
         poor widow has put in more than all of them; [4] for all of them have contributed out of
         their abundance, but she out of her poverty has put in all she had to live on."

   Luk 21:20 is tricky. It comes in a speech by Jesus when he is in the temple in Jerusalem
talking about the temple's destruction (see vv 1-5, 37). So the complement's subject
Ἰερουσαλήμ 'Jerusalem' is at least inferentially accessible. At first glance, the most salient
part of the complement seems to be the predicate, 'being surrounded by armies' (the 'armies'
are not explicitly mentioned again, but they are implicit in the destructive events that follow).
So one might conclude that Ἰερουσαλήμ is topical for the viewer. But that Ἰερουσαλήμ is
anarthrous might speak against this. In any case, the post-participial position presumably
indicates that this event is secondary to what follows—thus Rule 2.[492]

Luk 21:20 Ὅταν δὲ <u>ἴδητε</u> <u>κυκλουμένην</u>   ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων **Ἰερουσαλήμ**, τότε γνῶτε ὅτι
          when but you.see being.surrounded by armies   Jerusalem   then know that

          ἤγγικεν   ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.
          has.drawn.near the devastation of.her

          nab: [20] When you see <u>Jerusalem surrounded by armies,</u> then know that her desolation is
          near. [21] Then those in Judea must flee to the mountains, and those inside her must leave.

   Two tokens with ὤν (participles of εἰμί 'be') also have marked order. In **Act 17:16**, the
pre-participial predicate adjective κατείδωλον 'full of idols' is likely emotively emphatic (and
focal). The post-participial object τὴν πόλιν 'the city' is activated for the viewer (and
audience), and, I believe, the topic. (See the similar verbless statement a few verses later in
Act 17:22, discussed in §5.4. See also Act 8:23 with ὤν where the focal prepositional phrase
precedes the matrix verb, the object is topic, and 'see' probably means 'infer'.)

Act 17:16 Ἐν δὲ   ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοὺς τοῦ Παύλου παρωξύνετο
          in and - Athens   awaiting   them   the Paul   3S.was.being.aroused

          τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν   αὐτῷ <u>θεωροῦντος</u> κατείδωλον <u>οὖσαν</u> **τὴν** **πόλιν**.
          the spirit of.him within him observing   full.of.idols.A being.A the.A city.A

          NRS: While Paul was waiting for them in Athens, he was deeply distressed to see that <u>the
          city was full of idols.</u>

   Enigmatic **Jhn 1:48**, also with ὤν 'being', is noteworthy because the complement's
predicate precedes the matrix verb. This token is apparently thetic-like for the audience
(Philip). Even though 'you' (Philip) is audience-old (Philip is aware of himself), Jesus'
sighting him under the fig tree is surprising to him. Why the predicate precedes the matrix
verb is not clear to me (there is no consensus among commentators on the significance of the
fig tree). (When this state of affairs if referred to again in Jhn 1:50, the order is unmarked,
there is no participle, and σε 'you' is probably topic.)

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[492] That the matrix clause is subordinated (headed by ὅταν 'when') seems irrelevant to the position of the object.
See Mat 24:15; Mrk 13:14; Mrk 13:29; Luk 12:54; Luk 21:31.

Jhn 1:48   Πρὸ   τοῦ   σε   Φίλιππον   φωνῆσαι | <u>ὄντα</u>   ὑπὸ   τὴν   συκῆν   <u>εἶδόν</u>   **σε**.
           before -   you Philip   to.call   being.A   under the   fig.tree I.saw you.A

           CEV: "How do you know me?" Nathanael asked. Jesus answered, "Before Philip called
           you, I saw you under the fig tree."

Other tokens with marked orders that I will not further discuss include: Luk 24:39 (with
complex embedding); Jhn 12:18 (initial 'this (sign)' probably indicates constituent-focus);
Act 2:6 (pre-participial 'in his own language' is clearly focal and probably emotively
emphatic; the object, which follows the participle, is probably topic).

Finally, the object may be '**raised**' out of its default position and placed before the matrix
verb. This order usually involves contrastiveness, of either the cataphoric or anaphoric type. I
designate such raising that indicates contrastiveness **Rule 5**.

For example, in **Act 5:23**, the speakers give two pieces of evidence they found, one
featuring 'the jail', which precedes the matrix verb, and the other 'the guards' (probably
neither are thetic-like for the viewer). These pieces of evidence would have made the viewers
expect that everything was under control. But the third piece of evidence (also with a
preverbal object) contradicts the previous two: 'no one' was found inside the prison. So
preverbal 'the jail' bares a contrastive relationship that anticipates this switch.

Act 5:23   λέγοντες ὅτι **Τὸ   δεσμωτήριον** <u>εὕρομεν</u>   <u>κεκλεισμένον</u>
           saying   that the.A jail.A   we.found   having.been.closed.A

           ἐν   πάσῃ   ἀσφαλείᾳ   καὶ   **τοὺς   φύλακας** <u>ἑστῶτας</u>   ἐπὶ   τῶν   θυρῶν,
           with all   security   and   the.A   guards.A standing.Prf.A at   the   doors

           ἀνοίξαντες   δὲ   ἔσω   **οὐδένα**   <u>εὕρομεν</u>.
           having.opened but inside no.one.A   we.found

           NRS: [22] But when the temple police went there, they did not find them in the prison; so
           they returned and reported, [23] "We found <u>the prison securely locked</u> and <u>the guards</u>
           <u>standing at the doors,</u> but when we opened them, we found <u>no one inside."</u>

Other tokens with objects preceding their matrix verbs include: Act 4:14 ('the man',
which is topical for the viewer, is a case of cataphoric contrastiveness, contrasting with
'nothing'); Rev 21:2 (a rather climatic token; 'the holy city, the new Jerusalem' may be a
case of anaphoric contrastiveness, contrasting with 'the new heaven and new earth', or
cataphoric contrastiveness, anticipating the switch to 'a voice from the throne');[493] Jhn 5:6
(τοῦτον 'him' is a topical point of departure for the audience and thetic-like for the viewer);
Rev 5:13 ('every creature…' contrasts with the previous, 'the voice of many angels', but it
may also be emotively emphatic; its length is very unusual).

That touches on all occurrences of atypical orders in my database of perception reports.
While several questions remain, certain clear patterns have emerged. I repeat here the 'rules'
developed in this section. The first four will prove relevant to postverbal subjects in ἰδού/ἴδε
thetics with finite verbs (see §6.7.3):

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[493] Consider an alternative interpretation of Rev 21:2. The same order occurs in 1Sa 28:13 (Θεοὺς ἑόρακα
ἀναβαίνοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς [gods.A.p I.have.seen rising.A.p from the ground] 'I saw a divine being rising out of
the ground'), which, as noted by Johannessohn (1937:247), mimics the Hebrew order (אלהים ראיתי עלים
מן־הארץ [gods I.saw rising from the.ground]). As Johannessohn states (p. 147), the Hebrew order is likely
emphatic (the necromancer is utterly surprised that dead Samuel actually appears). But despite the similarities
with the situation introduced in Rev 21:2, I am hesitant to say Rev 21:2 is a case of emotive emphasis.

- **Rule 1**: The unmarked (default) position of the object is between the matrix verb and its participle: *matrix-verb–**object**–participle.* This rule applies equally to objects that are thetic-like or topical for the viewer.

- **Rule 2**: The order *participle–object* may occur when the entity or state of affairs being introduced is overtly marked as 'demoted' (i.e. 'backgrounded') relative to other things.

- **Rule 3**: Once a new scene is established in the perceiver's world, the unmarked position of the object is after the participle, i.e. *participle–object.*

- **Rule 4**: The order *object–participle* is unmarked when multiple perceived states of affairs are being reported that are neutrally related to each other (e.g. happening simultaneously). This is presumably equal to Rule 1, the unmarked order.

- **Rule 5**: A constituent, especially an object, can be 'raised' out of complement and placed before the matrix verb for different reasons. 'Anticipatory contrastiveness' appears to explain several tokens, i.e. the speaker anticipates a switch of attention to something else.

5.4 Perception verb + object + locative or adjectival modifier

This section offers little more than a list of the ὁράω perception reports in the NT that involve locative and adjective modifiers functioning as subsequent predications. My comments are minimal since these tokens are few in number and tokens with participial modifiers were treated in detail.

With locative modifier: I repeat here **Mrk 9:14** from §5.1. This order, *matrix-verb–object–locative,* is representative of nearly all tokens in the NT.

Mrk 9:14   Καὶ ἐλθόντες   πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς <u>εἶδον</u> **ὄχλον** **πολὺν** <u>περὶ</u> <u>αὐτοὺς</u>
        and having.come to   the   disciples 3P.saw crowd.A great.A around them

        NRS: When they$_a$ [=Jesus, Peter, James, and John descended from the mountain and] came to the disciples$_b$, they$_a$ saw <u>a great crowd around them$_{b,}$</u>

See also Mat 2:11 (the locative 'with Mary' introduces an additional entity to the viewers); Mat 8:18; Mat 21:19; Luk 13:28 (future prediction, anarthrous names); Luk 16:23 (anarthrous names); Jhn 1:50 (σε 'you.A' is probably topic); Rev 15:1.[494]

A token like **Mat 28:7c** (and parallel Mat 28:10), where the locative (with postpositive pronoun) precedes the matrix verb, is not at all thetic. This locative is a case of constituent-focus (paraphrasable as *it is THERE that you will see him,* answering the implicit question 'Where will we see him?'). (See also the negated rhetorical question in Jhn 18:26 where the pronominal object precedes the matrix verb.)

Mat 28:7   καὶ ἰδοὺ προάγει   ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, <u>ἐκεῖ</u> **αὐτὸν** <u>ὄψεσθε·</u>
        and *   3S.is.going.ahead.of you   to the Galilee   there him   you.will.see

        NRS: Then go quickly and tell his disciples, 'He has been raised from the dead, and indeed he is going ahead of you to Galilee; <u>there</u> you will see him.'

With adjectival modifier: Jhn 9:1 (ἄνθρωπον τυφλὸν ἐκ γενετῆς 'a man blind from birth') has unmarked order and is thetic-like for both audience and viewer. In the two other tokens, the object is topical for the viewer and the order is marked: **Heb 11:23** has the order *adjective–object.* **Act 17:22** has the order *adjective–object–matrix verb,* the superlative

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[494] See also Act 21:27 with θεάομαι and Rev 5:11 with ἀκούω. Rev 16:13, though not a predicate locative, represents a related construction.

adjective 'how very religious' being emotively emphatic (the object behaves like a postpositive).

Heb 11:23   διότι   εἶδον   ἀστεῖον   **τὸ παιδίον**
            because 3P.saw   beautiful   the child

> NRS: By faith Moses was hidden by his parents for three months after his birth, because they saw that <u>the child was beautiful;</u> and they were not afraid of the king's edict.

Act 17:22   Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ   πάντα   ὡς   <u>δεισιδαιμονεστέρους</u> **ὑμᾶς** **θεωρῶ**.
            men   Athenians regarding all.things how   very.religious.A   you.A I.observe

> NRS: Then Paul stood in front of the Areopagus and said, "Athenians, I see how extremely religious you are in every way.…"

5.5 Perception verb + ὅτι finite verb clause

This section treats perception reports that are expressed by a finite verb clause headed by the complementizer ὅτι 'that'. The analysis is based on 68 tokens with the following matrix verbs: 34x ἀκούω 'hear',[495] 25x ὁράω 'see, perceive',[496] 5x θεωρέω 'look at, observe, perceive, see' (Mrk 16:4; Jhn 4:19; Jhn 12:19; Act 19:26; Act 27:10); 3x θεάομαι 'look (intently) at, see' (Jhn 4:35; Jhn 6:5; 1Jn 4:14); 2x βλέπω 'see, perceive' (2Co 7:8; Jas 2:22).

Of the 68 tokens, only about 16 are thetic-like (at least for the viewer/perceiver), which is proportionately much less often than for perception reports with an *object complement (+/– modifier, participial or otherwise)* discussed in the previous sections.

Perception reports with ὅτι differ in other ways from those with an object complement. I can only briefly comment on what might be their typical differences in function. The object complement more typically purports to report what a perceiver *directly* saw or heard (or otherwise perceived), whereas the ὅτι construction typically involves perception of a more *indirect* nature, one usually involving inference.[497] So *'see'+ὅτι...* may often really mean 'perceive' or 'infer', and *'hear'+ὅτι...* may summarize the content of what a person has heard rather than report the actual words or the thing heard (e.g. a voice, thunder).[498] Moreover, the ὅτι construction is typically used when the reported state of affairs is temporally or spatially

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[495] Mat 2:22; Mat 4:12; Mat 5:21; Mat 5:27; Mat 5:33; Mat 5:38; Mat 5:43; Mat 20:30; Mat 22:34; Mrk 2:1; Mrk 6:55; Mrk 10:47; Mrk 16:11; Luk 1:58; Jhn 4:1; Jhn 4:47; Jhn 9:32; Jhn 9:35; Jhn 11:6; Jhn 11:20; Jhn 12:12; Jhn 14:28; Jhn 21:7; Act 9:38; Act 11:1; Act 14:9; Act 15:24; Act 16:38; Act 19:26; Act 21:22; Act 22:2; Gal 1:23; Php 2:26; 1Jn 2:18; 1Jn 4:3.

[496] Mat 2:16; Mat 27:3; Mat 27:24; Mrk 2:16; Mrk 7:2; Mrk 8:24 (structurally marginal); Mrk 9:25; Mrk 12:28; Mrk 12:34; Mrk 15:39; Luk 8:47; Luk 11:38 (?); Luk 17:15; Jhn 6:22; Jhn 6:24; Jhn 7:52; Jhn 11:31; Act 8:18; Act 12:3; Act 14:9; Act 16:19; Gal 2:7; Gal 2:14; Jas 5:11 (?); Rev 12:13.

[497] So negation, which necessarily involves an inference about what one perceives, is common in reports headed by ὅτι (see also Johannessohn [1937:243], who also notes parallels with Hebrew כִּי, pp. 170-1, 184-5): e.g. Luk 8:43; Jhn 6:22; Jhn 6:24; Jhn 7:52; Gal 2:14. But negated object complement reports are rare (e.g. Mat 22:11).

[498] Hf&S §233b (note 1, p. 408) describe four ἀκούω report constructions for which they indicate different degrees of directness: (i) + *genitive participial clause* = what is personally heard; (ii) + *accusative participial clause* = for indirectly heard facts that are certain (but sometimes in the NT for what is personally heard); (iii) +ὅτι+*subordinate clause* = for indirectly heard facts that are certain; (iv) + *accusative infinitival clause* = for the reception of a report or a rumor (e.g. Jhn 12:18 and thetic 1Co 11:18, both may be hearsay). BDF (§416.1) think the Classical distinction between the infinitival and participial types (i.e. hearsay vs. actual fact) probably cannot be claimed for the NT.

distanced from the perceiver[499] (see BDF §388 on ὅτι being used especially with past indicative forms), but the object complement construction is favored for here-and-now situations (most typically occurring with present participles). However, there may be exceptions to these characterizations.[500] My characterizations here are influenced by Levinsohn (2003) who has described ὅτι in its various uses (to introduce reported speech and writing, as a complementizer for verbs of perception and cognition, and as a causal conjunction) as what Sperber and Wilson (1995:259) and Blass (1990:104) have called an explicit indicator of 'interpretive use'. That is, instead of being a true *description* of a state of affairs, what is uttered is an *interpretation* of it.

Our 68 tokens can be sorted into the following groups of ὅτι clauses. I will treat each of these in turn.

(i)   **ὅτι *with Ø subject:*** the subject is only indicated on the verb and is usually topical.

(ii)   **ὅτι–*S…V:*** thetic, constituent-focus, and other types. When the subject is a focal proper name, it is anarthrous.

(iii)   **ὅτι–*non-subject…V:*** the non-subject element may be a case of constituent-focus or a salient element of a focal predicate.

(iv)   **ὅτι–*V…S:*** the subject is usually topical, but occasionally it and its clause are thetic.

(v)   ***'raised' subject*+ὅτι *clause:*** probably not thetic.

Since we are now dealing with (nominative) subject constituents, we can speak of 'thetic subjects' and 'topical subjects', in contrast to the 'thetic-like objects' and 'topical objects' treated in the previous sections. But, since these clauses are embedded in perception reports, we still must be alert to what roles the different perspectives play.

(i) ὅτι *with Ø subject:* A few of the tokens involve impersonal subjects (e.g. Mat 5:21 'you have heard that it was said'), in which case topicality is irrelevant. In most other tokens, the subject entity is fully activated and topical for both the audience and the viewer, so thetic construal is impossible. An interesting exception occurs in **Act 21:22**, where Paul's presence in the scene is clearly news to those hearing the report. The hearer's perspective is played down in favor of Paul's, who himself is the addressee.

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[499] See, for example, Mat 2:16, where 'see' is used to report what Herod *inferred,* summarizing his assessment of what had happened in the past: Τότε Ἡρῴδης ἰδὼν ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων ἐθυμώθη λίαν 'then Herod seeing that 3S.was.tricked by the magi, 3S.was.enraged greatly'. This token is also striking because the subject entity of both the matrix clause and the perception report are coreferential (see also Luk 8:47; Rev 12:13). I have found no object complement report in the NT where this is the case. This is presumably because it would be a rare context where a report would be given of a perceiver viewing himself in a here-and-now situation (Mat 27:24, with ὅτι, comes close, but here too inference is involved).

[500] According to my characterization, it is harder to explain the ὅτι sentences with present verbs that seem to indicate here-and-now states of affairs that are visually perceived in Mrk 9:25 and Jhn 6:5 (e.g. Mrk 9:25: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει ὄχλος [seeing but the Jesus that 3P.is.running.together crowd] 'But when Jesus saw that a crowd was quickly gathering'). Johannessohn (1937:242) also points out these two passages, noting that more typically ὅτι and (p. 158) ‎כִּי perception reports typically involve judgments or deductions. But what probably explains these two tokens is that, while Jesus actually sees people gathering, he, thinking ahead, infers that 'a crowd' is developing (he was known for trying to avoid crowds). For other difficulties, compare Mrk 16:4 (ὅτι) with object complements in ||Jhn 20:1 and ||Luk 24:2.

Act 21:22   πάντως   ἀκούσονται   ὅτι   ἐλήλυθας.
            certainly   3P.will.hear   that   you.have.come

> NRS: [[20-21] Fellow Christians are telling Paul that people in Jerusalem who are zealous for the Mosaic Law have heard that Paul teaches Jews elsewhere to forsake the Mosaic Law.] [22] What then is to be done? They will certainly hear that you have come.

(ii) ὅτι–S…V: These tokens may be thetic (at least for the perceiver), or they may be instances of constituent-focus or another information structure. Several involve focal subjects that are proper names which are able to lose their article. In all these tokens, the name is anarthrous even though several of the entities referred to are discourse-old and on stage and so activated for the audience.

Let's first consider two parallel passages. For the report's hearer, the report is thetic in **Mat 20:30** but a case of subject[501] constituent-focus in **Mrk 10:47** (answering the question 'Who is it?'). Since 'Jesus' is on stage in both passages and presumably known to the blind men hearing the report, it is significant that the subjects are anarthrous.[502] I take this to be a further indication of the focal status of both subjects. Moreover, for the thetic token, the perceiver's 'all new' perspective is fully played up.

Mat 20:30   καὶ   ἀκούσαντες   ὅτι   **Ἰησοῦς**   παράγει,   ἔκραξαν   λέγοντες,   κτλ
            and   having.heard   that   Jesus   3S.is.passing.by   3P.cried.out   saying

> RSV: [29] And as [Jesus and the disciples] went out of Jericho, a great crowd followed him. [30] And behold, two blind men sitting by the roadside, when they heard that Jesus was passing by, cried out, "Have mercy on us, Son of David!"

Mrk 10:47   καὶ   ἀκούσας   ὅτι   **Ἰησοῦς**   ὁ   Ναζαρηνός   ἐστιν   ἤρξατο   κράζειν   κτλ
            and   having.heard   that   Jesus   the   Nazarene   3S.is   3S.began   to.cry.out

> NRS: [48] …a blind beggar, was sitting by the roadside. [47] When he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to shout out and say, "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!"

Jhn 4:47 is another token with thetic function for the hearer. Again, even though Jesus is on stage, as subject Ἰησοῦς is anarthrous. What is also noteworthy here is that the clause is heavy. Assuming the lexical locatives would also be accented, the clause would have predicate-focus structure, in English at least. That being said, by means of the anarthrous name, Greek indicates that the preverbal subject is in some sense prominent, that is, it is either being activated for the hearer or focal, or both.

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[501] I count 'Jesus' as the subject rather than predicate since in comparable sentences with a first person pronoun, the pronoun would presumably be the subject. See Mat 14:27 (also Jhn 6:20) Ἐγώ εἰμι· 'I am (the thing you are seeing)' where what is unexpressed I take to be the topical predicate. In contrast to Greek, in the equivalent in spoken English, 'It's me!' 'me' is not subject. See also the nominative pronouns in Jhn 9:8-9: Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καθήμενος καὶ προσαιτῶν;…Οὗτός ἐστιν 'Isn't this the man who used to sit and beg? …[literally] *He is.*' McGaughy (1972:46) also seems to imply that such pronouns are subject.

[502] As far as I can tell, the form Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος (ignoring case), where only 'Nazarene' is arthrous, is the only form used for this compound in the UBS NT text. On analogy to compounds like (ἡ) Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή where the first article is optional (e.g. Mrk 15:47 with ἡ and Jhn 19:25 without ἡ) we might conclude that Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος is anarthrous and therefore also illustrating its focal salience. (See BDF §268.1 for similar compounds that lack both articles.)

Jhn 4:47   οὗτος   ἀκούσας   ὅτι **Ἰησοῦς** <u>ἥκει</u>   ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας
this.(man) having.heard that Jesus   3S.comes from -   Judea

εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν κτλ
into -   Galilee   3S.went to   him

NRS: [46] Then [Jesus] came again to Cana in Galilee where he had changed the water into wine. Now there was a royal official whose son lay ill in Capernaum. [47] When he heard <u>that Jesus had come from Judea to Galilee,</u> he went and begged him to come down and heal his son, for he was at the point of death.

Jhn 4:1 wins the prize in my data for the greatest number of recursively embedded text worlds (mental spaces). Here too, in the actual report, Ἰησοῦς 'Jesus' is anarthrous. That this form is marked is certain given arthrous ὁ Ἰησοῦς occurs in the highest matrix clause! Moreover, although the lexical subject Ἰησοῦς in the report helps the audience to keep track of the entities, it really isn't necessary since the only other competing third person singular entity, 'John', is expressed lexically (the Pharisees are plural).

Jhn 4:1   Ὡς   οὖν   ἔγνω   **ὁ Ἰησοῦς** ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι
when therefore 3S.knew - Jesus   that 3P.heard the Pharisees

ὅτι **Ἰησοῦς** πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ   καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ   Ἰωάννης
that Jesus   more   disciples 3S.makes and 3S.baptizes than John

NRS: [1] Now when Jesus learned that the Pharisees had heard, "<u>Jesus is making and baptizing more disciples than John</u>" [2] – although it was not Jesus himself but his disciples who baptized– [3] he left Judea and started back to Galilee.

NET: Now when Jesus knew that the Pharisees had heard that <u>he</u> was winning and baptizing more disciples than John

So, presumably the entire state of affairs is being portrayed as news for the Pharisees. Note that the NRS puts the report in quotes. Although ὅτι does not require this to be direct speech, such a rendering does bring across the 'all-new' feel. The NET, on the other hand, by using the pronoun *he* for Ἰησοῦς neutralizes the thetic construal. An alternative interpretation of the report would be that the focus domain is composed of the entire predicate or only the preverbal constituent 'more disciples'. But then the anarthrous subject, which would be topical, would have to be explained in another way. As will be shown below, topical subjects are more typically postverbal in ὅτι reports.[503]

For more ὅτι–*S...V* tokens that likely have *thetic* function, see Mat 2:22 (anarthrous 'Archelaus' is audience-new); Mat 4:12 (anarthrous 'John' is discourse-old but off stage; paraphrasable as *JOHN was arrested*); Mat 27:24 (compound report, part is a negated inference 'he was accomplishing nothing', which contrasts with 'a riot was beginning'); Jhn 6:5 ('a great crowd came to him'); Jhn 6:22 (compound, part is a negated state of affairs); Jhn 6:24 (negated state of affairs 'Jesus was not there'); Jhn 11:20 (anarthrous 'Jesus'); Act 9:38 (anarthrous 'Peter'); Gal 1:23 (heavy); 1Jn 2:18 ('an antichrist'). Act 15:24, with a partitive subject ('some of us') probably fits here too.[504]

For more ὅτι–*S...V* tokens involving *constituent-focus,* see Jhn 21:7 (ὁ κύριός 'the Lord' as a title for Christ does not normally lose its article) and Act 11:1 ('also the Gentiles' answering the question 'Who (next) will receive the Gospel?').

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[503] Levinsohn (2000:159) notes that anarthrous uses of 'Jesus' are especially common in John and harder to account for.

[504] 1Co 1:11 would also fit here, with a passive of δηλόω 'be made known' (not in my sample) as matrix verb.

There are other tokens with preverbal subjects, but they are likely neither thetic nor otherwise focal: Jhn 14:28 ('You heard that I [preverbal ἐγώ] told you "I am leaving…"'); 2Co 7:8 ('that epistle' is probably best viewed as a topic expression; it discourse-old—2Co 2:2-4); Jas 2:22 (ἡ πίστις 'faith', topic and discourse-old); 1Jn 4:14 (the content of the ὅτι clause has just been mentioned in v 10 and thus it is probably topical in relation to the matrix clause that 'we have seen and testify').

So the situation with ὅτι–*S…V* perception reports is somewhat analogous to what we found for the object in the *object+participle* complement (recall that the object in *object+participle* functions as the complement's subject and the participle as its predicate): a preverbal subject can be either focal (whether thetic or a case of constituent-focus) or topical. Having said that, we will see for the following categories that, unlike in *object+participle* reports, topical subjects in ὅτι reports are usually postverbal.

(iii) ὅτι–*non-subject…V*: In these tokens, the preverbal constituent is not the subject. The preverbal constituent involves either constituent-focus or another type of marked focus (e.g. a salient component of a focal predicate).

Consider **Act 8:18** with the preverbal phrase 'by the putting on of the apostles hands'. This utterance could have potentially been reported as a thetic one if the entire state of affairs was to be taken as newsworthy. But the writer instead spotlights what in particular caught Simon's eye, *the method* by which the Holy Spirit was given to others. No English translation consulted makes use of an *it-cleft,* although the CEV's addition of *only* has a similar effect.

Act 8:18   ἰδὼν   δὲ   ὁ Σίμων ὅτι **διὰ   τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν   χειρῶν τῶν**
            having.seen and - Simon that through the laying.on   of.the hands   of.the

            τῶν   ἀποστόλων <u>δίδοται</u>   τὸ πνεῦμα, προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα κτλ
            of.the apostles   3S.is.given the Spirit.N 3S.brought   to.them money

RSV: ¹⁷ Then Peter and John laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit.
¹⁸ Now when Simon saw <u>that the Spirit was given through the laying on of the apostles'</u> <u>hands,</u> he offered them money, ¹⁹ saying, "Give me also this power so that anyone on whom I lay my hands may receive the Holy Spirit."

CEV: Simon noticed that the Spirit was given <u>only</u> when the apostles placed their hands on the people.

For other non-subject constituents occurring preverbally that seem to be focal, see Jhn 4:19, Act 19:26 (subject is also preverbal), Act 27:10 (infinitival with future), and Jas 5:11 (a marginal structure). In all but one case the subject is postverbal, and in probably all cases the subject is topical and so the clause cannot be thetic.

(iv) This leads us to ὅτι–*V…S,* which is a mixed group (6 tokens: Mrk 9:25; Mrk 16:4; Luk 1:58; Jhn 9:32; Jhn 12:12; Act 16:19). In most tokens, the postverbal subject is probably in some sense topical. Consider **Mrk 16:4** where the viewers are portrayed as already wondering about 'the stone' and so thetic construal is impossible.

Mrk 16:4   καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι   θεωροῦσιν ὅτι <u>ἀποκεκύλισται</u>   **ὁ λίθος·**
            and having.looked.up 3P.observe that 3S.has.been.rolled.away   the stone

            ἦν   γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα.
            3S.was for large extremely

RSV: ³ And they were saying to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the door of the tomb?" ⁴ And looking up, they saw <u>that the stone was rolled back;</u> –it was very large.

Similarly, in **Jhn 12:12**, the hearers appear to be portrayed as currently thinking about Jesus and Lazarus. So the postverbal subject 'Jesus' would have topic construal (which is also suggested by it being arthrous; but some manuscripts lack the article). I assume that ὁ Ἰησοῦς is used here rather than Ø because both Jesus and Lazarus are activated entities, and so the name has a disambiguating function. (See also Act 16:19, where postverbal 'their hope of profit' is apparently topical; see v 16.)

Jhn 12:12 ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ἔρχεται   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
           having.heard that 3S.is.coming the Jesus   to   Jerusalem

           ἔλαβον τὰ βαῖα   τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ἐξῆλθον   κτλ
           3P.took the branches of.the palm.trees and 3P.went.out

REB: [9] Learning [Jesus] was there the Jews came in large numbers, not only because of Jesus but also to see Lazarus whom he had raised from the dead. [10] The chief priests then resolved to do away with Lazarus as well, [11] since on his account many Jews were going over to Jesus and putting their faith in him. ¶ [12] The next day the great crowd of pilgrims who had come for the festival, hearing <u>that Jesus was on the way to Jerusalem,</u> [13] went out to meet him with palm branches…

Jhn 9:32 comes closer to a thetic assertion, but the report ('that someone opened the eyes of a person born blind') is in the presupposition (i.e. it's an established topic in the discourse) and the assertion is expressed by the matrix clause ('it's *never* before been heard that').

Jhn 9:32 ἐκ   τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσθη
          from the age   not 3S.was.heard

          ὅτι ἠνέῳξέν   τις   ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλοῦ γεγεννημένου·
          that 3S.opened anyone eyes   of.blind having.been.born

NRS: [30] The man [born blind but now healed] answered, "Here is an astonishing thing! You do not know where he comes from, and yet he opened my eyes.… [32] Never since the world began has it been heard <u>that anyone opened the eyes of a person born blind.…</u>"

But **Mrk 9:25** is a typical thetic. There is not enough data to suggest why this thetic subject, 'a crowd', is postverbal, but this phenomenon may be similar to what we found for *object+participle* reports where the order *participle–object* explicitly demotes the state of affairs relative to other things ('Rule 2'). This makes sense here because the crowd does not persist.[505]

Mrk 9:25 ἰδὼν   δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει   ὄχλος, ἐπετίμησεν κτλ
          having.seen and - Jesus   that 3S.is.running.together crowd 3S.rebuked

NRS: [A father brought his possessed son to Jesus to heal…] [25] When Jesus saw <u>that a crowd came running together,</u> he rebuked the unclean spirit […and healed him].

(v) The final category, ***'raised' subject+ὅτι clause,*** can be viewed as a hybrid between the *object+participle* and ὅτι report. Only provisional claims can be made since there are only three tokens in my data: Mrk 7:2 (some manuscripts lack ὅτι), Jhn 4:35 (matrix verb is imperative), and Jhn 11:31 (Mrk 8:24 may be related). (This construction occasionally occurs with other verbs than I have studied; see Zerwick §207 and Z&G who take it to be an Aramaism.)

Consider **Jhn 11:31** where 'Mary' is the accusative object of 'seeing'. What would normally be the subject of the ὅτι complement clause is 'raised' out of it. 'Mary' is already on

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[505] Luk 1:58, with postverbal subject, is harder to place. A thetic interpretation seems possible. Maybe the verb itself, ἐμεγάλυνεν 'he made great', comes initially to emphasize it. That the subject κύριος 'the Lord' is anarthrous is expected because it refers to YHWH.

stage and her Jewish guests are well aware of her, so the sentence cannot be thetic. Apparently, this construction serves to mark the constituent that immediately follows ὅτι as especially salient, in this case 'quickly'.

Jhn 11:31 ἰδόντες **τὴν Μαριὰμ** ὅτι ταχέως ἀνέστη   καὶ ἐξῆλθεν,
           having.seen the.A Mary.A   that quickly 3S.rose.up and 3S.went.out

           ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῇ δόξαντες   ὅτι κτλ
           followed   her   having.supposed that

> NRS: [Lazarus, the brother of Martha and Mary has died. Having met Jesus outside their village, Martha goes to fetch Mary, saying] [28] …"The Teacher is here and is calling for you." [29] And when [Mary] heard it, she got up quickly and went to him.… [31] The Jews who were with her in the house, consoling her, saw Mary get up quickly and go out. They followed her because they thought that she was going to the tomb to weep there.

And in **Mrk 7:2**, even though this partitive clause appears to introduce 'some of the disciples' (i.e. an unidentifiable subset of a known group), it is again the constituent immediately following ὅτι that appears most salient, 'with impure hands'.

Mrk 7:2 καὶ ἰδόντες   **τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ**
         and having.seen some of.the disciples of.him

         ὅτι κοιναῖς   χερσίν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνίπτοις, ἐσθίουσιν   τοὺς ἄρτους
         that with.impure hands   that   3S.is unwashed 3P.are.eating the   loaves

> NRS: [1] Now when the Pharisees…gathered around him, [2] they noticed that some of his disciples were eating with defiled hands, that is, without washing them. [3] (For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, do not eat unless they thoroughly wash their hands,…)

To sum up this section, the ὅτι perception report resembles to varying degrees several constructions we have already reviewed in this study. Given the tendency for thetic subjects in this construction to have *S…V* order, this construction appears to behave like the *object+participle* perception report, and so it is unlike typical non-deictic thetics where *V…S* order is default. Still, it is clear that *S…V* for ὅτι reports does not function as a default order to the same degree as we found for *object+participle* reports (recall how common the order *object–participle* was for both topical and thetic-like objects). Unlike in *object+participle* reports, topical subjects in ὅτι reports usually follow the verb.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have reviewed a variety of perception report constructions, especially with the matrix verb ὁράω 'see', many of which functioned as thetics, at least from the perspective of the discourse-internal viewer (perceiver). We explored various perspective constellations in relation to arthrousity and the type of matrix verb (finite or nonfinite), while noting how these elements could be manipulated to play up or suppress the perspective of especially the viewer.

Various points about constituent order were also made. I argued for ὁράω that the object's pragmatically unmarked position is after the verb and that in most cases (i) the object was part of the focus domain and (ii) usually thetic-like for at least the viewer. I also showed that when the object occurs with a modifier functioning as a ('subsequent') predication, the order is nearly always *object–modifier* (where the modifier is a participle, locative, etc.) no matter what the object's pragmatic status is. So in cases where *object–participle* functions as a complement clause (what is not always clear), we can say that, *within* the complement, the complement's *subject* (i.e. the matrix verb's object) prefers the position before the verb (i.e. before the participle), which is to say it prefers an order analogous to *S…V*. I also found that

thetics in ὅτι perception reports usually have *S...V* order, although constituent order in this construction is not entirely analogous to object complements (e.g. topical subjects tend to occur postverbally in contrast to in object complements).

Several points in this chapter will prove relevant to the next chapter when we discuss the conceptually related family of constructions, sentences with ἰδού/ἴδε 'behold! (look!)'.

6. CHAPTER SIX: ἰδού AND ἴδε CONSTRUCTIONS AND THETICITY

Ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν (Rev 21:3)

6.1 Introduction

Behold two Greek villains, ἰδού and ἴδε! These troublemakers, together with their Hebrew ally הִנֵּה (*hinnēh*), are well-known menaces to translator, exegete, and grammarian, since they resist easy translation formulas and simple grammatical categorization.

The way translators deal with these particles can be characterized by two extremes. At one extreme are those who attempt to reflect the form of the Greek (and Hebrew) by using only one rendering as much as possible. The English Standard Version represents this extreme. The editors (who describe their translation as 'essentially literal'; 2007:ix-x) defend their use of *behold* for most cases of ἰδού and הִנֵּה on the grounds that *behold* is 'the best available option for conveying the original sense of meaning', and unlike *Look!, Listen!,* etc. *behold* has 'sufficient weight and dignity'. But their method comes at a price since it requires sacrificing clarity and preciseness. Moreover, the translators are in danger of adding 'weight and dignity' in a manner and in places where neither may have been meant.

At the other extreme are those who use a large variety of renderings, which may or may not be employed systematically. For some, this includes often just ignoring the particles.

This chapter is dedicated to translators and exegetes who are open to using variety in order to achieve idiomatic precision. It is an implicit apologetic for why variety is often necessary in translation for such troublesome words and why a word-for-word method may obscure intended meaning. Finally, it illustrates how a construction-oriented view of language can be useful to translators.

In keeping with the goals of this study, the particles' different uses will be analyzed in terms of (i) theticity and (ii) other information structure categories. Moreover, (iii) emotive emphasis will also be shown to play a major role. Finally, (iv) an attempt is made to discover in what ways the different uses (i.e. 'constructions', as defined in Construction Grammar) are conceptually and syntactically related to each other.

I shall argue that a key to understanding the various uses of ἰδού and ἴδε lies in recognizing that their most basic use is in deictic thetics (see my introductory discussion in §2.4.1 through §2.4.3). Another important piece of the puzzle is that ἰδού often (but certainly not always) involves an emotive element in its meaning, something it presumably inherited from its middle verb ancestor.

A chapter outline is delayed until §6.1.2 where I suggest the family of ἰδού/ἴδε constructions divides itself into (at least) five groups. But before that, I must supply some background from the relevant existing literature and standard lexicons and grammars.

6.1.1 Background

For the non-specialist, we must begin by clarifying what is potentially confusing. Although ἰδού and ἴδε obviously derive from, and are in fact identical to certain imperative forms of the verb 'see', nevertheless, because of their function, grammarians (quite correctly) do not categorize them as imperatives. More specifically, ἰδού is equivalent to the **middle** singular imperative ἰδοῦ of the aorist εἶδον 'see' (the present is ὁράω), except that the particle

is written with the acute (´) or grave accent (`) (BDAG §ἰδού);[506] and ἴδε is identical in form and accent to the **active** singular imperative of the same verb. Instead of being categorized as imperatives, ἰδού is, for BDAG, a 'demonstrative or presentative particle' and ἴδε is 'stereotyped as a particle'. For LSJ, ἰδού is an 'adverb', and for BDF (§101, ὁρᾶν), Robertson (1934:302, 1193), and Moulton (1908:11) an 'interjection'. Wallace (1996:60) calls them 'interjections', which can coincide with a 'nominative of exclamation' (e.g. Mrk 3:34), and the term ('particle of') 'exclamation' is also occasionally used (Robertson 1934:231, 302; Turner 1963:231). Although these grammarians do not agree on what to call these words, they agree they are not imperatives. For my part, I shall sometimes use the neutral label of **particle**, although for certain uses I will argue, against tradition, that they are morphologically invariable verbs.

One obvious reason why these are not taken as true imperatives is that, in a clause with one of them, the addressee, if there is one, can be plural (BDF §144; BDAG §ἴδε; Schwyzer II:583-4). Consider, for example, Mat 26:65 where the addressee is 'you.plural' but ἴδε is still used (ἴδε…ἠκούσατε 'behold… you.plural.have.heard').

Besides that, many of their uses are simply incompatible with an imperative rendering of *See!* or *Look!* (even though these are good renderings in some contexts—this point will become clearer in the course of this chapter). For example, when used as (what I will describe as) a focus particle, an imperative rendering is not relevant (e.g. Luk 13:16 'This daughter of Abraham has been bound by Satan ἰδού EIGHTEEN YEARS'). An imperative rendering is also awkward for many thetic uses, for example, when something cannot be seen (e.g. Mat 3:17 'See [ἰδού] a voice said from heaven'), or when the speaker is pointing out his own presence (e.g. in Act 9:10, Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ must be rendered as 'Here I am' rather than 'See I' or 'See me').

Another relevant fact is that the middle stem of 'see' (ὁράομαι/εἰδόμαι) as a verb in its own right appears to be marginal in Koine by NT times (see BDAG §ὁράω). According to BART, in the UBS Greek NT there is only one occurrence, Luk 13:28 (aorist subjunctive ὄψησθε, but with the future ὄψεσθε as a textual variant, which though middle in form is active in meaning—see footnote 508).

In this regard, I will briefly speculate on the history of the two particles: It is likely there was an early development (much before the Koine period) for both to be used in '**perception imperative+fragment**' constructions (as defined in §2.4.2), that is, as quasi-deictic thetic particles. But certain factors probably encouraged the middle imperative, ἰδοῦ, to become the more specialized of the two and for the active forms (singular ἴδε and plural ἴδετε) to continue their primary jobs as normal aorist imperatives. First of all, the middle imperative was the more **expressive** of the two (i.e. emotive) and therefore better suited for certain specialized functions. Allan (2006a) and others have argued that in Classical Greek (e.g. in Sophocles and Homer) one of the uses of middle forms of certain verbs, including 'see' (ὁράομαι/εἰδόμην), was to indicate (in Allan's words) 'wonder or distress' or a related 'emotional overtone',[507] in contrast to the active forms, which were unmarked for this meaning. Another factor favoring the middle for certain specialized functions was that during the Classical and Koine periods middle forms of many verbs were losing ground (Robertson 1934:813-4, 332-3), including middle forms of 'see', as suggested above. So this development would have allowed an increasingly unemployed form, ἰδοῦ, to develop

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[506] According to BART, ἰδού, with acute, only occurs in Mat 9:3 and Mat 28:11 (both precede τινες). ἰδοὺ, with grave, occurs elsewhere.

[507] Incidentally, this emotional overtone makes good sense in the case of ὄψησθε in Luk 13:28 (the viewers see something that should horrify them).

specialized functions. Beyond these thoughts, I will speculate no further on the history of ἰδού and ἴδε. To be sure, the different verbs and verb stems for 'see' and 'look' in Greek present a complex web.[508]

Now, grammarians and commentators of the LXX and NT have noted certain differences in the uses of the particles ἰδού and ἴδε, including the fact that ἰδού is much more common. For the LXX, this means that the translators chose ἰδού as the most frequent rendering of הִנֵּה (and related forms), in fact some 900 out of some 1160 times, compared to ἴδε which is used *only twice* for הִנֵּה (Gen 27:6; Jdg 19:24; see Andersen [2003:28-30] who lists other renderings for הִנֵּה).[509] (But it should be noted that ἰδού translates several other words, at least according to the Masoretic Text.)

For the NT, which is our primary concern, ἰδού occurs 200 times and ἴδε 29 times (my figures are from BART, which match Fiedler's, 1969:13). Given the greater number of ἰδού tokens, our discussion will tend to focus on it. Still, it must be noted that, in certain books, ἴδε is more frequent: namely in Mark (ἴδε 9x, ἰδού 7x) and John (ἴδε 15x, ἰδού 4x) (contrast Luke's writings, ἴδε Øx, ἰδού 80x; and Matthew, ἴδε 4x, ἰδού 62x).[510] ἴδε is also more restricted in that it only occurs in speech, what Fiedler calls 'Rede' (i.e. mostly in speeches embedded in narrative, but once in an epistle, Gal 5:2; we will also see that ἴδε is used in fewer ways than ἰδού). ἰδού, on the other hand, often occurs in narrative ('Erzählung'), something underscored by Johannessohn (1942), Fiedler (1969), and others. Matthew uses ἰδού the most in narrative, then Luke (Luke-Acts).[511] In contrast, Mark and John, according to Fiedler, never use ἰδού in narrative (pp. 21-2, 38; see footnote 617 on Mrk 4:3).

From Matthew and Luke's exuberant use of (καὶ) ἰδού in especially narrative, Fiedler (pp. 25, 29, 35, 38, etc.), Johannessohn (1942:30, 44, etc.), and Pryke (1968:420) concluded that Matthew and Luke were imitating LXX style. Fiedler goes on to argue that ἰδού[512] was so used to grant the narrative a religious sound (due to association with the LXX) and thereby underscore key events and introductions (typically providential or supernatural)[513] as well as statements of theological substance (pp. 81-2, 46-7). It is in particular the phrase καὶ ἰδού that

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[508] The paradigm 'see' with active meaning is an alliance of at least three stems: present ὁράω, aorist εἶδον, and future ὄψομαι. The future is middle in form but active in meaning. Other verbs have a role in the paradigm even if listed as separate entries in lexicons. E.g. in the NT, the present subjunctive of ὁράω never occurs; βλέπω seems to serve this function. Reciprocally, there is no aorist subjunctive of βλέπω; forms of εἶδον seem to take on that role. Nor are there any imperfect forms of ὁράω; βλέπω, θεωρέω, and maybe other verbs fill that role (compare BDF §101).

[509] These counts for הִנֵּה are for the Masoretic Text. As Andersen (pp. 26-27) points out, we do not know what source text ('Vorlage') the LXX translators were using; still we may reasonably assume 'that the LXX was a fair, honest, and competent translation of a Hebrew text that was probably not much different from the MT we now have.' To be sure, this statement must be qualified by the fact that, for certain books and subsections (e.g. Jeremiah, Joshua, 1 and 2 Samuel, Esther, etc.), the Masoretic Text differs substantially from the LXX (and from other Hebrew texts, e.g. from Qumran), and so, as Tov and others conclude, the main LXX tradition in such cases clearly springs from Hebrew sources representing literary traditions differing from the Masoretic Text (Tov 2001, chapter 7).

[510] Paul's epistles use ἰδού sparingly, 9x (and ἴδε 1x), something Moulton (1908:11) considered to reflect truer Greek style compared to its frequent use in the narrative books, which he described as Semitic and 'quite un-Attic'.

[511] For ἰδού, Fiedler (p. 13-14) gives these counts for *narrative/speech/LXX quote:* Matthew 33/25/4; Luke 16/40/1; Acts 5/18/Ø; Revelation 10/16/Ø. As Johannessohn noted (1942:45), most narrative tokens in Luke's Gospel occur in the first 14 chapters, and in Acts none occur after Act 16:1.

[512] On p. 81 Fiedler includes ἴδε, but this seems inaccurate since ἴδε is hardly ever so used in the LXX.

[513] See also Moulton (1908:11) quoting Hort who uses 'providential'.

is said to imitate LXX style, a combination Fiedler (pp. 21, 25) claims he never found in any secular Greek text (Classical or Koine).

What is more relevant to our purposes is the variety of uses that have been identified by Fiedler and others, even if the different uses are not typically analyzed systematically. There is agreement that ἰδού may function to introduce entities and events as well as (in some sense) to 'emphasize' statements. It has also been noted by many that in the Bible ἰδού may precede either just a nominative case NP (a so-called nominal or verbless clause) or a more complex clause with a finite verb (where the subject, object or verb follows ἰδού).

For secular texts, both Classical and Koine, Fiedler notes (pp. 17-21) especially *ἰδού+NP* and *ἰδού+finite verb* clause types, where in the latter the verb may be an imperative that is 'strengthened by ἰδού' (e.g. Fiedler p. 17). Two uses with a strong **emotive** element stand out: (i) where a speaker mockingly repeats a word that another just said preceding it by ἰδού (Schwyzer II:584; LSJ §ἰδού.4 'quota!'; Fiedler p. 18); (ii) where ἰδού precedes a time phrase (in the nominative!) in order to emphasize it, typically with a clear emotive overtone. The latter is illustrated by several tokens from Koine papyri (Fiedler pp. 19-20; Zilliacus 1943:38; Moulton & Milligan 1920:299; BDF §144; BDAG §ἰδού.1.b.ε). In subsequent sections, when relevant, I will illustrate a few non-Biblical examples of some of the above-mentioned uses.

While the above uses in both non-Biblical and Biblical texts are well documented for ἰδού, one still finds that these grammarians struggle with how to categorize and differentiate many instances. One sees this, for example, in how the NT standard lexicon, BDAG, suggests several categories that are by no means mutually exclusive and so it is often hard to know when a category really applies.[514] I summarize here their entries for both ἰδού and ἴδε. Note that, although their treatment reflects an implicit awareness of theticity, it also obscures it. The two entries also betray an unnecessary disharmony, thereby blurring some similarity between ἰδού and ἴδε.

BDAG §**ἰδού** begins by calling ἰδού a 'demonstrative or presentative particle that draws attention to what follows'; of course 'presentational' may roughly equal 'thetic' in our terms. The entry then divides into two sections: In section (1), passages are listed where ἰδού is used as a 'prompter of attention'; it 'serves to enliven a narrative'. Several subtypes are listed, under which are cited both thetic and non-thetic tokens, as well as (1.b.ε) instances 'w[ith] emphasis on the size or importance of someth.' (including 'times', as noted above). In section (2), ἰδού is designated a 'marker of strong emphasis'. Given the paraphrases offered ('see!' 'what do you know!' 'of all things!' 'wonder of wonders!'), 'emphasis' for the editors implies surprise or amazement. But, interestingly, (we are told that) only passages are listed where ἰδού is 'used w[ith] a noun without a finite verb' and that ἰδού can be rendered as '*here* or *there is (are), here or there was (were)* or *there comes (came)*'. Thus, the uses proposed in sections (1) and (2) overlap in that both may involve thetic utterances and many may involve (in some sense of the word) 'emphasis'.

BDAG §**ἴδε** divides into four sections, which, compared to the two for ἰδού, are more clearly distinguished: (1) 'to point out someth. to which the speaker wishes to draw attention, *look! see!*'; (2) 'to introduce someth. unexpected, *take notice*'; (3) 'to indicate a place or individual, *here is (are)* (like French *voici*)'; and (4) 'w. obvious loss of its fundamental mng.

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[514] A similar blurring of categories appears in Doudna's (1961:65) comment that ἴδε 'tends in Mark [e.g. Mrk 3:34] to retain its imperatival force, even where it has something of the quality of an interjection'. Doudna's statement, which is unfortunately echoed by Pryke (1968:419), Fiedler (p. 22), and Kilpatrick (1967:426), should not be taken as a solution to the problem but as fence straddling. Presumably, ἴδε could have either function, one at a time, but not simultaneously.

as in our colloquial speech, *see! pay attention!*' or 'here'. In this entry, section (3) alone correlates with straightforward thetics. Deixis is a factor in at least two, (1) and (3).

To sum up, there are important similarities between all of the reviewed analyses that touch implicitly on theticity, attention, prominence, and emotive emphasis. But there is no clear consensus on how many different uses there are or on the syntactic role the particles have in each use. My goal therefore in the following sections is to try to sketch the different uses while noting how they resemble each other in terms of form and function. My aim is to offer a more plausible categorization, at least from the perspective of information structure and to some extent, syntactic structure. It will be argued that ἰδού and ἴδε can have more than one type of syntactic function and so it may be misleading for grammarians to seek a single tag for all uses (i.e. BDAG's 'presentative particle'). It will also be claimed that the emotive element clearly shows up in some but not all uses.

6.1.2 A new analysis: a sketch of five related uses

This section serves as an outline for the rest of the chapter, while simultaneously summarizing the results of my study. (There is no summary at the end of the chapter.)

While studying the 200 tokens of ἰδού and 29 tokens of ἴδε in the NT, I have kept in mind the following questions:

- What is the information structure of the sentence that the particle occurs in?

- What deictic or non-deictic functions does the particle or construction as a whole have?

- What syntactic relation holds between the particle and its sentence or its parts? Do different uses involve different types of relationships between the particle and its sentence? For example, does the particle hold a loose relationship with the sentence or can we say it forms a syntactic unit with one or more constituents?

- In what way do the different constructions conceptually and syntactically resemble each other? (i.e. in Construction Grammar terms, what 'inheritance links' exist between them?)

- Is there a central or basic ἰδού/ἴδε construction?

As a result of my study, I propose that the different uses of ἰδού and ἴδε can be categorized in (at least) five distinct sets. Each of the uses—or 'constructions' as defined in §2.2.4—pairs form and syntax with meaning and discourse-pragmatic conditions. I call these 'sets' because some of the five involve subtypes. My approach contrasts with that of a reductionist, who would ignore non-predictable differences in an attempt to reduce multiple uses to a 'lowest common denominator'.

Of course, without native speakers, it is hard to test my proposals, and so loose ends are unavoidable. Probably the most vexing issue concerns what syntactic function the particle holds with the rest of the sentence. *Not infrequently I note more than one interpretation for a given token.*

As a preview of the subsequent chapter sections, I summarize here the five proposed uses ('C' stands for 'construction'). The number of NT tokens for each is indicated (totals are approximate and slightly inflated since some tokens have more than one interpretation).

C1 (ἰδού 11x; ἴδε 8x)—§6.2: The simplest syntactic use of ἰδού and ἴδε is as **deictic thetic** particles. C1 is the best candidate for the central construction (i.e. prototype) on which the others are based and from which they diverge. The particle followed by a nominative case NP forms a simple predication: $ἰδού/ἴδε–NP_{NOM}$ where NP_{NOM} is the subject. The construction

is used to point out to the hearer the presence of an entity in a here-and-now situation.[515] The most plausible analysis of ἰδού and ἴδε is that they are **morphologically invariable verbs**, analogous to Italian *ecco* and French *voilà*. E.g. Act 8:36 Ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ, 'Here's water!' Of the five uses, C1 is most closely related to the *perception verb imperative+fragment* thetic *Look, water!* discussed in §2.4.2. It may be that for some writers and some periods an emotive element was part of the conventional meaning of C1 (especially with ἰδού), but this is not clear for the NT; so an emotive element with both ἰδού and ἴδε in C1 is optional. Feelings of surprise and unexpectedness are also optional (i.e. conversational implicatures).

C2 (ἰδού about 85x; ἴδε at most 1x)[516]—**§6.3:** C2 covers various **deictic** or **semi-deictic thetic** constructions that syntactically or conceptually diverge from C1. Of the different subtypes, **C2a** most closely resembles C1. It is both thetic and (here-and-now) deictic; but, unlike C1, it involves a typical predicator, e.g. a finite verb or (verbless) locative predicate. E.g. Jhn 12:15 ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεται, 'Here comes your king.' **C2b** introduces something that is not quite here-and-now, but spatially or temporally *near*. **C2c** is the most frequent type in the NT, the 'narrative deictic thetic'. (There are two common subtypes: (i) *ἰδού–NP*_{NOM} (C2c-NP), which is often followed by a participial subsequent predication (C2c-NP+Prt), and (ii) with a finite verb, C2c-FiniteV.) C2c tokens enliven the introduction of a new entity or state of affairs in a narrative, something that is often of providential or supernatural import. They are 'imagined' deictic thetics: they function to introduce a state of affairs *not* into the *real* here-and-now world (like C1) but into the *imagined* here-and-now world (the world that the speaker is constructing). The introduction may be from the perspective of a character on stage or from a more omniscient point of view. E.g. Luk 22:47 Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ ὄχλος... 'As he was still speaking, (look!) here is a crowd…(appearing right before Jesus)'. There are also a few other types of C2 thetic or semi-thetic constructions (**C2d, C2e**). C2c-NP and C2e are syntactically simple like C1.

C3 (ἰδού up to 3x; ἴδε 6x)—**§6.4:** ἰδού and especially ἴδε are used deictically (the speaker can simultaneously point to something in the real world), but the clause's subject is topical, and so the clause does not have sentence-focus structure (i.e. is not thetic). Evidently, the particle does not hold a strong syntactic relation with its clause, as it does in prototypical deictic thetics (C1 and some C2). So, in some tokens at least, the particle should be viewed as comprising its own clause or intonation unit. E.g. Mat 25:20 ἴδε ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα 'Here/Look, I have gained five more talents'; Mat 25:25 ἴδε ἔχεις τὸ σόν 'There, you have what is yours.'

C4 (ἰδού up to 15x; ἴδε up to 7x)—**§6.5:** The particle precedes a constituent-focus phrase that is emotively emphatic. As in C1, the particle forms a syntactic unit with the focused constituent, and so ἰδού and ἴδε can be called **focus markers**. In **C4a**, the focused constituent indicates a time duration and is probably always nominative. E.g. BGU 948.6 ἡ μήτηρ σου ἀσθενεῖ ἰδοὺ δέκα τρεῖς μῆνες 'Your mother has been sick for THIRTEEN

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[515] The parallel between Greek ἰδού (and ἴδε) and Hebrew הִנֵּה has often been noted. Still, even if there are many differences in use, syntax, and etymology, the most basic use of both is as deictic thetic particles. Lambdin (1971 §135) states that, besides its other uses, 'the clearest and most basic use of הִנֵּה is as a predicator of existence…it emphasizes the immediacy, the here-and-now-ness, of the situation.' Andersen (2003), whose analysis of הִנֵּה harmonizes well with Lambdin's, takes the basic function to be that of a 'perspectival presentative predicator'. Note however that, while I fully agree with their statements if they are restricted to the 'most basic use' i.e. הִנֵּה's central use, it may be misleading to use Andersen's tag 'perspectival presentative predicator' for all uses.

[516] There are an additional 10 tokens that are hybrids involving a skeleton C2a structure overlaid by a constituent-focus structure (CF+C2a). Two tokens, Mrk 13:21b and Mrk 13:21c, have ἴδε; see §6.5.4.

MONTHS!' Luk 15:29 Ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι 'ALL THESE YEARS I've worked for you!' In **C4b**, the focused constituent may be of any other type: subject (nominative), object (accusative), adjective, or verb. Conceptually, the clearest instances of C4b emphasize an **extreme degree** or measure (and thus resemble exclamative constructions; see §6.7.1). E.g. Luk 23:15 ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ· '…absolutely nothing worthy of death has been done by him!' Perhaps ideas other than extreme degrees may also emotively be emphasized by C4. (The use of **οὐκ/χ ἰδού** as a rhetorical question marker, e.g. in Act 2:7 and often the LXX, is also briefly mentioned in §6.5.)

C5 (ἰδού up to 86x; ἴδε up to 9x)—§6.6: C5 resembles the prototype, C1, in certain ways, while differing in others. C5 begins one or more sentences that report something the speaker wishes the hearer to pay special attention to. While C1 instructs the hearer to pay *visual* attention to a state of affairs, C5, as a metaphorical extension of C1, instructs the hearer to pay *mental* attention. So the particle in C5 is an 'attention pointer' or 'highlighter'. C5 diverges from C1 and C3 in that the particle is never used deictically to point to an entity in the here-and-now real world. Syntactically, the particle in C5 comes at (or near) the beginning of a clause, as in C1. But, probably like C3, it does not hold a strong syntactic relationship with its clause. Instead, its relationship is loose, modifying either the sentence as a whole, or even multiple sentences (in most cases it is probably helpful for translators to assume the particle is followed by a pause). Depending on the context, C5 may be accompanied by special implicatures, including surprise. There is little constraint on the type of information structure the clause may have. Many have topic-comment function (e.g. in Mat 20:18 'we', marked on the verb, is the clause topic, Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν 'Listen, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be handed over to the chief priests…'); others have constituent-focus function (where the focused constituent usually does not immediately follow the particle); and occasionally it coincides with (non-deictic) thetic function.

Diagram 1 gives an overview of the five sets of uses, the basic split being between deictic/semi-deictic and non-deictic uses.

Diagram 1

ἰδού (ἴδε)

+ deictic or semi-deictic   – deictic

part of clause   (probably usually)   part of phrase   (probably)
                   extra clausal   (intonation unit)   separate

C1   **C2**   **C3**   **C4**   **C5**
(thetic)   (thetic)   (emphatic)
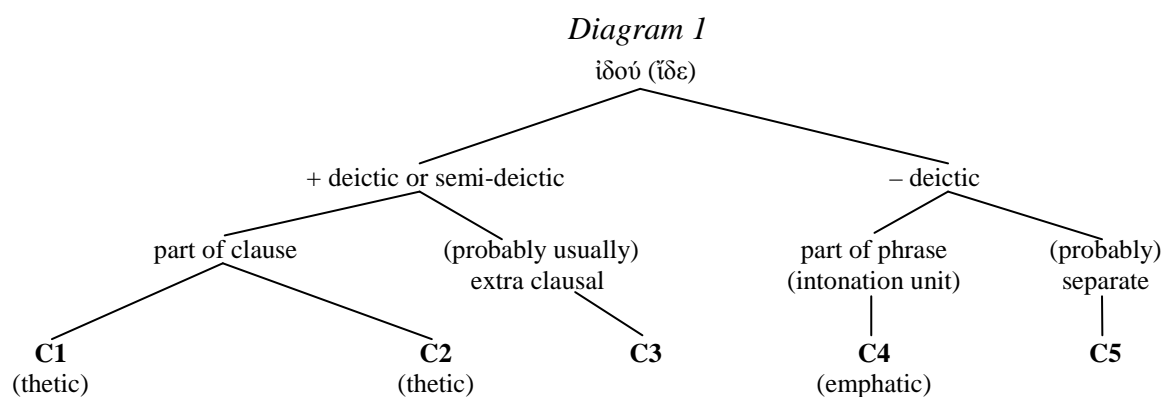
A few more comments are necessary about the constructions and how they relate to each other:

With C1, the speaker can physically point to the entity the speaker is bringing to the hearer's attention (there are no instances of C1 being used with 'hearing' or 'feeling' in the NT). So C1 can only be used in here-and-now situations. Similarly, C2a and C3 are only compatible with here-and-now situations. Other constructions, in contrast, are compatible with situations that are usually in one way or another removed from the here-and-now.

Some constructions resemble C1 in that they form a simple clause (ἰδού/ἴδε+NP$_{NOM}$) or a syntactic phrase (ἰδού/ἴδε+Word/Phrase) with a focal constituent, whether it have thetic

function (C2c-NP, C2c-NP+Prt, C2e) or constituent-focus function (C4). In others (i.e. thetics with finite verbs, C2b, C2d, and C2c), the particle has a somewhat looser relationship since, unlike in C1 (where I argue it is a morphologically invariable verb), it functions as a frozen thetic particle. And finally, in C3 and C5, the particle appears to hold the loosest relationship to its clause.

With the exception of C4b, the particles are used only with positive statements. That most uses are restricted to positive statements follows from the function of C1, which is to make a necessarily positive statement about the online world, thereby pointing out an entity or state of affairs that really exists or is happening. See §6.7.2 for more details.

An emotive element (including surprise) is obvious in many uses, although not necessarily part of the meaning of all uses. In C4, where ἰδού in particular is used as an emphatic constituent-focus marker, the emotive element is most consistently present. Section §6.7.1 takes up the question of the relationship of C4 to exclamatives constructions.

The constituent order in C1 is discussed in §6.2.1. Most other constituent order issues are saved for the end of the chapter, §6.7.3. Conjunctions and other constituents that can occur with ἰδού and ἴδε are also noted there.

My analysis of the uses of ἰδού and ἴδε and how they relate to a central construction (C1) has been influenced by Lakoff's (1987) analysis of the family of English *deictic there/here* constructions (§2.4.1). My work also takes into account facts mentioned in §2.4.3 on *ecco* and *voilà* (see also §6.5.1 on *voilà* with time durations). Still, the Greek constructions diverge in various ways from those in English, Italian, and French.

6.2 C1, the central use: the deictic thetic construction, ἰδού/ἴδε–NP$_{NOM}$

C1 is a simple construction composed of ἰδού or ἴδε immediately followed by a NP$_{NOM}$ (=a nominative case NP, never in the accusative). It functions to introduce into the hearer's awareness an entity in the hearer's environment (i.e. the 'text-external world'; §2.4.1). As typical of deictic thetics cross-linguistically (see §2.4.1 to §2.4.3), simultaneous physical pointing is appropriate when uttering C1.[517] The entity expressed by NP$_{NOM}$ may be either hearer-old, as in **Mat 25:6**, or hearer-new, as in **Act 8:36**. The entity is usually first order.

Mat 25:6   μέσης   δὲ   νυκτὸς   κραυγὴ   γέγονεν,
            mid-   -   night   shout   3S.happened

            Ἰδοὺ   ὁ   νυμφίος,   ἐξέρχεσθε   εἰς   ἀπάντησιν   (αὐτοῦ).
            *   the.N   bridegroom.N   go.out!   to   meeting   him

            nab: But at midnight there was a shout, <u>'Here's the bridegroom!</u> Come out to meet him.'

            GNT: Here is the bridegroom!…   NRS: Look! Here is the bridegroom!…

            BFC: Voici le marié!   NVS78: Voici l'époux,…

            IEP & NRV: Ecco lo sposo,…

            GND: Der Bräutigam kommt,…   LUT: Siehe, der Bräutigam kommt!

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[517] There is no NT case of C1 used as a *here-and-now* 'perceptual deictic' (e.g. *There's the buzzer! There's goes the pain in my knee!*). But see (narrative) C2c uses with *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* (§6.3.4.2, e.g. Mat 3:17).

Act 8:36 καί   φησιν ὁ   εὐνοῦχος, Ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ, τί   κωλύει   με βαπτισθῆναι;
          and 3S.says the eunuch   *   water.N what 3S.prevents me to.be.baptized

          nab: And the eunuch said, 'Here's water! What's to stop me from being baptized?'

          GNT: Here is some water.   NIV: Look, here is water.

          CEV: Look! Here is some water.   RSV: See, here is water!

          BFC, NVS78, FBJ: Voici de l'eau. LND, IEP, NRV: Ecco dell' acqua.

          GND: Hier gibt es Wasser!   EIN: Hier ist Wasser!

          LUT: Siehe, da ist Wasser;   ELB: Siehe, <da ist> Wasser!

Now if, as I would like to propose, in the above examples *ἰδού/ἴδε–NP_{NOM}* counts as a simple clause spoken under one intonation contour (i.e. ἰδού would not be separated from *NP_{NOM}* by a pause), it follows that *NP_{NOM}* is the subject. And since the subject is focal, the construction would qualify as a typical (thetic) sentence-focus construction. And if this is a clause, it is then reasonable to take ἰδού and ἴδε as predicators, that is, as **morphologically invariable verbs**. In other words, C1 would *not* be an instance of the *imperative+fragment* construction (e.g. *Look, water!* or *See, the bridegroom!; §2.4.2*).

To be sure, my proposed analysis requires assumptions that are hard to prove without native speakers. But several facts suggest that the analysis is reasonable: (i) The construction appears to be analogous to the simple deictic thetics in Italian and French where *ecco* and *voilà* are analyzed as morphologically invariable verbs and where *ecco/voilà+NP* are spoken under one intonation contour (§2.4.3). (ii) At least one other ἰδού construction of a very different sort undoubtedly involves a single intonation contour and a tight-knit syntactic structure (C4a, *ἰδού+Time-NP_{NOM}*). (iii) *ἰδού–NP_{NOM}* is a common LXX rendering of the Hebrew deictic thetic, הִנֵּה+NP (Andersen 2003), as illustrated by **Gen 22:7**.

Gen 22:7 λέγων ἰδοὺ τὸ   πῦρ   καὶ   τὰ   ξύλα
          saying   *   the fire.N and. the.N woods.N

          ποῦ   ἐστιν τὸ   πρόβατον τὸ   εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν
          where 3S.is the sheep   the for burnt.offering

          וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים וְאַיֵּה הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה׃

          wayyō'mer **hinnēh** hā'ēš wəhā'ēṣîm wə'ayyēh haśśeh lə'ōlâ

          and-3S.said behold the-fire and-the-wood and-where the-lamb for-burnt.offering

          NET: Isaac said to his father Abraham, "My father?" "What is it, my son?" he replied.
          "Here is the fire and the wood," Isaac said, "but where is the lamb for the burnt offering?"

That הִנֵּה+NP forms a syntactic unit is clear because, when the NP is a pronoun, it becomes an 'object suffix' on הִנֵּה: thus הִנְנִי, *hinnēh-nî* (הִנֵּה+1sg.object-suffix, e.g. Gen 22:1; assuming this pronoun is the real subject, we may note another striking illustration of Lambrecht's claim that thetic 'subjects behave like objects'; Andersen, p. 53-4, also takes the so-called object pronoun to be the real subject and הִנֵּה to be its 'predicator'). And this single Hebrew word, הִנְנִי ('Here I am') was often rendered by the LXX as ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, which should make us wonder if it too functioned as a single syntactic unit. In any case, from an English perspective, it seems obligatory that ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, as illustrated also by **Act 9:10**, would have been spoken under a single intonation contour. Few of the translations that habitually translate ἰδού as *look* or *siehe* do so for this verse (only the ELB does so; <…> in ELB marks words the translators consider not to be in the Greek).

Act 9:10   Ἀνανία. ὁ   δὲ εἶπεν, Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, κύριε.
            Ananias the and 3S.said *   I   Lord

NRS: [10] Now there was a disciple in Damascus named Ananias. The Lord said to him in a vision, "Ananias." He answered, "Here I am, Lord." [11] The Lord said to him,…

GNT, RSV: Here I am, Lord.   CEV: Lord, here I am.   NIV: Yes, Lord.

NVS78, BFC, FBJ: Me voici, Seigneur. LND, IEP, NRV: Eccomi, Signore.

LUT, EIN, SCH: Hier bin ich, Herr.   ELB: Siehe, <hier bin> ich Herr.

(iv) In none of the tokens where I would claim *ἰδού/ἴδε–NP$_{NOM}$* forms a clause does anything intervene between the two constituents (moreover, in the NT tokens cited below, no conjunction or other particle occurs). If, for example, a vocative intervened, that would show that at least for that token the particle and NP did not form a syntactic unit.

Therefore, assuming C1 is a clause where ἰδού/ἴδε is its predicator (i.e. verb), then in Mat 25:6 and Act 8:36 above it is unnecessary to preface the English *Here's X* construction with *Look!* or *See!* (e.g. NRS, NIV, CEV, RSV), or to preface the German *Hier gibt es X* or *Da/Hier ist X* with *Siehe* (e.g. LUT, SCH, ELB). These are 'double-translations', to be precise. If a translator is attempting to translate **the meaning of the construction**, then it is enough to say *Here's X* or *There's X* (or *Hier gibt es X,* or *Da/Hier ist X*).[518] In contrast, the Italian and French translators have done better. The cited translations consistently make use of their standard deictic thetics (e.g. Act 8:36, *Voici de l'eau, Ecco dell' acqua*).

Part of the confusion about C1's structure originates in a false assumption held by some grammarians, that the copula εἰμί is expected but unexpressed (due to 'Semitic influence') even though, as BDF admit, one finds *ἰδού/ἴδε–NP$_{NOM}$* in Classical Greek (BDF §128; Robertson 1934:391, 394-6; Turner 1963:296; Hf&S §256d). This confusion is also revealed in how some call *NP$_{NOM}$* a 'nominal clause' (i.e. 'Nominalsatz', Fiedler 1969:21, 24, 31, etc.), which assumes a copula is missing. I would contend that *this construction never had and never needed a copula*. And this makes sense if we assume C1 developed from an *imperative+fragment* construction. To be sure, we will later note ἰδού sentences with εἰμί, but none are here-and-now deictic thetics (C1), and so ἰδού involves a different type of syntactic function (see e.g. Luk 2:25, C2c-FiniteV, in §6.3.4.3; Luk 13:30, C5, in §6.6.3).

Typically in C1, *NP$_{NOM}$* is simple (noun +/–article), as in Mat 25:6 and Act 8:36 above. Occasionally, it may embed a relative clause that can either serve (a) to sufficiently identify the entity, as in **Mrk 16:6** (i.e. with a restrictive relative clause), or (b) to make a subsequent predication about the newly introduced entity, as in **Luk 19:20** (i.e. it is incidental to the entity's identification).[519] (For tokens with locatives functioning as subsequent predications, see §6.3.1.)

Mrk 16:6   οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἴδε ὁ   τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν.
            not 3S.is here * the.N place.N where 3P.put him

nab: 'He is not here. There's the place where they laid him.'

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[518] I am not saying a translator should never use two (or more) words in English for one in Greek. It is just that many double-translations reveal indecision and confusion on the part of translators. Since these particles are plagued by such confusion, it is helpful to be strict with renderings until one is clear on the major uses.

[519] Other tokens with a relative clauses are Mat 12:18; Jhn 1:47; Heb 2:13. In Jhn 1:29, an arthrous participial clause is used in much the same way.

Luk 19:20 Κύριε, ἰδοὺ ἡ   μνᾶ   σου   ἦν   εἶχον ἀποκειμένην ἐν σουδαρίῳ·
           sir   *   the.N mina.N of.you which I.had being.put.away in napkin

> GNT: Sir, here is your gold coin; I kept it hidden in a handkerchief.

As a characteristic of deictic thetics, while uttering C1, the speaker can simultaneously point to the entity being presented. But like *ecco* in Italian (§2.4.3.2), ἰδού and ἴδε are **underspecified** for near and far deixis. So it is perfectly natural for translators of languages like English and French, whose deictic thetic systems *are* specified, to have to come down on one side of the fence or the other (*here's X* or *there's X; voilà* or *voici*).[520] This fact, that ἰδού and ἴδε are neutral in respect to distance, follows from the semantics of their parents, the imperatives 'see/look', which are also neutral. If a Greek speaker needed to be more precise, he could add a locative adverb to C1 (see Luk 22:38, discussed in §6.3.1: ἰδοὺ μάχαιραι ὧδε δύο [behold swords here two]).

With ἰδού, there are at least 11 C1 tokens in the NT—the footnotes indicate some special 'rhetorical' uses: Mat 11:19 and ||Luk 7:34[521] (following BDAG, ἄνθρωπος φάγος is one NP, 'a glutton'); Mat 12:18 (LXX quote); Mat 12:49; Mat 25:6; Luk 1:38;[522] Luk 19:20; Jhn 19:5; Act 8:36; Act 9:10; Heb 2:13 (LXX quote).

With ἴδε, C1 occurs at least 8 times: Mrk 3:34; Mrk 16:6; Jhn 1:29; Jhn 1:36; Jhn 1:47 (with a relative clause); Jhn 19:14; Jhn 19:26;[523] Jhn 19:27.

A handful of C1 tokens from Classical and secular Koine texts are cited in the literature. Several mention ἰδοὺ χελιδών (χελιδών 'swallow') from an old Attic vase (Meisterhans & Schwyzer 1900:203). Fiedler (pp. 17-8) mentions **Aristophanes' Lysistrata 925**. The speaker, Myrrhine, has just said she would run off and fetch a sleeping mat (*cushions* in Lindsay's translation). When she returns, she presents them to Cinesias, her husband, saying:

Lys.925   ἰδοὺ ψίαθος   κατάκεισο κτλ
           *   sleeping.mat.N.s.f lie.down!

> Here the cushions are. Lie down while I–O dear! But what a shame, You need more pillows. [Lindsay, Perseus]

One finds three tokens in a row in **Epictetus' Discourses 3.23.20** (a NT contemporary). 'Sounds' and 'disposition' are somewhat atypical because they are second order entities (these examples involve a rhetorical use since Epictetus is quoting the praises that his conceited audience would like to hear).

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[520] *Voici* and *voilà* are both common renderings of ἰδού and ἴδε in BFC. For deictic thetics, *voici* is most frequently used (for ἰδού: Mat 25:6; Luk 19:20; Act 8:36; Act 9:10; for ἴδε Mrk 16:6 (plus *regardez*); Jhn 1:29; Jhn 1:36; Jhn 1:47; Jhn 19:26; Jhn 19:27), but *voilà* is only occasionally used (ἰδού Jhn 19:5, ἴδε Jhn 19:14).

[521] Mat 11:19 and ||Luk 7:34 are used rhetorically, to ridicule, since the main aim of the utterances is not to introduce the entity (Jesus) into the audience's awareness.

[522] Mary's 'Hebraic' response to the angel 'Here am I, the servant of the Lord' has a specialized function, since her presence is already obvious to the angel (compare 1Sa 25:41). By indicating her presence she is really declaring her readiness to serve.

[523] Jesus' two statements from the cross to his mother and 'the disciple whom he loved' (Jhn 19:26 'Here's your son', and Jhn 19:27 'Here's your mother') resemble performative speech acts, in that, by making these statements, the speaker causes something to happen (the first is paraphrasable as 'I hereby declare this man to be your son from now on'.

Ep.3.23.20 ἰδοὺ   φωναὶ   φιλοσόφου,   ἰδοὺ διάθεσις   ὠφελήσοντος
          *   sounds.N.p.f of.philosopher *   disposition.N.s.f aiding.Prt.Fut.G.s.f

ἀνθρώπους: ἰδοὺ ἀκηκοὼς   ἄνθρωπος λόγου,
men.A   *   having.heard.Prt.Prf.N.s.m man.N.s.m word.G

Here is the language of a philosopher! Here is the disposition of one who is to be
beneficial to mankind! Here is the man, attentive to discourses, who has read the works of
the Socratic philosophers… [Higginson, Perseus]

What is the difference between ἰδού and ἴδε in C1? Given the etymology of ἰδού, one
might expect C1 to involve wonder, surprise, or some other emotive element, and that ἴδε
would lack such feelings. But I have found no clear pattern in the NT data to support such a
claim. In fact, John (who generally avoids ἰδού) uses ἴδε in contexts that seem emotional.
This is illustrated by John the Baptist's bold statement in **Jhn 1:29** (see also Jhn 1:36; Jhn
1:47; perhaps Jhn 19:14).

Jhn 1:29 Ἴδε ὁ   ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ   αἴρων   τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ   κόσμου.
          *   the Lamb -   of.God the.one taking.away the sin   of.the world

NRS: The next day he saw Jesus coming toward him and declared, "Here is the Lamb of
God who takes away the sin of the world!…"

Nor do all instances of C1 with ἰδού clearly involve surprise or another strong emotion, even
if such nuances are often present. To be sure, 'Here's the language of a philosopher!'
(Epictetus) entails wonder, and 'Here's the bridegroom' (Mat 25:6) entails surprise (for the
sleeping maidens). But 'Sir, here's your gold [which you requested]' (Luk 19:20), 'Here's a
sleeping mat [that I said I would fetch]' (Aristophanes), and 'Here's the fire and wood' (Gen
22:7) do not seem to me to involve surprise or any other marked emotion.

In contrast, clear patterns emerge when we look at the distribution of ἴδε and ἰδού in C1
tokens among NT writers. In Matthew, Luke, and Acts we only find ἰδού used in C1, and in
Mark we only find ἴδε. This includes one set of parallel passages ('Here are my mother and
my brothers'): in Mat 12:49 ἰδού occurs, but in Mrk 3:34 ἴδε.[524] So the difference seems to be
a matter register or idiolect, or, as Fiedler and Johannessohn have argued, the choice of ἰδού
may be an attempt to imitate LXX style.

In John, however, ἴδε occurs 6 times and ἰδού once. The sole use of ἰδού, Jhn 19:5 ('Here
is the man!')[525] occurs when Pilate presents Jesus before the angry crowd. It stands out
because Pilate later presents Jesus again to the people using ἴδε (Jhn 19:14: 'Here is your
king'). Various reasons for the difference have been suggested. If understood ironically
(Danker 1970:511), ἰδού in 19:5 could be an attempt at mock pageantry, while
simultaneously alluding to a LXX passage (unbeknownst to Pilate!; see Isa 40:9, Zec 6:12,
and Exo 24:8, all with ἰδού).[526]

6.2.1 The position of the thetic subject *NP_NOM* in C1

Assuming *ἰδού/ἴδε–NP_NOM* forms a clause, it is reasonable to also assume that it has
inherited its constituent order from a *perception imperative+fragment* construction (e.g.
Look, water!), a path of development sketched in §2.4.2. The position of *NP_NOM* following
ἰδού/ἴδε also resembles the normal position for thetic-like objects following perception verbs

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[524] For non-C1 uses, compare also Mat 12:2 with ‖Mrk 2:24, and Mat 24:23 with ‖Mrk 13:21. Note that Mark
uses in close succession both ἰδού (Mrk 3:32) and ἴδε (Mrk 3:34) in similar statements, but only the latter is C1.

[525] Some manuscripts lack the NP after ἰδού or the entire quote plus quote introduction (Nestle-Aland).

[526] These passages are suggested in Walter Bauer's John commentary, according to Fiedler (1969:39).

like ὁράω 'see' (Chapter 5), as well as the normal position for objects of perception verb imperatives.[527] In the case of C1, however, the position of NP_{NOM} is frozen—it only occurs after ἰδού/ἴδε, the position it inherited from its ancestor, the *perception imperative+fragment* construction (the various related constructions with focal objects and perception verbs complement and strengthen the pattern). Finally, if we take ἰδού and ἴδε as morphologically invariable verbs in C1, we will notice that its thetic subject comes in the position systematically preferred for focal objects in Greek, and so Lambrecht's characterization that thetic subjects behave like objects is again borne out.

We will see that in C2 through C5 the position of ἰδού/ἴδε is mostly frozen at or near the sentence beginning (with at least one notable exception, C4a). This is true even though for most of these constructions ἰδού/ἴδε have a different syntactic function than in C1.

6.2.2 Why C1 is the best candidate for the central construction

As mentioned in §2.4.1, utterances functioning as here-and-now deictic thetics are a basic component of human grammars, the simplest varieties being learned quite early by children. They are also linguistically basic because they are used in here-and-now situations in the real world. The real world is conceptually more fundamental to language systems than imagined worlds.

Of the different ἰδού/ἴδε constructions (C1 through C5), C1 is the simplest. Given the importance of such a basic construction in the grammar, it is reasonable to assume C1 is the central construction in the family (i.e. the prototype) and that it may influence how ἰδού/ἴδε works in the other constructions. In the subsequent sections of this chapter, I attempt to show how the other constructions resemble C1 in certain respects while differing in others. The basic characteristics of C1 are summarized here:

- It is thetic, introducing an entity into the discourse (i.e. scene).

- It is deictic, involving the visual attention of speaker and hearer in the here-and-now.

- It is syntactically simple, composed of a morphologically invariable verb and a nominative NP that is a focal thetic subject and that immediately follows ἰδού/ἴδε.

- The introduced idea is sometimes surprising or emotively emphatic, but such nuances are probably optional conversational implicatures and a matter of degree.

6.3 C2, ἰδού in other thetic constructions

C2 covers various **thetic** constructions that syntactically or conceptually diverge from the central construction, C1.[528]

Syntactically, we find two types of C2 constructions: (i) ones like C1, where ἰδού alone functions as the predicator; (ii) more complex ones, which in addition to ἰδού contain a typical predicator, such as a finite verb, locative predicate, and, depending on syntactic interpre-

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[527] I have tested this for seven perception verbs used as imperatives (ὁράω 7x; βλέπω 'see, look' 8x; ἀκούω 'hear' 11x; and one time each for θεωρέω 'look at, observe, perceive, see'; καταμανθάνω 'observe'; θεάομαι 'look (intently) at'; σκοπέω 'pay careful attention to, look (out) for'. Out of about 30 imperatives with explicit objects, only 2 have preverbal objects. The preverbal object in Mat 21:33 (ἀκούω 'hear') is explained by the contrastive effect of telling ἄλλην 'another' parable (Ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἀκούσατε [another parable hear!]). The other possible case, 2Co 10:7, is less clear and βλέπετε is often taken not as an imperative but a present indicative 'you look' (opinions vary considerably on the meaning of the clause). In any case, the preverbal position can likely be explained in terms of contrastiveness or emotive emphasis.

[528] While all subtypes resemble C1 in having thetic subjects, one rare construction, *'ἰδού+clause with Ø subject,'* (§6.3.4.4) lacks a subject altogether.

tation, even a participle. The difficult question about the syntactic function of ἰδού in relation to finite verbs in (ii) is touched on in §6.3.4.3 and in relation to participles in §6.3.4.2.

The **conceptual** resemblance to C1 varies. C2a is most like C1 because it is used deictically to introduce here-and-now states of affairs, where the speaker can (normally) point at the entity being introduced. Most other constructions in the C2 family can be described as 'semi-deictic' or 'imagined deictic'.

The most common type of C2 in the NT are instances of what we can call the **narrative deictic thetic**, C2c. I count them as imagined deictics. They fit BDAG's characterization of 'enlivening' the introduction of an entity or state of affairs in the narrative. While C2c may be viewed by some as an imitation of a Hebrew/LXX construction, it shares with C2b and C2d the fact that it concerns worlds that are not, or not entirely, here-and-now. So it is not as functionally unique as some might suggest.

In most varieties of C2, the subject immediately follows ἰδού. But when the C2 clause contains a finite verb, the subject is sometimes postverbal (see §6.7.3).

There is at most only one instance of C2 with ἴδε (Jhn 11:3). But see §6.5.4 on Mrk 13:21, which is a hybrid involving a C2a skeleton overlaid by a constituent-focus structure.

6.3.1 Deictic thetics with a finite verb or a verbless locative predicate, C2a

C2a tokens share with C1 that they introduce here-and-now states of affairs into the discourse. But unlike C1, they all have a typical predicator, either a finite verb or locative predicate. There are only 7 possible tokens: Mat 7:4; Mat 12:2; Mat 21:5 (LXX quote); Mat 26:46; Mrk 14:42; Luk 22:38; Jhn 12:15 (LXX quote).

Mat 26:46 illustrates a case where the predicator is a finite verb. That ἰδού is not a predicator, or at least not the primary one, will be argued in more detail in §6.3.4. In the meantime, it should be noted that, as partial evidence for this view, the subject in such ἰδού clauses can occur either postverbally, as in the case at hand, or preverbally, as in the parallel passage, **Mrk 14:42**. The GNT uses a *deictic-here* thetic in both passages, but the addition of *Look* makes this a double-translation of ἰδού. The NRS and CEV do not make use of true deictic thetics.

Mat 26:46   ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν   ὁ   παραδιδούς με.
            *   3S.has.drawn.near the.one betraying   me

GNT: [46] Get up, let us go. <u>Look, here is the man who is betraying me!</u> [47] Jesus was still speaking when Judas, one of the twelve disciples, arrived.

NRS: …See, my betrayer is at hand.…

CEV: …The one who will betray me is already here.…

Mrk 14:42   ἰδοὺ ὁ   παραδιδούς   με   ἤγγικεν.
            *   the   one.betraying me   3S.has.drawn.near

GNT: Look, here is the man who is betraying me! NRS: …See, my betrayer is at hand.…

Jhn 12:15, a LXX quote, is another likely instance. The GNT makes use of a deictic thetic, as does the French FBJ. However, if the speaker could not at the moment of speech point to 'the king', we would instead have a case of C2b, a slight deviation from C2a.

Jhn 12:15   ἰδοὺ ὁ   βασιλεύς σου   ἔρχεται,   καθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου
            *   the   King   of.you 3S.is.coming sitting   on   foal   of.donkey

GNT: <u>Here comes your king,</u> riding on a young donkey.

FBJ: Voici que ton roi vient, monté sur un petit d'ânesse.

Mat 12:2 can be interpreted in various ways. (i) As a deictic thetic (C2a): 'Here are your disciples doing what is not lawful on the Sabbath!' (compare the use of C1 in Mat 11:19, another implicit rebuke).[529] (ii) As an instance of C3: ἰδού is deictic but syntactically independent from what follows (a topic-comment structure, with topical subject). (iii) ἰδού is an instance of C5, the attention pointer ('take note'), in which case it is not deictic. English translations that render ἰδού as *Look* (e.g. CEV, GNT, NIV, NRS) would be compatible with either (ii) or (iii).

Mat 12:2   Ἰδοὺ οἱ μαθηταί σου   ποιοῦσιν ὃ   οὐκ ἔξεστιν   ποιεῖν ἐν σαββάτῳ.
           *   the disciples of.you 3P.do   what not 3S.is.permitted to.do on Sabbath

      NRS: [1] …Jesus went through the grainfields on the sabbath; his disciples were hungry, and they began to pluck heads of grain and to eat. [2] When the Pharisees saw it, they said to him, <u>"Look, your disciples are doing what is not lawful to do on the sabbath."</u>

In **Luk 22:38**, we have the locative ὧδε 'here', which is presumably the main predicate. Since ἰδού is unspecified for near/far deixis, ὧδε specifies near deixis.

Luk 22:38 οἱ   δὲ εἶπαν, Κύριε, ἰδοὺ μάχαιραι ὧδε δύο.
           they and 3P.said Lord   *   swords   here two

      CEV: "Lord, here are two swords!"

      BFC: "Seigneur, voici deux épées."

This last token must be distinguished from the *non-deictic εἰμί* thetic in **Jhn 6:9**, which lacks ἰδού (discussed several times in Chapter 4). Jhn 6:9 is sometimes translated by a deictic thetic (*NIV*, NJB; German EIN, GND). Assuming it is not a true deictic thetic, it follows that the speaker need not be pointing at the boy in a nearby location, but is instead introducing the boy in a mental world whose location just so happens to be nearby in the real world. Most translations I have consulted in fact (correctly) make use of a *non-deictic thetic* (*NRS*, RSV, CEV, GNT, NLT; German LUT, SCH; French FBJ, TOB, BFC, NVS78).

Jhn 6:9   Ἔστιν παιδάριον ὧδε ὃς   ἔχει πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους καὶ δύο ὀψάρια·
           3S.is young.boy here who has five loaves barley   and two fish

      NIV: <u>Here is a boy</u> with five small barley loaves and two small fish

      NRS: <u>There is a boy here</u> who has five barley loaves and two fish.

Mat 7:4 appears to be another deictic thetic with a locative predicate constituent.

Mat 7:4   Ἄφες ἐκβάλω   τὸ κάρφος ἐκ   τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,
           allow I.take.out the speck from the eye   of.you

      καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ   δοκὸς   ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σοῦ;
      and *   the beam.of.wood in the eye   of.you?

      RSV: [3] Why do you see the speck that is in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log that is in your own eye? [4] Or how can you say to your brother, 'Let me take the speck out of your eye,' <u>when there is the log in your own eye?</u>

      NIV: …when all the time there is a plank in your own eye?

      CEV: …when you don't see the log in your own eye?

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[529] Although FBJ renders Mat 12:2 as a *voilà* deictic thetic (Voilà tes disciples qui font ce qu'il n'est pas permis de faire pendant le sabbat!), Paul Solomiac informs me that this construction is not ideal here since it may suggest the Pharisees just accused Jesus of being careless about the law and so this *voilà* sentence would be an illustration thereof. BFC's *regarde* seems more appropriate (Regarde, tes disciples font ce que notre loi ne permet pas le jour du sabbata!).

This token is atypical for two reasons: (i) σοῦ 'your' is contrastive; (ii) the identity of ἡ δοκός '*the* beam' and its presence in the eye of one of the communicators has just been established (v 3). So, given the context, this token functions as a 'reminder' (paraphrasable as *Aren't you forgetting something?! There's the beam...*; §2.3.7.5). Some translations gloss over this subtlety, using 'a' instead of 'the' (e.g. NIV, GNT). The CEV's circumlocution is noteworthy: *you don't see* plus perception report. The RSV makes use of an English 'reminder' construction, which, technically speaking, is not deictic. But a deictic thetic in English would not be very idiomatic: *Here's the beam in your own eye.*

There are other ἰδού thetics with locative predicates. While probably deictic or semi-deictic, they nonetheless diverge in different ways from the prototype. They are treated in the next sections: Act 5:9 in §6.3.2, and Act 13:11 and Rev 21:3 in §6.3.3.

6.3.2 Thetics involving spatial or temporal proximity, C2b

Occasionally, ἰδού thetics introduce something that is either spatially or temporally near.[530] These tokens diverge from C1 in that the states of affairs are not quite here-and-now, yet they are still in some sense 'near'. There are 8 C2b tokens. Most are not readily translated by deictic thetics in English.

Four tokens introduce a state of affairs that is **located nearby**. All four have a locative phrase. In one, the locative by itself is the predicate, but in three there is also a finite verb: Mat 12:47 and ||Mrk 3:32; Act 5:9 (locative predicate); Jas 5:9. For example, in **Mat 12:47**,[531] Jesus' mother and brothers are asserted to be standing outside (presumably out of sight).[532] In **Act 5:9** and **Jas 5:9** (both warnings), two other sets of entities are said to be nearby, that is, 'at' or 'before' 'the door(s)'. In Act 5:9 (and maybe Jas 5:9), what is spatially near is also, by implication, temporally near: what is at the door will soon come in and be before the hearer. From the hearer's perspective, in each case the (nearby) presence of the entity is unexpected. The NRS uses *Look,* and *See,* in these. The GND has inverted order in Act 5:9, which encourages a focal reading of the postverbal subject *die Leute.*

Mat 12:47 Ἰδοὺ ἡ   μήτηρ   σου   καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου   ἔξω   ἑστήκασιν
           *   the   mother   of.you and the brothers of.you outside 3P.are.standing.Prf

           ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι.
           seeking   you to.speak

           NRS: [46] While he was still speaking to the crowds, his mother and his brothers were standing outside, wanting to speak to him. [47] Someone told him, "<u>Look, your mother and your brothers are standing outside,</u> wanting to speak to you."

Act 5:9   ἰδοὺ οἱ πόδες τῶν   θαψάντων   τὸν ἄνδρα   σου   ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ
           *   the feet   of.those having.buried the husband of.you at   the door

           καὶ ἐξοίσουσίν   σε.
           and 3P.will.carry.out you

           NRS: <u>Look, the feet of those who have buried your husband are at the door,</u> and they will carry you out.

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[530] The linguistic relationship between time and space is well known; times are often treated linguistically as metaphorical spaces (Lakoff & Johnson 1980 and Lakoff 1987). In this section, we will see that sometimes it is hard to distinguish what is spatially near from what is temporally near, the two blurring into each other.

[531] As far as I can tell from Nestle-Aland, manuscripts that include Mat 12:47, include ἰδού.

[532] The parallel passages differ in interesting ways. ||Mrk 3:32 has not *intransitive* 'stand' but *transitive* 'seeking'. ||Luk 8:20 lacks ἰδού altogether, and the locative follows the verb: ...ἑστήκασιν ἔξω.

GND: Vor der Tür stehen schon die Leute, die deinen Mann begraben haben.

BFC: Écoute, ceux qui ont enterré ton mari sont déjà à la porte

Jas 5:9   ἰδοὺ ὁ   κριτὴς πρὸ   τῶν θυρῶν ἕστηκεν.
           *   the judge before the doors   3S.stands.Prf

NRS: Beloved, do not grumble against one another, so that you may not be judged. <u>See, the Judge is standing at the doors!</u>

There are 4 tokens that introduce states of affairs that the speaker asserts will *certainly* come about in either the imminent or more distant **future** (see §6.7.2 on 'certainty'): Luk 23:29; Jhn 16:32; Heb 8:8 (LXX quote); Rev 9:12. All these tokens have finite verbs. States of affairs that belong to the certain future are unlike the prototype since they are not here-and-now and so cannot be seen. Yet, they resemble the prototype in that they are certain and will inevitably be 'here'.

Rev 9:12 introduces a set of second order entities ('two woes') that will soon happen (present form ἔρχεται indicates they are almost 'here').[533] In two other tokens, it is a time entity itself ('hour' or 'days') that is being introduced, and the time in turn indicates when some state of affairs will occur in the future (Luk 23:29; Jhn 16:32): In **Luk 23:29**, the (probably distant) time is introduced when people will say something (note NRS's *surely,* which brings across the certainty of the states of affairs). In English, there is no deictic thetic construction compatible for either passage. But NVS78 makes use of *voici* in Rev 9:12.

Rev 9:12   Ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.
            the woe - first passed *   3S.comes yet two woes after these.things

GNT: The first horror is over; <u>after this there are still two more horrors to come.</u>

NVS78: Le premier malheur est passé. <u>Voici que</u> deux malheurs viennent encore après cela.

BFC: Le premier malheur est passé; après cela, deux autres malheurs doivent encore venir.

Luk 23:29   ὅτι   ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται   ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς   ἐροῦσιν, Μακάριαι κτλ
            because *   3P.are.coming days   in which 3P.will.say blessed

NRS: <u>For the days are surely coming</u> when they will say, 'Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bore, and the breasts that never nursed.'

6.3.3 Other thetic constructions with ἰδού, C2d

Before treating the most common thetic use of ἰδού, *narrative deictic thetics,* I shall first dispense with **C2d**, which involves a handful of somewhat heterogeneous tokens. They introduce states of affairs that resemble C1 in that they belong to the '**now**', but they differ in being either not quite 'here' or not visible. Several of these could be taken as C5, and perhaps C2d is the closest thetic use to C5, where the physical deictic element is completely gone.

Likely instances of C2d include Act 10:19, Act 13:11, and Rev 21:3. Mat 26:45 ('the hour has arrived') and perhaps Act 5:25 (with εἰμί) may be two more. Jhn 11:3, another possibility, is the only possible C2 token with ἴδε.

The state of affairs in **Act 10:19** (with participle) is 'now' but not 'here': it is simultaneous with the speech time but refers to a location other than the hearer's immediate one, into which 'three men' are introduced. This use of ἰδού is very similar to that in the narrative deictic thetic (see §6.3.4.2 on the syntax of participles). Although the GNT adds

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[533] See Zerwick §278 on the present (especially with ἔρχομαι) with future meaning.

here, Peter cannot see them. The GNT has used a double-translation, assuming both *here* and *Listen* stand for ἰδού.

Act 10:19 εἶπεν (αὐτῷ) τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες τρεῖς ζητοῦντές σε,
           3S.said to.him the Spirit   *   men   three   looking.for   you

         GNT: when the Spirit said [to Peter], <u>"Listen!</u> Three men are <u>here</u> looking for you."

Another possible instance is the single sentence message in **Jhn 11:3** (ἴδε), which introduces a surprising state of affairs. 'Sick', as a 'stage level' predicate, is very common in sentence-focus constructions in many languages (§2.3.3). Alternatively, ἴδε could be C5 ('listen' or 'pay attention'). Many English translations render ἴδε here as Ø.

Jhn 11:3   Κύριε, ἴδε ὃν   φιλεῖς   ἀσθενεῖ.
          Lord   *   the.one.whom   you.love   3S.is.sick

         NRS: [Mary and Martha's brother Lazarus was very ill.] [3] So the sisters sent a message to Jesus, <u>"Lord, he whom you love is ill."</u> [4] But when Jesus heard it, he said, "This illness does not lead to death;…" [6] [and] he stayed two days longer in the place where he was.

         GNT: "Lord, your dear friend is sick."

Act 13:11,[534] with a locative predicate, is special because it appears that Paul is not describing a state of affairs, but rather causing one to come to pass by virtue of uttering it. That is, the utterance functions as a 'performative' (i.e. akin to a curse, e.g. *I hereby declare that the Lord's hand is on you;* for more on performative-like instances, see on Exo 34:10 in §6.6.1 and footnotes 523, 558, and 574). Given the future form of the next clause, 'you will be (blind)', some translations (e.g. GNT, CEV) also render the ἰδού clause as future, but this would weaken the performative effect. If this construction is truly to be understood as a (non-central) deictic thetic, then the literal sense might be suggested by *Now, here is (comes) the Lord's Hand on you.*

Act 13:11   καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ ἔσῃ   τυφλὸς
          and now   *   hand of.Lord on   you and   you.will.be   blind

         GNT: [10] and [Paul] said, "You son of the Devil! You are the enemy of everything that is good.… [11] The Lord's hand <u>will</u> come down on you now; you will be blind…"

         NRS: And now listen—the hand of the Lord is against you, and you will be blind…

Cited at the start of the chapter, **Rev 21:3**, also with a locative predicate, is variously interpreted. (i) ἰδού is rendered by the NVS78 as deictic thetic *voici* 'here's' and by the NRS as *see!* Under this interpretation, this token introduces something that is 'now', but assumedly not entirely visible—and so it could be an instance of C2d. But if it is truly visible (e.g. if 'the tabernacle' is equated with 'the new Jerusalem'), then it could be C2a. (ii) Other translations render ἰδού as 'now' (GNT, CEV, NIV, French BFC). In that case, the clause could be an instance of C5 where 'the tabernacle' could be understood as a topic expression (e.g. the CEV is paraphrasable as *As for God's home, it is now with his people*). Like Act 13:11 above, this utterance resembles a performative; since John is apparently still witnessing the new Jerusalem descending from heaven (v 2), it may serve as an official proclamation of that event.

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[534] Act 13:11, which lacks εἰμί, resembles several εἰμί eventive thetics that lack ἰδού (e.g. Luk 1:66; Act 4:33; Act 10:38; Act 11:21 etc. see §4.1). The absence of εἰμί in Act 13:11 may be explained in that ἰδού is the here-and-now predicator.

Rev 21:3   καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ   τοῦ θρόνου λεγούσης, Ἰδοὺ ἡ   σκηνὴ
           and I.heard voice loud   from the   throne   saying   *   the dwelling

           τοῦ θεοῦ   μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει   μετ' αὐτῶν,
           -    of.God with the   men   and 3S.will.dwell with them

NRS: [1] Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth;… [2] And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. [3] And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, <u>"See, the home of God is among mortals.</u> He will dwell with them as their God; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them;…"

NVS78: Voici le tabernacle de Dieu avec les hommes!

CEV: God's home is now with his people. GNT: Now God's home is with people!

In §6.6.3, a couple more thetic tokens will be discussed (e.g. Luk 13:30 and 2Co 5:17), where I categorize ἰδού as C5. Those utterances involve elements that make them even less like C1 than any of the C2d tokens.

6.3.4 Narrative deictic thetics, use C2c

ἰδού tokens occurring in narrative are frequent, numbering about 65.[535] All but 2 of these are probably thetic.[536] I designate this thetic use and its subtypes **C2c**.

What is the function of ἰδού in thetic clauses in narrative? If one considers English translations, one could conclude that the ἰδού's meaning is too subtle to bother with.

One side to this question is **syntactic**. I shall argue below that ἰδού functions (a) sometimes as a predicator and (b) sometimes as a frozen thetic particle, in which case it probably cannot be viewed as a proper predicator.

The other side to the question is **semantic/conceptual**. In anticipation of this section, in §2.4.4.4 we touched on a variety of constructions that may be used to add **vividness** and **immediacy** to a narrative: perception reports, direct speech, 'direct thoughts', words like *suddenly,* and the historical present. And in §2.4.1, certain thetic constructions were briefly illustrated from English that had a similar function. Lakoff (1987) identified two subtypes (based on English's 'central' deictic thetic) used in this way in **narrative**: (i) the 'narrative focus' and (ii) 'presentational deictic'. (iii) A third construction that is relevant to us and common in narrative is a non-deictic thetic, what Lakoff calls the 'presentational existential construction':

(i)	Narrative Focus (Deictic)	There I was in the middle of the jungle…
(ii)	Presentational Deictic	(There) in the alley had gathered a large crowd of roughnecks.
(iii)	Presentational Existential	Suddenly there burst into the room an SS officer holding a machine gun.

Constructions (i) and (ii), with deictic *there,* are used to create a vivid picture in an imagined scene, where the locative adverb refers to a location in that scene. Moreover, (ii) indicates 'a discovery, thus introducing […] the referent […] into the discourse' (Lakoff p. 521). Construction (iii), with non-deictic *there*, is also used to create a vivid scene into which a new entity is introduced.

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[535] A few tokens occur in narratives embedded in speech (e.g. past tense: Mrk 4:3; Act 10:30; present habitual: Luk 9:39).

[536] In only two tokens is the subject a topic expression, Mat 8:29 and Mat 8:32. These are counted as C5 although closely related to C2c; see §6.6.5. Mat 13:3 and ‖Mrk 4:3 are not counted as narrative; see footnote 617.

With this background in mind, BDAG's brief note in their lexicon (summarized in §6.1.1) that ἰδού can 'enliven' a narrative makes good sense as general portrayal. But note, one also finds a similar portrayal of the '**historical present**' in BDF §321, who say it is used in 'a vivid narrative at the events of which the narrator imagines himself to be present'.[537] (In fact, it will be illustrated shortly that Mark uses the historical present in parallel passages where Matthew uses ἰδού.) For my part, a starting assumption will be that C2c, the historical present, as well as other constructions mentioned above (perception reports, *suddenly,* etc.) share a degree of functional overlap, but I will not assume that any of them are fully synonymous. Since none of them are formally identical structures, presumably each can have its own effects and unique ways of adding vividness and immediacy, while also diverging in function.

So can we add precision to such generic portrayals of 'enlivening' a narrative or adding vividness or immediacy?

First of all, the most obvious point is that in up to 63 out of 65 narrative tokens the statement is thetic. These thetics serve to introduce both first order entities (especially people) and second order entities (states of affairs, events) that tend to be providential or supernatural, or introductions that will lead to events or speeches of spiritual significance (so, following Fiedler, there is a potential 'theological' component). In contrast, the historical present is much less frequently used in thetics (more on this below).[538]

Second, I propose that C2c shares with C1 some element of deictic meaning, and so we can expect some functional similarity between C2c and the comparable English constructions (à la Lakoff). More precisely, I propose that C2c resembles C1 in that the entity is introduced into an imagined world (of some other time and place) that is be treated as if were the real here-and-now. This amounts to an implicit invitation to the audience to imagine being on stage where the events are happening right before them (one might compare this to how a filmmaker can zoom in on a scene). But this portrayal requires qualification:

(a) It is only in some tokens (roughly half) that we can claim that the audience is being invited to take **the perspective of a story-internal character**. In these, we may venture to call ἰδού a 'personal perspective marker'.

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[537] Although many assume the function of the historic present is to create vivid or dramatic effect (BDF §321; Hf&S §197d; Dana & Mantey §174.3; Wallace 1996:526), Porter (1992:30-31) rejects this portrayal 'because of its outdated view of tense functions, the lack of indication in the text of such a perspectival shift, and the resulting clumsiness in perspective when tenses are seen as shifting so quickly.' Porter instead portrays its function as 'draw[ing] added attention to' or 'highlight[ing]' events or contexts. Much in lines with Porter, Levinsohn (2000:200-203) describes it as a highlighting device, and 'particularly in Mark and John, what is highlighted […] is not so much the speech or act to which it refers but the event(s) that follow', i.e. it functions *cataphorically.* I assume that the two parameters of vividness and highlighting often overlap, so Porter's division is probably unnecessary.

[538] From my casual study of the HP (=historical present) in Mark (who is known for using the HP a lot), I find that it is used only occasionally with thetics. More typically the subject is topical. The most common HP verb is λέγω 'say' (Wallace 1996:529), which is of course not a typical thetic verb. For ἔρχομαι 'come', a common thetic verb, I find the following:

18x = HP and non-thetic (all but one have a non-lexical topical subject): Mrk 2:3 (non-referential subject); Mrk 2:18; Mrk 3:20; Mrk 5:15; Mrk 5:35; Mrk 5:38; Mrk 6:1; Mrk 6:48; Mrk 8:22; Mrk 10:1; Mrk 10:46; Mrk 11:15; Mrk 11:27; Mrk 14:17; Mrk 14:32; Mrk 14:37; Mrk 14:41; Mrk 16:2.

6x = HP and thetic: Mrk 1:40; Mrk 3:31; Mrk 5:22; Mrk 11:27; Mrk 12:18; Mrk 14:66.

4x = thetic, in past narrative, but not HP (verb is past or participial): Mrk 4:4; Mrk 12:42; Mrk 14:3; Mrk 15:43.

(b) In many tokens, **the perspective is relatively 'omniscient'** rather than that of a story-internal character. In such tokens, ἰδού is better characterized as a generic marker of vividness or immediacy.[539]

To illustrate (a), consider **Luk 22:47**. According to the above proposal, the audience is being invited to imagine themselves on stage with the cast (and narrator). They are to view the introduction of the 'crowd' and 'Judas' as if they were appearing before them in the here-and-now of the story. In this context, it is natural for the audience to take Jesus' perspective (as main character), although they might also identify with the disciples.

Luk 22:47   Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ ὄχλος, καὶ ὁ   λεγόμενος Ἰούδας εἷς τῶν
yet him   speaking   *   crowd and the.one being.called Judas   one of.the

δώδεκα προήρχετο   αὐτοὺς καὶ ἤγγισεν   τῷ   Ἰησοῦ φιλῆσαι αὐτόν.
twelve 3S.was.leading them   and 3S.drew.near to.the Jesus to.kiss   him.

NRS: [Just before his arrest, Jesus is praying while nearby his disciples have fallen asleep, being overcome with sadness.] [46] and he said to them, "Why are you sleeping? Get up and pray that you may not come into the time of trial." [47] While he was still speaking, <u>suddenly a crowd came, and the one called Judas, one of the twelve, was leading them.</u>

(b) A more omniscient perspective is illustrated in **Luk 23:50** where a new scene begins (in nearly all consulted translations, v 50 begins a new paragraph). The previous context, Luk 23:26-49, narrates the events of the crucifixion and the reactions of the crowd present. So when Joseph of Arimathea is introduced in Luk 23:50, it can hardly be from any particular person's perspective from the crucifixion scene. Thus, we as the audience, when we process Joseph's introduction, must take a step away from the here-and-now of the previous scene. It is in fact not until v 52 that story's event line resumes with Joseph going to Pilate. (Other passages requiring an omniscient perspective are discussed below, e.g. Mat 27:51.)[540]

Luk 23:50   Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσὴφ βουλευτὴς   ὑπάρχων
and   *   man by.name Joseph council.member   being

(καὶ) ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος
and   man good   and righteous

NRS: [vv 26-49, crucifixion scene.] ¶ [50] <u>Now there was a good and righteous man named Joseph,</u> who, though a member of the council, had not agreed to their plan and action. He came from the Jewish town of Arimathea, and he was waiting expectantly for the kingdom of God. [52] This man went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus.

Finally, we note in passing that C2c seldom coincides with the **historical present**. In only two past narratives is a present finite verb so used (Mat 2:13 and Mat 2:19). Both recount the appearance of an angel of the Lord in dream to Joseph.

But it is noteworthy that, occasionally, when Matthew (and sometimes Luke) has an ἰδού clause, the parallel passage in Mark has a historic present. While this too might suggest the

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[539] Follingstad's (2001) makes many insightful comments about הִנֵּה (*hinnēh*) 'behold' in terms of viewpoint (i.e. perspective) and mental space. His discussion was inspirational for me when I began studying perception reports and ἰδού/ἴδε, although my approach and terms differ from his in several respects. Most relevant to us here is the fact that he similarly notes that הִנֵּה may coincide with different viewpoints, including not just that of a story-internal character (pp. 512-3, 585).

[540] The following tokens require an omniscient perspective (**bold** tokens are illustrated in this section; <u>underlined</u> ones have a finite verb): <u>Mat 9:3</u>; <u>Mat 9:20</u>; **Mat 27:51**; Mat 28:11; **<u>Luk 2:25</u>**; Luk 5:12; Luk 7:37; Luk 19:2; Luk 23:50; **Luk 24:13**; Act 8:27; Act 10:17; **<u>Act 16:1</u>**. Probably also in <u>Mat 2:1</u>; <u>Mat 8:34</u>; Mat 9:10; Mat 20:30; Mat 26:51.

meanings of the two constructions overlap, we cannot make too much of this since such parallels are infrequent, and, as noted above (footnote 538), *the historical present is not very common with thetics.* Compare **Mat 8:2** (and ‖Luk 5:12) with **Mrk 1:40**. Incidentally, the GNT, NRS, and NIV appear to have made no attempt to handle either ἰδού or the historic present. For other parallels, compare Mat 8:24 with Mrk 4:37; Mat 9:2 and Luk 5:18 with Mrk 2:3; and (to some extent) Mat 8:34 with Mrk 5:15.

Mat 8:2   καὶ   ἰδοὺ   λεπρὸς   προσελθὼν   προσεκύνει   αὐτῷ
              and   *   leper   having.approached 3S.was.worshiping him

Mrk 1:40   Καὶ ἔρχεται   πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν (καὶ γονυπετῶν) καὶ λέγων
            and 3S.comes to   him   leper   begging   him   and kneeling   and saying

    Mat GNT: Then a man suffering from a dreaded skin disease came to him,…

    Mrk GNT: A man suffering from a dreaded skin disease came [Greek: 'comes'] to Jesus, knelt down, and begged him for help.

    Mat NRS: and there was a leper who came to him and knelt before him,…

    Mrk NRS: A leper came to him begging him, and kneeling he said to him,…

    Mat NIV: A man with leprosy came and knelt before him…

    Mrk NIV: A man with leprosy came to him and begged him on his knees,…

Other close parallels in narrative between the Synoptic Gospels reveal that where Matthew or Luke use an ἰδού thetic, Mark uses a thetic construction without either ἰδού or the historical present: (i) aorist of γίνομαι 'happen': Mrk 9:7 (‖Mat 17:5); (ii) imperfect of εἰμί 'be': Mrk 3:1 (‖Mat 12:10) and Mrk 2:6 if not periphrastic (‖Mat 9:3); (iii) aorist participle of ἔρχομαι 'come', Mrk 15:43 (‖Luk 23:50); and (iv) *object+participle* complement of perception report, Mrk 1:10 (‖Mat 3:16).[541]

The following sections group C2c tokens according to syntactic complexity. We find simple constructions (*ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$) where I take ἰδού to be a predicator as in C1, as well as constructions with a finite verb predicate. Tokens with participles are listed separately although they are probably best analyzed as instances of the simple construction. Finally, there are a few tokens in narrative that are treated separately, 2 which lack a subject although (C2c-Ø-subject, §6.3.4.4), and up to 3 that could be categorized as instances of left-detachment (§6.3.5).

6.3.4.1 ἰδού + NP$_{NOM}$: the simple construction, C2c-NP

Syntactically, C2c-NP is identical to C1, being composed of *ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$. BDAG §ἰδού.2 ('used w. a noun without a finite verb') lists both C1 and C2c-NP tokens. As in C1, I take ἰδού to be the predicator (i.e. a morphologically invariable verb).

As in **Luk 22:47**,[542] illustrated shortly before but now repeated with more vernacular translations, so in **Rev 6:2**, the form *ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$ is followed by καί, which indicates the end of the thetic clause. In the latter passage, the idiom καὶ ἰδού following 'X saw' occurs. This is a common LXX/Hebrew idiom, especially for recounting visions and dreams (Johannessohn 1937).[543]

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[541] Outside of narrative one finds the (negated) perception report in Luk 6:42 paralleled by Mat 7:4 with ἰδού.

[542] I assume ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας 'and the one called Judas' is not governed by ἰδού.

[543] Johannessohn (1937:179-181, 235) notes how the Hebrew construction 'X looked/saw and behold' (e.g. וירא...והנה) slowly exited the Hebrew historical books in the Bible but remained in use in prophetic visions (e.g. Amos, Zechariah, Daniel). In Revelation, this idiom with ἰδού occurs 8 times.

Luk 22:47 Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ ὄχλος, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας εἷς τῶν
yet him speaking * crowd and the.one being.called Judas one of.the

δώδεκα προήρχετο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἤγγισεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ φιλῆσαι αὐτόν.
twelve 3S.was.leading them and 3S.drew.near to.the Jesus to.kiss him.

NRS: While he was still speaking, <u>suddenly a crowd came, and the one called Judas, one of the twelve, was leading them.</u>

CEV: While Jesus was still speaking, <u>a crowd came up.</u>

NRV: Mentre parlava ancora, <u>ecco una folla;</u>

IEP: Mentre egli ancora parlava, <u>ecco giunse una folla di gente;</u>[544]

Rev 6:2 καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον
and I.saw and * horse white and the sitting on it having bow

NRS: I looked, <u>and there was a white horse!</u> Its rider had a bow;…

Many tokens are immediately followed by one or more subsequent predications. This is illustrated in **Luk 19:2** by 'being called Zacchaeus by name' and in **Luk 5:12** by 'full of leprosy', etc. As illustrated here, most C2c-NP tokens are followed by some background description before the narrative resumes. So the perspective is often relatively omniscient: Luk 19:2 concerns the general location of Jericho (something brought out by Knox's *here* and BFC's *là*). Luk 5:12 concerns 'one of those cities'; since it is the man with leprosy who apparently sees Jesus first, it is unlikely the ἰδού clause is to be taken from Jesus' perspective.

Luk 19:2 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι καλούμενος Ζακχαῖος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀρχιτελώνης
and * man by.name being.called Zacchaeus and he 3S.was chief.tax.collector

NRS: [1] [Jesus] entered Jericho and was passing through it. [2] <u>A man was there named Zacchaeus;</u> he was a chief tax collector and was rich. [3] He was trying to see who Jesus was, but on account of the crowd he could not,… [4] So he…climbed a…tree to see him,… [5] When Jesus came to the place, he looked up and said to him, "Zacchaeus,…"

GNT: There was a chief tax collector there named Zacchaeus,…

Knox: and <u>here a rich man</u> named Zacchaeus, the chief publican, was trying to distinguish which was Jesus,…

NJB: and suddenly a man whose name was Zacchaeus made his appearance;…

BFC: <u>Il y avait là un homme</u> appelé Zachée; c'était le chef des collecteurs d'impôts et il était riche.

FBJ: Et voici un homme appelé du nom de Zachée; c'était un chef de publicains,…

LND: ed ecco un uomo, chiamato Zaccheo il quale era il capo dei pubblicani ed era ricco.

Luk 5:12 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ πλήρης λέπρας· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν κτλ
and * man full of.leprosy having.seen and - Jesus

NRS: Once, when he was in one of the cities, <u>there was a man covered with leprosy.</u> When he saw Jesus, he bowed with his face to the ground and begged him, "Lord, if you choose, you can make me clean."

Translation issues: Most English translations render such tokens by a non-deictic thetic, as illustrated above by GNT's *there was a man* in Luk 19:2 (*there+be* is very common since the entity is usually hearer-new) and CEV's *a crowd came up* in Luk 22:47. Knox, whose

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[544] In the NRV and IEP, *ecco* has the same function I am claiming for ἰδού here (§2.4.3.2). NRV's *ecco una folla* 'ecco a crowd' is more dramatic sounding than the IEP, which has added *giunse* 'came' (p.c. Marco Librè).

translation was generally more daring and idiomatic for his day,[545] braved using deictic *here* in Luk 19:2.

In contrast, Italian and French manage to use *ecco/voilà/voici* fairly frequently in these tokens, as illustrated in Luk 19:2 above by *ecco* in LND and *voici* in FBJ. While I understand that the LND sounds natural in Italian, Paul Solomiac informs me that *voici* here is awkward. So there is a tendency in Italian and French for translators to overuse *ecco/voilà/voici*.

Now using non-deictic constructions like *there+be* in English and other languages may be a good strategy in the absence of other alternatives. But such constructions say less than the Greek, since they fail to 'enliven' the narrative or bring across any possible deictic element or, when relevant, underscore that something surprising or providential is happening.[546]

While there may be no perfect equivalent in English, Lakoff's '**presentational deictic**' construction might sometimes approximate the Greek. This English construction requires a locative to immediately follow the deictic adverb. Such a locative can be personal if the perspective is personal. For example, in Luk 22:47, where the events unfold primarily from Jesus' perspective, 'before him (Jesus)' can serve as the locative. One could say (using deictic *there*) *While he was still speaking, there before him appeared a crowd...* But when the perspective is more omniscient, an impersonal location, if evoked, can sometimes serve that function, as in the case of 'Jericho' in Luk 19:2: *There in Jericho was a man named Zacchaeus.* A similar effect is also achieved by the deictic adverbs in the renderings by Knox (*here a rich man*) and BFC (*Il y avait* là *un homme*).

In order to represent ἰδού in their translation, translators sometimes add a phrase that indicates **surprise** or **suddenness**. For example, the NRS and CEV occasionally add the word *suddenly,* as in the NRS of Luk 22:47 *suddenly a crowd came* (see also C2 tokens with aorist participles: NRS Mat 9:20 and CEV Mat 15:22; and with finite verbs: NRS in Mat 3:16 and Mat 4:11; see also *just then* in Luk 14:2 and *at that moment* in Mat 27:51). Now, in §6.2, I argued that emotive elements of surprise and wonder are not always present for C1 and I believe the same is true of C2c constructions. Therefore, surprise (suddenness or wonder), while a very common with C2c, is only a conversational implicature: it depends on the degree to which the appearance may be judged unexpected or extraordinary for the audience or narrative-internal characters. So adding *suddenly* is not always appropriate, although it can be one way to add vividness in English. Interestingly, in at least two places where Matthew has ἰδού, one finds instead εὐθύς 'immediately, just then' in Mark (compare Mrk 14:43 and ‖Mat 26:47; Mrk 7:25 and ‖Mat 15:22).[547] But since such parallels are the exception, claims about the semantic overlap between ἰδού and εὐθύς should not be exaggerated.[548]

In the NT, there are at least 13 likely C2c-NP tokens: Luk 5:12; Luk 7:37;[549] Luk 19:2; Luk 22:47; Luk 23:50; Act 8:27; Act 10:17 (a hearer-old set of entities is situated in the general scene); Rev 6:2; Rev 6:5; Rev 6:8; Rev 7:9; Rev 14:14; Rev 19:11. Other tokens may

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[545] Knox's source was primarily the Latin Vulgate, not the Greek.

[546] See Andersen (2003:33 note 14) for a similar point on הִנֵּה, which translators often leave untranslated.

[547] For Mat 15:22, Knox, by the use of deictic *here,* underscores the deictic component rather than the component of suddenness or surprise: 'After this, Jesus left those parts and withdrew into the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon. And here a woman, a Chanaanite by birth, who came from that country, cried aloud, Have pity on me, Lord…'

[548] That ἰδοὺ ἐξαυτῆς 'behold immediately' can coincide (Act 11:11) also suggests ἰδού is not synonymous with 'immediately' or 'suddenly' (contra Johannessohn [1942:58] and Fiedler [p. 38] who imply the opposite).

[549] For Luk 7:37 (with an omniscient perspective), by simply adding deictic *there,* the GNT's rendering can be transformed into Lakoff's 'presentational deictic': '[There] in that town was a woman who lived a sinful life.'

also belong here: Mat 2:9; Mat 26:47 (and possibly Luk 24:13); in each the subject is followed immediately by some descriptive material and then comes a finite verb (see §6.3.4.3 for discussion); all three, as well as Act 10:17 in the primary set, introduce hearer-old entities, something that distinguish these from the norm.

6.3.4.2 ἰδού + NP$_{NOM}$ + (X)-participle-(X): C2c-NP+Prt

In this section, I illustrate a few examples of narrative *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* that are followed by a (nominative) **participial phrase** (+/– X = optional predicate elements). Although it could be questioned, I assume the participial phrase counts as a subsequent predication that is syntactically separate from *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$*, that is, outside of the thetic clause (just like the verbless subsequent predications illustrated in the last section, e.g. 'called Zacchaeus by name' in Luk 19:2).

Although Fiedler (1969) and Johannessohn (1942) do not mention the possibility of ἰδού being a predicator, they still assume that the participle is syntactically separate. Johannessohn (pp. 51-2, 37) held this position with some hesitation because in the Hebrew construction that stood behind such a construction in the LXX, the participle could be viewed as part of the הִנֵּה+NP clause. This question of the syntactic role of the Greek participle following *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* is potentially confusing because of the names grammarians give such participles. If taken as separate, Johannessohn called it 'Attribut' (which I assume is equivalent to the *participium coniunctum*), but if part of the ἰδού clause he called it 'Prädikat'.[550] When I count such a participial phrase as separate, I call it a subsequent predication (i.e. a clause that predicates something 'about' the new topic). So in the construction at hand, there are two predications, the thetic one (*ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$*) and that subsequent one (the participial phrase).

Since BDAG §ἰδού.2 ('used w. a noun without a finite verb') includes examples where a participial phrase follows, it is clear the editors also assume the participle is separate (at least in the examples they list).

Now, to reflect back on a claim I made in §5.3.1, my position here assumes the participle's relation to *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* is (despite apparent similarities) different from the relation that holds between an object and its participle in the perception report (I argued in §5.3.1 that *object+participle* most typically formed a complement clause). Interestingly, in the latter construction, both orders, *object–participle* and *participle–object* occur, but with ἰδού only *NP$_{NOM}$–(X)–participle* occurs.

Here are two examples of C2c-NP+Prt, **Mat 12:10** and **Mat 3:17**. Notice that, if ἰδού is not counted as an independent indicative verb in these, then the sentences would lack one!

Mat 12:10 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων   ξηράν. καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν
      and * man hand having.Prs withered and 3P.questioned him [=Jesus]

      BDAG: 'καὶ ἰ. ἄνθρωπος *and there was a man'* [with a withered hand, and the people questioned Jesus, saying, 'Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath?']

Mat 3:17 καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγουσα, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου κτλ
      and * voice out of.the heavens saying.Prs this 3S.is the Son of.me

      BDAG: 'καὶ ἰ. φωνὴ ἐκ τ. οὐρανῶν *and, see, a voice came from heaven* or *and a voice came right from heaven'* [BDAG add *came* to make English idiomatic; italics are BDAG's]

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[550] For Luk 5:18 (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄνθρωπον [and ἰδού men.N carrying.N on pallet man.A]) Johannessohn illustrates the 'Prädikat' interpretation by 'und siehe, Männer trugen' and the 'Attribut' interpretation by 'und da waren Männer, welche trugen.'

Besides the above examples with transitive participles, I also assume that the intransitive ones in the following examples are subsequent predications and therefore separate from *ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$:[551] aorist ἐλθών 'having.come' in **Mat 9:18**[552] and aorist προσελθών 'having.approached' in **Mat 19:16**.[553] In other words, the verb type makes no difference.

Mat 9:18   Ταῦτα   αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺ ἄρχων εἷς ἐλθὼν
          these.things he.G   speaking.G to.them   *   ruler   one having.come.Aor

          προσεκύνει   αὐτῷ λέγων ὅτι Ἡ θυγάτηρ μου ἄρτι   ἐτελεύτησεν·
          3S.was.bowing.Impf to.him saying that the daughter of.me just.now died

          NRS: While he was saying these things to them, <u>suddenly a leader of the synagogue came in</u> and knelt before him, saying, "My daughter has just died;…"

Mat 19:16   Καὶ ἰδοὺ εἷς προσελθὼν   αὐτῷ εἶπεν,
          and   *   one having.approached.Aor to.him 3S.said

          NRS: Then someone came to him and said,…

There are 17 instances of C2c-NP+Prt: Mat 3:17; Mat 8:2; Mat 9:10; Mat 9:18; Mat 9:20 (listed under BDAG §ἰδού.1.b.β); Mat 12:10; Mat 15:22; Mat 17:5; Mat 19:16; Mat 20:30; Mat 26:51 (anchored subject); Mat 28:11 (anchored subject); Luk 5:18; Luk 13:11; Rev 4:1; Rev 12:3; Rev 14:1. With the exception of two anchored entities, all of the entities introduced are hearer-new.

6.3.4.3   ἰδού + subject-phrase + finite-verb: C2c-FiniteV

This now leads us to tokens where narrative ἰδού occurs with a finite verb, C2c-FiniteV. Consider **Mat 4:11** and **Mat 3:16**, where in the latter the finite verb follows ἰδού.

Mat 4:11   Τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ὁ   διάβολος, καὶ **ἰδοὺ** ἄγγελοι **προσῆλθον**
          then leaves   him   the devil   and   *   angels 3P.came

          καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.
          and 3P.served   him

          NRS: Then the devil left him [=Jesus], <u>and suddenly angels came</u> and waited on him.

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[551] It is not clear to me if it is coincidental, but in none of BDAG's examples is the participle a typical thetic verb (i.e. 'unaccusative' or non-agentive-intransitive). So one might wonder how they would analyze participles (especially present ones) with a more typical thetic verb, such as by the intransitive ones illustrated here.

[552] In Mat 9:18, the subject is modified by εἷς '(a certain) one' (see also Mat 19:16), which is presumably analogous to Luke's use of thetic τις. But Luke only uses thetic-τις with ἰδού in C3c-FiniteV (Luk 10:25; Luk 14:2; Act 16:1).

[553] The function of the (**tense**)-**aspects** with participles in object complements of perception reports was touched on in footnotes 479 and 480. In the *ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$ + *participial phrase* construction, the participle can be present, aorist, or perfect. Following normal rules for participles, the **aorist** is used for states of affairs that are complete or perfective in relation to another event (e.g. Mat 9:18, ἰδοὺ ἄρχων εἷς ἐλθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ [here's ruler one having.come 3S.was.bowing to.him]). **Present** forms are for simultaneous actions (e.g. λέγουσα [saying] in Mat 3:17) and lasting states (e.g. Mat 12:10, ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν [here's man hand.A having withered]) and **perfect** forms for lasting resultant states (e.g. Rev 4:1 ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεῳγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ [here's door opened in the heaven]).

Mat 3:16   βαπτισθεὶς   δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς   ἀνέβη   ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος·
           having.been.baptized and - Jesus immediately came.up from the   water

           καὶ **ἰδοὺ ἠνεῴχθησαν**   (αὐτῷ)   οἱ   οὐρανοί,
           and   *   3P.were.opened to.him the heavens

> NRS: [Jesus comes to John to be publically baptized.] And when Jesus had been baptized, just as he came up from the water, <u>suddenly the heavens were opened to him</u> and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on him.

Several things suggest that ἰδού here holds a very different type of syntactic relationship with its clause than when no finite verb is present (i.e. with *ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$ in C1, C2-NP, and C2-Prt): (i) Both orders, *ἰδού–subject–verb* and *ἰδού–verb–subject,* occur (§6.7.3.2). (ii) A finite verb is syntactically independent, unlike the nominalized clauses following *ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$, such as the participial type we saw in the last section or a relative clause in **Luk 19:20** (C1) repeated here from §6.2. (iii) If we drop ἰδού from C2c-FiniteV, we still have a complete clause. (iv) Finally, as will be illustrated shortly, the finite verb may even be εἰμί 'be', something that was argued to be unnecessary in constructions like C1, etc.

Luk 19:20 Κύριε, ἰδοὺ ἡ   μνᾶ σου   ἣν   εἶχον ἀποκειμένην ἐν σουδαρίῳ·
           sir   *   the mina of.you which I.had being.put.away in napkin.

> nab: Sir, <u>here's your gold coin,</u> which I kept hidden in a handkerchief.

For these reasons, ἰδού does not appear to be a predicator, but instead holds a weaker relation to its clause, functioning as a kind of **frozen thetic particle**. Its position in the sentence is not free, but frozen at or near the clause beginning, that is, always before the subject, verb, and other core constituents. So its behavior still mimics the other thetic structures (C1, C2-NP etc.). The clause structure of C2c-FiniteV is represented by (241) (subject and verb may be optionally inverted). This structure contrasts with (242), which represents C1, C2c-NP, and C2c-NP+Prt.

(241)   C2c-FiniteV: [ἰδού-PARTICLE NP-SUBJECT (X) finite verb-**PREDICATOR** (X)]

(242)   C1, C2c-NP etc.:   [ἰδού-**PREDICATOR** NP-SUBJECT] [subsequent predication]

There is some question about what perspective the audience is invited to take in Mat 4:11 and Mat 3:16 above (both introduce supernatural events). Commentators are divided about Mat 3:16, whether Jesus alone sees the heavens open and the dove descend, or if John and others present see this. In Mat 4:11, there is no mention of anyone besides Jesus being present, so one choice is that the perspective is Jesus'. However, it seems that it is really an omniscient perspective that is relevant here since, assuming Jesus already realizes he is the Messiah, the supernatural appearance of angels would not be so surprising to him as to the 'omniscient' reader.

Consider now **Mat 28:9** where the perspective is clearly personal. While transitive 'met' is not a prototypical thetic verb, it clearly functions thetically here. The clause serves to bring Jesus into the awareness of the characters, the women who had visited Jesus' grave, whose perspective the audience is invited to share. Meeting someone you knew died would be very surprising, so *suddenly* is one way to handle ἰδού (GNT, CEV, NRS, NIV, NJB). That the proper name Ἰησοῦς 'Jesus' is anarthrous makes sense because it is both focal and prominent

in this first post-resurrection appearance (recall similar examples in perception reports with especially ὅτι in §5.5).[554]

Mat 28:9   καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἰησοῦς ὑπήντησεν αὐταῖς λέγων, Χαίρετε.
           and *   Jesus   met   them   saying hello

         NRS: <u>Suddenly Jesus met them</u> and said, "Greetings!"

Mat 27:51-52 contains five thetics expressed by five finite verb clauses, all with unergative verbs—the Temple curtain tears, the earth shakes, the rocks split, the tombs open, and many of the dead are raised. These events are portrayed as occurring at the moment Jesus dies (v 50) and one might guess that at least the first four occur simultaneously. ἰδού, which only occurs once, introduces all five thetics. Again, there is no reason to view ἰδού as a predicator here, but instead each clause has its own finite verb as predicator. Since the perspective is relatively omniscient, the audience must step onto the greater stage of Jerusalem to view the five events.

Mat 27:51 Καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ κατάπετασμα τοῦ   ναοῦ   ἐσχίσθη   ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω
           and *   the curtain   of.the temple 3S.was.torn from above   to   below

           εἰς δύο καὶ ἡ   γῆ   ἐσείσθη   καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν,
           in   two and the earth 3S.was.shaken and the rocks   3P.were.split

    52 καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεῴχθησαν
        and the tombs   3P.were.opened

        καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν   κεκοιμημένων   ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν,
        and many   bodies   of.the having.fallen.asleep saints 3P.were.raised

        NRS: [50] Then Jesus cried again with a loud voice and breathed his last. [51] <u>At that moment</u> the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom. The earth shook, and the rocks were split. [52] The tombs also were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised. [53] After his resurrection they…appeared to many.

Unlike C1, which is by definition restricted to the true here-and-now present and never employs εἰμί 'be', C2c-FiniteV allows εἰμί. There are 3 tokens with imperfect ἦν: Luk 2:25, Luk 14:2 and Act 16:1 (see also Mat 8:24 and Mat 28:2 with ἐγένετο). Consider **Luk 2:25**. If ἰδού's function were predicative (as an 'existential predicate'), ἦν would be redundant. So ἰδού's function must instead be to lend this (otherwise non-deictic) thetic a special vividness probably because of the providential role Simeon plays here (he, being an especially holy man, just happens to show up and prophecy about the baby).

Luk 2:25 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ἦν   ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ᾧ   ὄνομα Συμεὼν
         and *   man   3S.was in Jerusalem   to.whom name Simeon

        NRS: [22] …[Joseph and Mary] brought him [=baby Jesus] up to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord… [24] and they offered a sacrifice… [25] <u>Now there was a man in Jerusalem</u> whose name was Simeon; this man was righteous and devout, looking forward to the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Spirit rested on him. [26] It had been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit that he would not see death before he had seen the Lord's Messiah. [27] Guided by the Spirit, Simeon came into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jesus,… [28] Simeon took him in his arms and praised God,…

The perspective here (as well as in Act 16:1 with ἦν) is relatively omniscient (the introduction is not from the parent's perspective, despite possible first impressions). Thus,

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[554] Levinsohn (2000:155) notes that, in the Synoptic Gospels, once Jesus is established as the main character, when reactivated he is usually referred to with the article, except in his reappearances after his resurrection, as illustrated here in Mat 28:9 (see also in Luk 24:15, UBS text).

Simeon is introduced onto the greater stage of Jerusalem (v 27 finally brings Simeon into the temple before the parents). One of Lakoff's 'presentational deictic' sentences would work here (*There in Jerusalem was a man named Simeon*), but it would not succeed in bringing across any of the providential nature ('wonder') that is relevant here. (Incidentally, the locative ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ 'in Jerusalem' cannot be a predicative; rather, it is topical; see §4.1)

The third instance with ἦν comes in **Luk 14:2**. 'In front of him' presumably indicates that it is Jesus' perspective that is primary (rather than that of others in the Pharisee's home, v 1). If, as in the last example, we again take ἦν to be thetic (i.e. 'existential'), then the adjective ὑδρωπικός 'having dropsy' must be either a split element of the subject or a subsequent predication. If ὑδρωπικός is part of the subject NP, then the entire sentence is one clause (where, as suggested by the English renderings, ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ 'in front of him' could be a topical element rather than a subsequent predication).[555] In any case, the construction is readily expressed by a 'presentational deictic', as illustrated by the NAS and NET. The NRS uses *just then* to add a sense of immediacy.

Luk 14:2 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπός τις   ἦν   ὑδρωπικὸς   ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.
          and   *   man   a.certain 3S.was having.dropsy.Adj in.front.of him

> NAS: And there in front of Him was a man suffering from dropsy.

> NET: There right in front of him was a man suffering from dropsy.

> NRS: Just then, in front of him, there was a man who had dropsy.

There are up to 30 tokens of C2c-FiniteV. A few have multiple thetic clauses. About a quarter have hearer-old subjects: Mat 1:20; Mat 2:1; Mat 2:13; Mat 2:19; Mat 3:16; Mat 4:11; Mat 8:24; Mat 8:34; Mat 9:3 (?); Mat 12:46; Mat 17:3; Mat 17:5; Mat 27:51 (5 thetics); Mat 28:2 (2 thetics, the second with γάρ); Mat 28:9; Luk 2:25; Luk 7:12 (ὄχλος...ἦν σὺν αὐτῇ with εἰμί is probably a second thetic); Luk 8:41; Luk 9:30; Luk 9:38; Luk 9:39 (description, 'habitual narrative'); Luk 10:25; Luk 14:2; Luk 24:4; Act 1:10; Act 10:30; Act 11:11;[556] Act 12:7 (2 thetics); Act 16:1; Rev 4:2.

Of these 30, 4 tokens have postverbal subjects (discussed in §6.7.3): Mat 3:16; Mat 17:3; Luk 7:12; Luk 8:41. In one, Mat 28:2, the subject is split, straddling its verb.

Finally, we might wish to ask what the difference is between this construction, C2c-FiniteV and C2c-NP+Prt. While more research is needed, C2c-NP+Prt appears to be secondary or backgrounded in relation to a foregrounded finite verb clause that usually follows. Moreover, unlike the C2c-NP+Prt, C2c-FiniteV occasionally introduces hearer-old entities, especially in Matthew's Gospel (Mat 3:16; Mat 8:34; Mat 12:46; Mat 17:3; Mat 27:51 [5x]; Mat 28:9; Mrk 4:3). This last fact also suggests that C2c-FiniteV is better integrated into the event line as foregrounded material.

6.3.4.4 ἰδού + clause with Ø subject: C2c-Ø-subject

Two ἰδού tokens in narrative lack a lexical subject: **Mat 9:2** and **Mat 9:32**.

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[555] I argued for a similar split-subject structure for Luk 16:1 in §4.2.5.3: Ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν οἰκονόμον [man.N certain.N was rich.Adj.N who 3S.had steward] 'There was a *rich man* who had a steward.'

[556] Act 11:11 is unique in that temporal ἐξαυτῆς 'immediately' intervenes between ἰδού and the subject.

Mat 9:32 Αὐτῶν   δὲ   ἐξερχομένων ἰδοὺ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ   ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν
          they.G   and   going.out.G   *   3P.brought   to.him man   mute

          δαιμονιζόμενον.   καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ   κωφός
          being.demon-possessed   and casting.out the demon   3S.spoke the mute

          NRS: [32] After they had gone away, a demoniac who was mute was brought to him. [33] And
          when the demon had been cast out, the one who had been mute spoke;…

Mat 9:2   καὶ ἰδοὺ προσέφερον αὐτῷ   παραλυτικὸν ἐπὶ   κλίνης   βεβλημένον.
          and   *   3P.brought   to.him paralytic   upon stretcher lying

          καὶ ἰδὼν   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν   εἶπεν   τῷ   παραλυτικῷ,
          and having.seen the Jesus   the faith of.them, 3S.said to.the paralytic

          NRS: And just then some people were carrying a paralyzed man lying on a bed. When
          Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic, "Take heart, son; your sins are forgiven."

Both tokens resemble other C2c uses in that they introduce a new entity, but they differ in
that the new entity is expressed by the object. In fact, since they lack a lexical subject, they
do not qualify as cases of sentence-focus (moreover, the identity of the subject entity is
unclear in v 32 as it has no persistence). So, these two tokens represent another syntactic step
away from the prototype, C1. For the sake of comparison, **Luk 5:18**, which is a parallel
passage to Mat 9:2, is a more typical sentence-focus thetic (C2c-NP+Prt). It has an explicit
subject ἄνδρες 'men' (which persists).

Luk 5:18 ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄνθρωπον ὃς   ἦν   παραλελυμένος
          *   men   carrying on pallet man   who 3S.was paralyzed

          καὶ ἐζήτουν   αὐτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν
          and 3P.were.seeking him   to.carry.in

          NRS: Just then some men came, carrying a paralyzed man on a bed.

6.3.5 *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* as left-detachment (C2c and C2e)

Occasionally, *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* comes very close to looking like a left-detached topic
expression (see §2.2.6.6 and §4.5). Examples occur both in narrative and non-narrative. All
introduce hearer-old entities (unlike most cases of C2c-NP and C2c-NP+Prt). As in C1 and
C2c-NP etc., I assume that ἰδού and NP$_{NOM}$ form a syntactic phrase.

In **narrative**, there are 3 tokens, Mat 2:9, Mat 26:47, and Luk 24:13, and so they are
apparently a type of C2c-NP. In each, a phrase intervenes between the subject and the finite
verb, which is either descriptive or adverbial. In **Luk 24:13**, the adverb 'on that same day'
intervenes, probably to emphasize this element. (I assume with Z&G, Björck p. 45, and Aerts
p. 53 that ἦσαν πορευόμενοι is periphrastic.) The perspective is omniscient. **Mat 2:9** follows
with a restrictive relative clause ('which they saw in the east'). The perspective is that of the
magi, and the sentence is readily rendered by a 'presentational deictic', as the NRS illustrates.

Luk 24:13 Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦσαν   πορευόμενοι εἰς κώμην
          and   * two of them on same the day   3P.were traveling   to village

          NRS: Now on that same day two of them were going to a village called Emmaus,…

Mat 2:9   καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀστήρ, ὃν   εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, προῆγεν   αὐτούς,
          and   * the star which 3P.saw in the east   3S.went.before them

          NRS: When they [=the magi] had heard the king, they set out; and there, ahead of them,
          went the star that they had seen at its rising, until it stopped over the place where the child
          was.

In **non-narrative**, there are at least two tokens, Luk 1:36 and Jas 3:4, again, both with hearer-old entities ('Elizabeth' and the generic class of 'ships'). It might be possible to take ἰδού as an instance of C5, meaning 'listen' or 'take note', in which case ἰδού would be syntactically (and intonationally) separate from NP$_{NOM}$. But it would seem clumsy; in any case, no English translations I have consulted suggest this interpretation. Instead, I suggest that this is an extended use of structure C1, which I designate it **C2e**. Although it is not physically deictic, like C1, it points to a thought in mental space.

In **Luk 1:36**, by means of ἰδοὺ Ἐλισάβετ, the speaker introduces the new topic of 'Elizabeth' in order to illustrate another case of a miraculous pregnancy. Following the descriptive phrase, ἡ συγγενίς σου 'your relative', comes the main predication, 'SHE ALSO has conceived a son in her old age'. Since the main predicate is an instance of constituent-focus, 'Elizabeth' is referred to again lexically (by καὶ αὐτή 'she also').[557]

Luk 1:36   καὶ   ἰδοὺ   Ἐλισάβετ   ἡ   συγγενίς   σου   καὶ   αὐτὴ   συνείληφεν   υἱὸν
           and   *   Elizabeth   the   relative   of.you   also   she   3S.has.conceived   son

ἐν   γήρει   αὐτῆς
in   old.age   of.her

NRS: And now, your relative Elizabeth in her old age has also conceived a son;…

GNT: <u>Remember your relative Elizabeth.</u> It is said that she cannot have children, but she herself is now six months pregnant, even though she is very old.

CEV: Your relative Elizabeth is also going to have a son,…

Concerning **Jas 3:4**, James has just mentioned a horse and its bit as an analogy for a man and his tongue (v 3). Then, by introducing another (hearer-old) topic, '(Here's) also the ships', he raises another analogy, ships and their rudders. Following the descriptive phrases comes the main predicate, 'is guided by a very small rudder'.

Jas 3:4   ἰδοὺ   καὶ   τὰ   πλοῖα   τηλικαῦτα   ὄντα   καὶ   ὑπὸ   ἀνέμων   σκληρῶν   ἐλαυνόμενα,
          *   also   the   ships   so.great   being   and   by   winds   hard   being.driven

μετάγεται   ὑπὸ   ἐλαχίστου   πηδαλίου
3S.is.guided   by   very.small   rudder

NRS: Or look at ships: though they are so large that it takes strong winds to drive them, yet they are guided by a very small rudder…

GNT: Or think of a ship: big as it is…it can be steered by a very small rudder,…

NIV: Or take ships as an example.

To a certain degree, these last two tokens resemble 'reminders' in that they introduce known entities. For Luk 1:36, the GNT actually reads *Remember your relative Elizabeth.* Jas 3:4 could be paraphrased *Recall what ships are like.*

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[557] Italian translations also use *ecco* (IEP *Ed ecco, Elisabetta, tua parente, ha concepito anche lei un figlio nella sua vecchiaia;* LND; NRV) although they sound a bit awkward or old fashioned (p.c. Marco Librè).

The FBJ uses *voici* (*Et voici qu'Élisabeth, ta parente, vient, elle aussi, de concevoir un fils dans sa vieillesse*), which is somewhat awkward (p.c. Paul Solomiac) and which does not match the Greek in the function or structure I am proposing (it introduces a clause, not a NP). In contrast, some modern French translations use imperatives that instruct the hearer to pay mental attention (see §6.6), like *look!* (BDS: *Vois:*) or *listen!* (PDV: *Écoute!*).

6.4 C3, ἴδε and ἰδού as deictic particles used with non-sentence-focus constructions

C3 illustrates another big step away from C1, the central construction. In C3, ἴδε and ἰδού are used deictically, but the clause lacks sentence-focus structure because the subject is topical. The ἴδε tokens (6x) are more frequent and generally clearer examples of the category than ἰδού tokens (up to 3x). Since C3 is deictic, it resembles C1 in that the particle refers to something in the here-and-now and could be accompanied by a pointing gesture. In some tokens, C3 also resembles C1 in that it introduces an entity into the discourse either implicitly or explicitly via the clause's object.

C3 tokens are fairly rare. They are also complicated by the question of how exactly the particle relates syntactically to the finite verb clause that follows. In some tokens, it seems likely the particle is completely outside of the clause that follows. In any case, they come in the same frozen clause-initial position as they do in C1 and C2 (they follow a vocative twice).

Consider **Mat 25:20**, with topical subject 'I'.

Mat 25:20 Κύριε, πέντε   τάλαντά   μοι   παρέδωκας·
master five.A.p.n talents.A.p.n to.me you.gave

ἴδε ἄλλα   πέντε   τάλαντα   ἐκέρδησα.
*   more.A.p.n five.A.p.n talents.A.p.n I.gained

NRS: Then the [servant] who had received the five talents came forward, bringing five more talents, saying, 'Master, you handed over to me five talents; <u>see, I have made five more talents.</u>'

GNT: Here are another two thousand that I have earned.

The master wants to know how much the servant given five talents has earned. So the servant's answer presupposes an open proposition 'I have gained X', and the informative part of the answer is expressed by the (preverbal) constituent-focus object ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα 'five more talents'. (The same analysis applies to 'two talents' in Mat 25:22.) What is ἴδε's function here? It is clear that it is deictic, since the speaker is showing something to his master. But what is unclear to me is if it (a) modifies the finite clause in some way, or (b) is outside of the clause (i.e. forming a separate 'clause' or intonation unit), followed by a pause and translatable as *Here!* or *Look here!* The GNT suggests (a). The NRS's *see,* suggests (b), as does Z&G's *look!* If interpretation (b) is correct, which I feel is more plausible, then ἴδε could actually be an instance of the imperative since the addressee is singular. (For another possible instance of C3 with constituent-focus, see Act 10:21, discussed in §6.5.4.)

ἴδε is also used deictically a few verses later, in **Mat 25:25**. This too fails the test for sentence-focus because, again, the subject is topical. But this token is not a case of constituent-focus. To be sure, it is readily restructured in English as a deictic thetic (e.g. GNT: *Here is what belongs to you;* also CEV, NIV). But the NRS better reflects the Greek structure, where the subject is topic: *Here you have what is yours* (Z&G also say ἴδε means *here!*). But would a native speaker have read a pause following ἴδε? I am inclined to read a pause, taking ἴδε as a shorthand for 'here is your talent', and then interpret ἔχεις τὸ σόν as a personal defense whereby the servant suggests he has fulfilled his responsibility.[558]

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[558] Perhaps present ἔχεις [2S.have] could be rendered as 'you are holding (what is yours)' (p.c. Rutger Allan). Alternatively, it may indicate a performative speech act, strengthened by ἰδού, meaning 'you *hereby* have what is yours'. See BDF §320 and Dana & Mantey §174.1 on the so-called 'aoristic present'.

Mat 25:25 ἴδε ἔχεις   τὸ σόν.
          *   you.have   the yours

      NRS: Here you have what is yours.

      GNT: Here is what belongs to you.

If the relationship of ἴδε to what followed was uncertain in the first two examples, it seems clearer in **Mrk 11:21**. The consulted translations unanimously render ἴδε as *look* separated from what follows by some punctuation (! or ,). Under this interpretation, ἴδε functions as a separate clause to direct the hearer to something in the real world. The subject, 'the fig tree that you cursed', expresses the clause topic (a recent topic of conversation—the day before, v 13), and the predicate expresses the informative (and surprising) comment. It is difficult to construe the clause as a deictic thetic. For example, Peter can hardly be saying 'Here is the fig tree that you cursed, it has withered'. Finally, ἴδε here clearly involves an element of surprise and emotion, as it also does in the next example, Mrk 13:1.

Mrk 11:21 Ῥαββί, ἴδε ἡ συκῆ   ἦν   κατηράσω ἐξήρανται.
          Rabbi *   the fig.tree which you.cursed has.been.withered

      GNT [20] Early next morning, as they walked along the road, they saw the fig tree. It was dead all the way down to its roots. [21] Peter remembered what had happened and said to Jesus, "Look, Teacher, the fig tree you cursed has died!"

      NRS: Rabbi, look! The fig tree that you cursed has withered.

ἴδε+NP$_{NOM}$ in **Mrk 13:1** might at first glance appear to be a case of C1.

Mrk 13:1 Διδάσκαλε, ἴδε ποταποὶ   λίθοι καὶ ποταπαὶ   οἰκοδομαί.
         teacher   *   what.sort.of stones and what.sort.of buildings

      NRS: [1] As he came out of the temple, one of his disciples said to him, "Look, Teacher, what large stones and what large buildings!" [2] Then Jesus asked him, "Do you see these great buildings? Not one stone will be left here upon another; all will be thrown down."

      GNT: "Look, Teacher! What wonderful stones and buildings!"

      BFC: Maître, regarde! Quelles belles pierres, quelles grandes constructions!

But what distinguishes this construction from C1 is the addition of the question word 'what kind of', which renders it an **exclamative** construction. Following Michaelis (2001), an exclamative construction is *an emotional judgment about a state of affairs that the speaker feels is surprising,* and so it necessarily expresses the speaker's perspective and feelings. By adding ἴδε, the speaker explicitly invites the hearer to share the same judgment. (For more on exclamatives, see §6.7.1.) Most likely ἴδε should be understood as comparable to (a) the imperative *Look!* If so, given the speaker is addressing only Jesus (vocative 'Teacher'), this token is indistinguishable from the normal imperative verb ἴδε. All English and French translations I have consulted render it as *look* or *regarde*, set off by comma or exclamation mark. To interpret it instead as (b) a deictic thetic—like 'Here are such wonderful stones…'—strikes me as awkward, as if the speaker (or hearer) would be noticing the stones and buildings for the first time ever. Rather, the stones and buildings are to be taken as given (topical): it is their impressive nature that is being asserted and marveled at. (c) A third possible interpretation is C4b (see §6.5.3).

To sum up, C3 resembles C1 in that ἴδε and ἰδού have here-and-now deictic reference, but it differs in that the main clause is not a bone fide sentence-focus thetic. Like C5, the particle appears to hold a much looser relationship with the main clause.

Possible instances of C3 number no more than 9 and all 3 ἰδού tokens are somewhat debatable. Mat 12:2 (ἰδού; or C2a or C5; see §6.3.1); Mat 25:20; Mat 25:22; Mat 25:25; Mrk 11:21; Mrk 13:1 (or C4); Jhn 11:36 (or C4; see §6.5); Act 10:21 (ἰδού; or C2; see §6.5.3); Rev 21:3 (ἰδού; or C5 or C2; see §6.3.3).

6.5 ἰδού/ἴδε and constituent-focus: Does ἰδού/ἴδε ever form a syntactic unit with the focused constituent? (C4)

This section investigates ἰδού/ἴδε tokens that involve constituent-focus. One goal is to try to answer, as best I can, the following question: *When constituent-focus occurs in a sentence with ἰδού/ἴδε, does the particle ever form a syntactic unit with the focused constituent?* This is an important question to ask. (i) If the particle does form a unit with the focused constituent, then it can be neither a sentence 'adverb' (modifying the sentence as a whole), nor a clause 'interjection', which is syntactically autonomous from the finite verb clause that follows. Instead, we can propose that the particle functions as a kind of (constituent) **focus marker**. I will call this use C4. Moreover, we can question if renderings like *look* or *see* are correct. (ii) But if the particle does not form a syntactic unit with the focused constituent, then it can be either a case of C5 or C3.

By way of introduction, we will consider three tokens, Mat 25:20, Luk 13:16 and Luk 7:25. We just looked at **Mat 25:20** in §6.4, where I noted that the object ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα 'ἴδε five more talents' was a case of constituent-focus (the servant's answer presupposes an open proposition 'I have gained X,' and the informative part of the answer is expressed by this focused object). We also stated that ἴδε must be deictic since the speaker, a servant, is showing something to his master. What remains unclear is if ἴδε should be viewed as (a) belonging to the finite clause, or (b) counted as a separate clause, that is, one followed by a pause and translatable as *Here!* (or *Look!* or the like). If it belongs to the finite clause, then it could be either (a1) modifying it as a whole or (a2) just the object constituent. Which syntactic relationship is correct—(a1), (a2) or (b)—is not clear to me—although (b) makes most sense. Still, the fact that ἴδε immediately precedes the focused constituent increases the likelihood of (a2). The NRS rendering suggests (b), but the GNT rendering could be compatible with either (a1) or (a2).

Mat 25:20 ἴδε ἄλλα   πέντε   τάλαντα   ἐκέρδησα.
         *   more.A.p.n five.A.p.n talents.A.p.n I.gained

NRS: Then the [servant] who had received the five talents came forward, bringing five more talents, saying, 'Master, you handed over to me five talents; see, I have made five more talents.'

GNT: Here are another two thousand that I have earned.

In the context of **Luk 13:16**, Jesus is rebuking the heartlessness of some of his audience who have complained that he has healed a woman on the Sabbath. The utterance takes for granted the open proposition that 'Satan has bound (kept sick) this daughter of Abraham [for X amount of time]'. I will claim below that Jesus is emphatically stressing the amount of time that she has been tormented, for 'ἰδού eighteen years!' as if to say 'Why would anyone want to delay her healing for another second?!' What kind of relationship holds between ἰδού and the focused constituent? As in Mat 25:20 above, ἰδού immediately precedes the focused constituent, but here 'ἰδού eighteen years!' *follows* the main verb. Unlike ἴδε in Mat 25:20, ἰδού here is not obviously deictic: one cannot physically point to a time. I shall argue below that as a phrase 'ἰδού eighteen years' clearly forms a syntactic constituent. A translation like *here, look,* or *listen* would not be relevant.

Luk 13:16 ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ οὖσαν, ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς
           this.one but daughter of.Abraham being whom 3S.bound the Satan

ἰδοὺ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη, οὐκ ἔδει   λυθῆναι
*   ten   and   eight years not it.was.needed to.be.set.free

ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τούτου τῇ   ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου;
from the.G bond.G this.G on.the.D day.D of.the Sabbath

NRS: "…And ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham whom Satan bound for
<u>eighteen long years,</u> be set free from this bondage on the sabbath day?"

Luk 7:25 is another clear instance of constituent-focus. The context evokes the open proposition 'people in fancy clothes and living in luxury are [in location X],'[559] and the clause serves to identify the location, ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις 'in royal palaces' (in contrast to 'the desert'). But this token differs from the previous two examples in that ἰδού does *not* immediately precede the focused constituent.

Luk 7:25 ἰδοὺ οἱ   ἐν   ἱματισμῷ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ τρυφῇ   ὑπάρχοντες
          *   those with clothes   glorious and in.luxury living

ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰσίν.
in   the   palaces   3P.are

GNT: [24] …"When you went out to John in the desert, what did you expect to see? A blade of grass bending in the wind? [25] What did you go out to see? A man dressed up in fancy clothes? <u>People who dress like that and live in luxury are found in palaces!</u>…"

Does ἰδού in this token form a syntactic unit with the focused constituent? Since ἰδού does not immediately precede the focused constituent, this seems very unlikely.[560]

In fact, I take immediate adjacency to be a likely requirement for dedicated constituent-focus markers in Greek. That this would be so for at least ἰδού and ἴδε, seems to derive from, first of all, the fact that in C1 the focused (thetic) subject immediately follows ἰδού (or ἴδε). Second, there appears to be an important parallel in the use of adverbial καί, which (probably) always immediately precedes the constituent it modifies.[561] From an information structure point of view, one typical use of adverbial καί is as an ('additive') constituent-focus marker (often rendered as *also* or *too*).

So I assume that when ἰδού does not immediately precede the focused constituent, as in our third token, Luk 7:25, then ἰδού[562] is an instance of C5 or C3; it is coincidental that the

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[559] Since the open proposition was not fully activated prior to the utterance, the point of departure serves to activate the key component of it, the clause subject, 'people in fancy clothes and living in luxury'. It is 'semi-active' given its inferential relationship to the previous utterance, 'A man dressed up in fancy clothes'.

[560] If they did form a syntactic unit, then the topical point of departure, οἱ ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ τρυφῇ ὑπάρχοντες, would intervene between two focused elements belonging to one focus domain! And this would be a very unusual order: *FC-element₁–PtDep–FC-element₂*. As argued in §3.3, if both a point of departure and a focused constituent occur preverbally, the normal order is *PtDep–FC–other elements,* where the 'other elements' could contain another part of a broad focus domain.

[561] In NTG, adverbial καί is assumed to always immediately precede what it modifies (Levinsohn 2000:101, Heckert 1996:64, Titrud 1992:244). But immediate adjacency is not required of καί in Classical Greek (Smyth §2881), nor in English where, for example, *also* need not occur adjacent to the focal constituent it modifies.

[562] There is no clear instance of a similar constellation with ἴδε, i.e. *ἴδε–X–focused-constituent*, although *ἴδε–focused-constituent–X* occurs. Still, as will be implied below, in many instances of the latter, the focused constituent probably does not form a constituent with ἴδε.

sentence also expresses constituent-focus. For now I will consider myself to have dispensed with tokens like Luk 7:25. They are, in fact, few in number.

We will now turn to three different sets of tokens in §6.5.1, §6.5.2, and §6.5.3 where ἰδού (or ἴδε) likely forms a syntactic phrase with the focused constituent. I will consider these to be varieties of **C4**. All three sets involve **emotive emphasis**, a part of the meaning which, in at least the case of ἰδού, was presumably inherited from its middle verb ancestor (§6.1.1). The focused constituent may be the subject or, in contrast to prototypical thetic constructions, another part of speech (object, time phrase, verb, or other predicative element). While a few tokens may alternatively be viewed as having deictic or semi-thetic properties, most cannot. Assuming that the particles indicate emotive emphasis, renderings like *Look* or *Listen* must be rejected. In §6.5.4 (and §6.6.2), other tokens with constituent-focus are discussed that are simultaneously instances of C3, C5, or C2.

6.5.1 ἰδού **and emotively emphatic time durations: C4a**

We will first consider a few tokens where ἰδού immediately precedes a focused constituent and where that constituent expresses a duration of time that is emotively emphatic (there are no tokens with ἴδε). The construction in mind, *ἰδού + time phrase,* is in fact noted by BDAG (§ἰδού.1.b.ε), Moulton & Howard (1929:447), and Fiedler (p. 20) (besides others—see on p. 31 for Fiedler's references) who assume ἰδού 'emphasizes' the time. Moreover, they note that the time phrase is in the **nominative**! This is striking since in Greek time durations are normally expressed by the accusative (BDF §161.2; Smyth §1580-87). Thus, we have essentially the same structure as *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$* in C1 except that the NP refers to a second order time entity rather than a typical first order entity.

Examples cited in the literature from outside the NT include examples from papyri, **PM.III 203.9** (early second century C.E.), **PP.II 98.17** (fourth century C.E.), and **BGU 948.6** (from a Christian letter from the fourth century C.E.).[563]

PM.III 203.9   γεινώσκιν σε   θέλω   ὅτι εἰδού   **τρεῖς μῆνες**   ἀφ' ὅτε
                to.know   you.A I.want that (=ἰδού) three.N months.N since when

ἤλαγμαι εἰ[ς] Ψέλκιν
I.moved   to   Pselkis

nab: I want you to know that it has been <u>three months</u> since I moved to Pselkis.[564]

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[563] **PM.III 203.9** = P. Michigan III, cited by Fiedler p. 20 and Zilliacus (1943:38)
[http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=P.Mich.+203&fromdoc=Perseus%253Atext%253A1999.05.016 3 (retrieved September 7, 2009; see note 12)];

PP.II 98.17 = P. Princeton II, cited by BDF §144 and Fiedler p. 20
[http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=P.Princ.+98&fromdoc=Perseus%253Atext%253A1999.05.0192 (retrieved September 7, 2009)];

BGU 948.6 = Ägyptische Urkunde aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden I-VIII, 1895-1933, cited by BDF §144, Moulton (1908:11), and Moulton & Milligan 1920:299. I quote here the fuller citation from Moulton & Milligan.

[564] Arzt-Grabner et al. (2006:501) translate this line as 'du sollst wissen, dass es, sieh da, schon drei Monate her ist, dass ich nach Pselkis gegangen bin.' I am taking ἤλαγμαι as a middle perfect of ἀλλάσσω.

PP.II 98.17   ἐθαύμασά   σε   οὖν   ἰδοὺ **δύο μῆνες**   σήμερον   οὐδὲν
           I.was.amazed   at.you   so/then   *   two.N   months.N   today   nothing.A

           δέδωκάς   μοι
           you.have.given   to.me

           nab: So I was amazed at you (that) it has been <u>two months</u> today that you have not given me anything.

BGU 948.6   γινώσκιν   ἐ[θ]έλω   ὅτι   εἶπέν   σοι   ὁ   πραγματευτ[ὴς ὅ]τι …
           to.know   I.want   that   3S.said   to.you   the   businessman   that

           ἡ   μήτηρ   σου   Κοφαήνα   ἀσθενεῖ,   ἰδού,   **δέκα τρεῖς μῆνες**
           the   mother   of.you   Kofaina   3S.is.sick   *   ten   three.N   months.N

           nab: I would like (you) to know that the businessman said to you that…your mother Kofiana has been sick <u>for thirteen months.</u>

    In the NT, there appear to be three instances of this construction, **Luk 13:16** (repeated from §6.5), **Luk 13:7**, and **Luk 15:29**. To be sure, all three involve ἔτη 'years', which is neuter and so ambiguous in respect to the nominative/accusative distinction. But given the above illustrated Koine construction, it is reasonable to assume that ἔτη is nominative in each (BDF §144 suggest this for at least Luk 13:16).

Luk 13:16   ταύτην   δὲ   θυγατέρα   Ἀβραὰμ   οὖσαν,   ἣν   ἔδησεν   ὁ   Σατανᾶς
           this.one   but   daughter   of.Abraham   being   whom   3S.bound   the   Satan

           ἰδοὺ   **δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη,**   οὐκ   ἔδει   λυθῆναι
           *   ten   and   eight   years   not   it.was.needed   to.be.set.free

           ἀπὸ   τοῦ   δεσμοῦ   τούτου   τῇ   ἡμέρᾳ   τοῦ   σαββάτου;
           from   the.G   bond.G   this.G   on.the.D   day.D   of.the   Sabbath

           NRS: "…And ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham whom Satan bound for <u>eighteen long years,</u> be set free from this bondage on the sabbath day?"

           FBJ: Et cette fille d'Abraham, que Satan a liée <u>voici dix-huit ans,</u> il n'eût pas fallu la délier de ce lien le jour du sabbat!

           nab (P. Solomiac, p.c.): Et cette femme, qui est une fille d'Abraham, <u>voilà dix-huit ans que</u> le Satan la tenait liée, il n'aurait pas fallu la détacher de ce lien le jour du sabbat?

Luk 15:29   Ἰδοὺ   **τοσαῦτα ἔτη**   δουλεύω   σοι
           *   so.many   years   I.serve   you

           CEV: For years I have worked for you like a slave and have always obeyed you.

           GNT: Look, all these years I have worked for you like a slave,…

           NRS: Listen! For all these years… NIV: Look! All these years I've been slaving…

           FBJ: Mais il répondit à son père: <u>"Voilà tant d'années que</u> je te sers,…"

Luk 13:7   Ἰδοὺ   **τρία ἔτη**   ἀφ'   οὗ   ἔρχομαι   ζητῶν   καρπὸν
           *   three.N   years.N   since   which.G   I.come   seeking   fruit

           ἐν   τῇ   συκῇ   ταύτῃ   καὶ   οὐχ   εὑρίσκω·
           on   the   fig.tree   this   and   not   I.found

           GNT: Look, for three years I have been coming here looking for figs on this fig tree, and I haven't found any. Cut it down!

           NRS: See here! For three years I have come looking for fruit on this fig tree…

> NIV: For three years now I've been coming…
>
> nab: It's been <u>three long years</u> that I've been coming…
>
> FBJ: <u>Voilà trois ans que</u> je viens chercher des fruits sur ce figuier,…

Moreover, the context in each of the NT passages clearly supports an emotively emphatic reading. In Luk 13:16, Jesus is angry with his opponents and emphasizing the amount of time the woman has been sick. In Luk 13:7, the speaker complains that three years plenty long to wait for a tree to bear fruit—it is time to chop it down! And in Luk 15:29, the older brother is complaining bitterly to his father about how long he has served his father (see §6.7.1 on how the addition of τοσαῦτα 'so many' makes this an exclamative). In each token, the time phrase is a case of **emotively emphatic constituent-focus** that identifies a time duration against an open proposition. It emphasizes an **extreme degree**—what the speaker considers an excessive length of time. For example, in Luk 15:29, the open proposition to be taken for granted would be 'I have served you [for X time]' and 'so many years' identifies the amount. Thus, in all three NT passages, as in the papyri examples, a time phrase immediately follows ἰδού and is emotively emphatic.

If we assume ἔτη 'years' in the above is nominative, then, as pointed out by BDF §144, we may note a resemblance with certain time statements lacking ἰδού. Consider, for example, the time durations expressed with ἡμέραι 'days' (unambiguously nominative): In **Act 24:11** the clause has εἰμί as its predicator, but in **Mat 15:32** (‖Mrk 8:2) the clause is verbless and structurally parallel to ἰδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ... in Luk 13:7. Mat 15:32 also clearly emphasizes the time (see also Turner's [1963:231] comments on Jos 1:11).[565]

Act 24:11 ἀπολογοῦμαι,   δυναμένου σου ἐπιγνῶναι ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσίν μοι
I.make.my.defense being.able you to.learn that not more.than 3P.are to.me

ἡμέραι δώδεκα ἀφ' ἧς   ἀνέβην   προσκυνήσων   εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ.
days.N twelve   from which I.went.up   will.be.worshiping to Jerusalem

NRS: [10] …I cheerfully make my defense,… [11] As you can find out, it is not more than <u>twelve days</u> since I went up to worship in Jerusalem.

Mat 15:32 Σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ὅτι ἤδη   **ἡμέραι τρεῖς**   προσμένουσίν μοι
I.feel   for the crowd for already days.N three.N 3P.remain   with.me

nab: I feel for the crowd for (<u>it is</u>) <u>already three days</u> (that) they are with me (and have nothing to eat).

BFC: J'ai pitié de ces gens, <u>car voilà trois jours qu'ils</u> sont avec moi et ils n'ont plus rien à manger.

The parallel between Mat 15:32 without ἰδού and Luk 13:7 with ἰδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ... in particular suggests that the ἰδού sentence can be a sort of **bi-clausal** construction, something resembling a cleft, composed of an ἰδού-time **clause** (where ἰδού is the predicator) plus relative clause embedded in a prepositional phrase (BDF §144 actually describe both as 'asyndetic quasi-clausal temporal designation[s] in [the] nom.'). Much as the relative clause in the English **it-cleft** *It's been THREE YEARS that I have been coming...,* so the embedded clause in Greek expresses the part of the proposition that is to be taken for granted (i.e. the open proposition).[566]

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[565] See also Rom 13:11: ὥρα ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι, [hour.N already for.you from sleep to.wake.up] '(and knowing also that) *now* is the time for you to wake up from sleep'.

[566] See Lambrecht 2001a for a comparable analysis of cleft constructions.

Incidentally, we shall illustrate below what are very similar emphatic constructions in French, including one with and one without *voilà,* which are true clefts, and where the clefted *que* clause expresses the part of the proposition that is to be taken for granted.

The structure of Luk 13:16 and in Luk 15:29 are less obviously comparable to bi-clausal *it-clefts* in English, even if they too are readily rendered by such constructions in English (but, again, see the French clefts below). In any case, it is reasonable to assume that *ἰδού–TIME* forms some sort of **syntactic phrase** where ἰδού is a kind of focus marker. This is especially clear for Luk 13:16 where *ἰδού–fifteen years* comes sentence finally. From the LXX, **Deu 8:4** is a comparable, which perhaps predates the above NT and papyri tokens.[567] Interestingly, in this passage (as well as in Deu 2:7 and Zec 7:5 where *ἰδού–TIME* are sentence-initial) ἰδού translates not הִנֵּה 'behold' but זֶה (*zeh*) 'this'. This suggests the translators were seeking a functionally equivalent rendering and not imitating a Hebrew construction.

Deu 8:4 τὰ   ἱμάτιά   σου   οὐ   κατετρίβη   ἀπὸ   σοῦ   οἱ   πόδες   σου
         the clothing of.you not 3S.were.worn.out.Aor from you   the   feet   of.you

οὐκ   ἐτυλώθησαν   ἰδοὺ **τεσσαράκοντα   ἔτη**[568]
not   3P.became.knobby.Aor   *   forty   years

nab: Your clothes did not wear out on you and your feet did not become callous <u>for a whole forty years.</u>

NETS: Your clothes were not worn off you; your feet did not become hard; look, <u>for forty years!</u>

Translation issues: Despite the recognition in such standard works as BDAG and BDF that *ἰδού–TIME* emphasizes a time, many translators have failed to bring this across but instead have fallen back on renderings like *look!* or *listen!* or German *siehe*, etc. Such renderings are forced and fail to translate the *meaning of the construction.* They instead pretend ἰδού has a single sense and single syntactic function.

It is instructive for us to note that *voilà* may also be used in a similar way to emphasize a time duration. *Tex's French Grammar*[569] briefly mentions three cleft constructions that may be used to indicate a time duration (i) *il y avait...que...,* (ii) *cela faisait...que...,* and (iii) *voilà...que...,* the latter of which is called 'more emphatic', although the editors do not explain. These three clefts are illustrated by (243a-c), to which has been added a fourth possibility, (d), which is not mentioned in the grammar (I am grateful to Paul Solomiac, p.c. for sharing his native speaker intuitions and comments on these sentences).

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[567] See also Gen 27:36, which according to one textual variant (cited by Moulton & Howard 1929:447) reads: ἐπτέρνικε γάρ με ἰδοὺ δευτερον τοῦτο [3S.has.tricked for me ἰδού second this.N/A] 'for [Esau] has duped me *this second time!*' The Masoretic Text reads זֶה.

[568] It is not clear to me why Rahlfs' printing of the LXX and BDAG's citation of BGU 948.6 have a comma immediately before the ἰδού phrase (as if these phrases were outside of the clause).

[569] Blyth et al. 2006. Retrieved February 3, 2009 at http://www.laits.utexas.edu/tex/gr/pred2.html and http://www.laits.utexas.edu/tex/gr/pred1.html

(243) a. Y'a une heure que j't'attends.

b. Ça fait une heure que j't'attends.

c. Voilà une heure que j't'attends.

d. Une heure que j't'attends!

All four constructions would be instances of constituent-focus (answering 'how long…?') and all could be rendered in English by *It's been an hour that I've been waiting* or *I've been waiting for an hour.* Moreover, all four of these may be used in an emotively emphatic context, where, for example, the speaker is irritated for having to wait so long. But there are subtle semantic differences between these constructions. For our purposes, what stands out is that (c) *voilà...que...* guarantees an emphatic connotation that (a) and (b) do not. This can be shown in that the associated feeling of irritation may be cancelled in (a) and (b) by adding *seulement* 'only' or by following them by a phrase like *mais qu'est-ce qu'une heure* 'but what's an hour'. In (a) and (b), such an addition would indicate that either the speaker is not irritated or he or she is being sarcastic, but in (c) (and (d)), it could only indicate sarcasm.

(244) a. Y'a seulement une heure que j't'attends.   *speaker is either not irritated or sarcastic*

b. Ça fait seulement une heure que j't'attends.   *speaker is either not irritated or sarcastic*

c. Voilà seulement une heure que j't'attends.   *speaker is only sarcastic*

d. (seulement) une heure (seulement) que   *speaker is only sarcastic*
j't'attends!

Although not all French translations I have consulted use the *voilà* construction in the passages discussed above, several do. For example, as shown above, the FBJ used it for Luk 15:29 and Luk 13:7. *Voila...que...* would also work in Luk 13:16 (as illustrated by 'nab' above) although the FBJ actually uses a different construction, with sentence internal *voici.* (The BFC uses *voila...que...* in Mat 15:32, above, which lacks ἰδού.)

In contrast, *Écoute* in the BFC's rendering of Luk 15:29 as well as the NRS's *Listen* miss the mark, as do also *Look!* and *Listen!* in the GNT, NRS and NIV for Luk 15:29. Equally inappropriate is deictic *here is this woman* in the GNT and REB for Luk 13:16 and *See here!* in the NRS for Luk 13:7.

Although none of the standard English translations use *it-clefts*, the clause-initial phrases *for years* in Luk 15:29 (CEV) and *for three years* in Luk 13:7 (GNT, NRS, NIV) would have the same effect if read with emphatic stress. But how is a reader to know these are to be read with emphatic stress? Thus, translations that add words like *all* or *long* that tend to 'attract' emphatic stress and suggest a semantic extreme are surer means of guaranteeing an emphatic reading (see *long* in the NRS and NIV of Luk 13:16 and *all* in the GNT and NRS of Luk 15:29, despite their additions of *look* and *listen* which make double-translations of ἰδού).

It might appear that another possible candidate of this bi-clausal construction comes in **2Co 12:14**. BDAG list it with tokens with 'emphasis on the size or importance of someth.' But τρίτον τοῦτο 'this third' (again, compatible with either accusative or nominative reading) does not indicate a time duration but a numbered occurrence. What is not obvious from the Greek and some translations (e.g. GNT) is that this will (most likely) be Paul's third *trip*, not that he had planned twice before to come and then couldn't (see 2Co 13:1-2 where Paul repeats the phrase 'this third [trip/time]'). But whether or not this token involves emotive emphasis is not clear (although the general context is emotive). An alternative interpretation is to take ἰδού as an instance of C5, meaning 'pay attention', where it modifies the clause as a

whole. The NIV and GNT appear to opt for *now* (which is too weak for C5). The RSV's *Here I am* seems impossible from the Greek (see §6.6.4 on Heb 10:7).

2Co 12:14   Ἰδοὺ **τρίτον τοῦτο** ἑτοίμως ἔχω   ἐλθεῖν   πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
          *   third   this   ready   I.have to.come to   you

      NIV: <u>Now I am ready to visit you for the third time,</u> and I will not be a burden to you,…

      RSV: Here for the third time I am ready to come to you.

      NRS: Here I am, ready to come to you this third time.

      GNT: This is now the third time that I am ready to come to visit you

To sum up, tokens where ἰδού emphasizes a time duration comprise a distinct construction, C4a. Where case is unambiguous, the time phrase is nominative. Conceptually, what the speaker judges to be an extreme amount of time is emotively emphasized; the emotive element is readily traced to ἰδού's deriving from a middle verb (§6.1.1). Syntactically, *ἰδού–TIME* appears to form some sort of phrase, which resembles the simple clause structure of *ἰδού–NP_{NOM}* in C1. As in C1, so in C4a, ἰδού immediately precedes its focal constituent.

All of the NT tokens cited above are listed in BDAG §ἰδού.1.b.ε. There the editors say ἰδού is used 'w. emphasis on the size or importance of someth.' But BDAG include other tokens there, including some that belong to C4b to be discussed in §6.5.3, but not the next section, §6.5.2.

6.5.2 ἰδού/ἴδε + νῦν 'now', emphasizing a point in time

There are also four tokens where the caseless adverb νῦν 'now' appears to be emotively emphatic. In each token, νῦν is immediately preceded by either ἰδού (2Co 6:2, 2x)[570] or ἴδε (Mat 26:65; Jhn 16:29). These tokens differ from the C4a set in that they emphasize a *point* of time rather than a *duration*. Fiedler also takes these to tokens to be emphasizing νῦν (p. 23 on Mat 26:65 and Jhn 16:29; p. 73 on 2Co 6:2).

The construction occurs twice in **2Co 6:2**, which comes in an emotive appeal. The implication is that the time for God's favor is *now* and not some other time. If we then take ἰδού to be an emphatic focus marker forming a phrase with νῦν, renderings like *see* or *listen* or *gebt acht* (which are in any case clumsy here) miss the mark. Instead, italics for emphasis are helpful as illustrated by the GND's use of italics for *jetzt*.

2Co 6:2   ἰδοὺ **νῦν** καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἰδοὺ **νῦν** ἡμέρα σωτηρίας·
      *   now   time   acceptable   *   now   day   of.salvation

      NRS: See, now is the acceptable time; see, now is the day of salvation!

      GNT: Listen! This is the hour to receive God's favor; today is the day to be saved!

      NIV: I tell you, now is the time of God's favor, now is the day of salvation.

      GND: Gebt acht: *Jetzt* ist die Zeit der Gnade! *Jetzt* ist der Tag der Rettung!

In my view, tokens with ἴδε are less certain; C5 readings might be preferred. In any case, in both ἴδε passages, νῦν is a case of constituent-focus. The context of Mat 26:65 is strongly emotive ('ἴδε NOW you have heard his blasphemy!'); that of Jhn 16:29 is perhaps weaker, involving joy or relief ('ἴδε NOW you are speaking plainly to us!'). (That the latter may be rather a case of C5 might be suggested in that v 30 begins with νῦν and lacks ἴδε.)

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[570] I am less certain if the LXX instances of ἰδοὺ νῦν really emphasize the adverb. For what it's worth, two such tokens do not involve הנה but just עתה 'now': Exo 5:5; 1Ki 12:26. But contrast 2Ki 5:22 (הנה עתה).

6.5.3 Other cases of ἰδού/ἴδε + focused constituent emphasizing an extreme degree: C4b

In this section, I propose a similar analysis for emotively emphatic constituents other than time durations and νῦν. As in C4a, so here ἰδού/ἴδε immediately precedes a focused constituent. The constituent can be of any type (subject, object, predicate, etc.) and in any case. I designate these **C4b**. On the basis of this analysis, we can challenge many renderings found in the standard translations. To be sure, there are questions about some of my proposed examples, and (again) I am especially hesitant about those with ἴδε, since C5 or C3 readings might be preferred. This use of ἰδού also seems to be represented in Classical texts.[571]

BDAG §ἰδού.1.b.ε (used 'w. emphasis on the size or importance of someth.') lists a couple tokens I am calling C4b (besides ones emphasizing time durations discussed earlier). **Luk 19:8** is one case; it emphasizes 'half of my possessions' (no mere pittance for a professional miser—Marshall [1978] says the normal amount according to the Rabbis would have been only a fifth). Most translations take ἰδού as C5, rendering it as *Listen* (GNT, *Écoute,* BFC) or metaphorical or physical *Look* (NRS, NIV). The NIV double translates it as *Look* and *Here and now*—which are of course deictic, implying Zacchaeus is reimbursing people on the spot.[572] Given the context, such renderings might seem appropriate, but if taken as C4b, *Look, Listen* or *Here and now* are unnecessary. If translators are reluctant to use orthographic means to indicate emphasis, then they can add words that underscore the degree (e.g. *no less than*).[573]

Luk 19:8 Ἰδοὺ **τὰ ἡμίσιά μου τῶν ὑπαρχόντων,** κύριε, τοῖς πτωχοῖς δίδωμι,[574]
*   the half.A.p.n of.my the.G possessions.G Lord to.the poor.ones I.give

καὶ εἴ τινός   τι   ἐσυκοφάντησα ἀποδίδωμι τετραπλοῦν.
and if someone.G something.A I.defrauded I.pay.back four.times.A.p.n

nab: Zacchaeus [a noted tax collector and sinner] stood up and said to the Lord, "Lord, I (promise to) give to the poor <u>no less than half of my possessions,</u> and if I have cheated anyone, I will pay back four times as much."

GNT: <u>Listen,</u> sir! I will give half my belongings to the poor,…

NIV: <u>Look,</u> Lord! <u>Here and now</u> I give half of my possessions to the poor, and if I have cheated anybody out of anything, I will pay back four times the amount.

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[571] Fiedler (pp. 17-19) lists some Classical examples of ἰδού 'strengthening' imperatives and other verbs, although some of his examples may really be deictic thetic-like uses: Aristophanes, Clouds 255 ἰδοὺ κάθημαι 'There, I'm seated' (nab); Aristophanes, Acharnians 434 ἰδοὺ ταυτὶ λαβέ [* this.A/N 2S.take!] 'Catch hold! here they are.' (Translation by F. W. Hall & W. M. Geldart, 1907; Perseus.)

[572] The NIV taking this as deictic leads to an unfortunate inconsistency. It renders the Greek present verbs δίδωμι and ἀποδίδωμι first as present tense 'give' and then as future 'will pay back'. See footnote 574.

[573] Taking ἰδού+'half my possessions' to alone express the focus domain requires the hearer to accommodate the presupposition that 'Zacchaeus would give X to the poor'. Although the passage does not explicitly evoke this presupposition, it is a reasonable inference to make since tax collectors were stereotyped as thieves and the Law required restitution (e.g. Exo 21:37; Exo 22:3-6). An alternative reading would be to take ἰδού+'half my possessions' as an emphatic element in a larger predicate-focus domain, which included 'give to the poor'.

[574] Several English translations (GNT, NAB, NAS, NJB) render the present indicatives, δίδωμι and ἀποδίδωμι, as future English verbs. While such renderings are possible according to some grammarians (BDF §323; Dana & Mantey §174.2; so also Marshall 1978 and Z&G on this verse), another possibility is to take these to indicate performative speech acts (i.e. instances of the so-called 'aoristic present'; BDF §320; Dana & Mantey §174.1), in which case Zacchaeus is making a promise paraphrasable as 'I hereby give…and I promise to repay…' In the unlikely event that all those he ever robbed are present, his promise will take some time to fulfill.

As we shall see shortly, the focused phrase in C4**b** is not restricted to the nominative. So, unlike the nominative time phrases found with C4**a**, I assume ἡμίσια 'half (of my possessions)' is an accusative **object** (the neuter noun is ambiguous). But this and other instances of C4b resemble C4a tokens in the following ways: (i) both occur in contexts involving strong emotions (e.g. anger, annoyance, exasperation, joy, amazement), (ii) the particle immediately precedes a phrase that (iii) emphasizes an amount that can be characterized as an *extreme degree* or *measure* in the speaker's estimation. For example, just as to be sick for eighteen years is judged by the speaker to involve an extreme (Luk 13:16), so is to give up half of one's possessions.

An impressive token is found in the papyrus **PM 217.8** (late third C.E.), with accusative object 'three letters'. Pantikos (apparently a soldier stationed away from home elsewhere in Egypt) is complaining to his wife, Plutogenia, who will not visit him, let alone write him a single letter, even though he has written her *three letters* (see Zilliacus 1943:17-8, 38).

PM 217.8   εἰδοὺ **τρεῖς ἐπιστολὰς** ἔπεμψά σοι   καὶ οὐδὲ   μίαν   μοι   ἔγραψας.
           =ἰδού three   letters.A   I.sent   to.you and not.even one.A.f.s to.me you.wrote

nab: *Three letters* I have sent you but not one have you written me.

Zilliacus: Siehe, drei Briefe habe ich dir gesandt, und keinen einzigen hast du mir geschrieben.

With emphatic **subjects**, a positive extreme can be emphasized, as in **Luk 11:41** ('everything') and Jhn 12:19 (ἴδε, 'the [whole] world'), or a negative extreme can be emphasized, as in **Luk 23:15** ('nothing worthy of death'). Under a C4b interpretation, the NRS's *and see* in Luk 11:41 and the NIV's *as you can see* in Luk 23:15 are superfluous and misleading.

Luk 11:41 πλὴν τὰ   ἐνόντα   δότε ἐλεημοσύνην,
           but   the.things being.inside give alms

           καὶ ἰδοὺ **πάντα**   καθαρὰ ὑμῖν   ἐστιν.
           and *   all.things.N clean   to.you 3S.is

GNT: But give what is in your cups and plates to the poor, and <u>everything</u> will be ritually clean for you.

NRS: So give for alms those things that are within; and <u>see, everything</u> will be clean for you.

Luk 23:15 καὶ ἰδοὺ **οὐδὲν**   **ἄξιον** **θανάτου** ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ·
           and *   nothing.N worthy of.death   3S.is been.done   by.him

nab: absolutely nothing worthy of death has been done by him!

GNT: There is <u>nothing</u> this man has done to deserve death.

NRS: <u>Indeed,</u> he has done <u>nothing</u> to deserve death.

NIV: <u>as you can see,</u> he has done <u>nothing</u> to deserve death.

It appears that extreme aspects of events or states of affairs can also be emotively emphasized. In **Act 5:28**, instead of 'not preaching' about Jesus as the authorities had commanded, the apostles 'fill' Jerusalem with the Gospel ('fill' contrasts with 'not preaching'; to fill something is to do something to an extreme degree). In **Jhn 7:26**, rather

than hiding because the authorities are trying to kill him, Jesus speaks 'openly'. In contrast, the illustrated translations take these as deictic constructions (e.g. *here, see*).[575]

Act 5:28   (Οὐ)   παραγγελίᾳ   παρηγγείλαμεν   ὑμῖν   μὴ   διδάσκειν   ἐπὶ   τῷ   ὀνόματι
 not   with.strict.charge   we.charged   to.you   not   to.teach   in   the   name

τούτῳ,   καὶ   ἰδοὺ   **πεπληρώκατε**   τὴν   Ἰερουσαλὴμ   τῆς   διδαχῆς   ὑμῶν
this   and   *   you.have.filled   -   Jerusalem   with.the   teaching   of.you

NRS: We gave you strict orders not to teach in this name, yet <u>here</u> you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching and you are determined to bring this man's blood on us.

GNT: …but <u>see</u> what you have done! You have spread your teaching all over Jerusalem,…

RSV: …yet <u>here</u> you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching…

Jhn 7:26   οὗτός   ἐστιν   ὃν   ζητοῦσιν   ἀποκτεῖναι;   καὶ   ἴδε   **παρρησίᾳ**   λαλεῖ
 this   3S.is   whom   3P.are.seeking   to.kill   and   *   openly   3S.speaks

NRS: [25] Now some…were saying, "Is not this the man whom they are trying to kill? [26] And <u>here</u> he is, speaking openly, but they say nothing to him!…"

GNT: <u>Look!</u> He is talking in public, and they say nothing against him!

Other possible instances include 2Co 6:9 (even though the apostles are considered to be dying, ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν 'we live') and Gal 1:20 (Paul is swearing emphatically ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ 'before God', the highest authority).[576]

Three possible ἴδε tokens—all with exclamative properties—include Jhn 11:36 ('How [very] fond he was of him!' Ἴδε πῶς ἐφίλει αὐτόν), Mrk 13:1 ('such [wonderful] stones'), and Mrk 15:4 ('How many charges they bring against you!' ἴδε πόσα σου κατηγοροῦσιν). But all three tokens could instead be interpreted as C3 or C5, as suggested by typical renderings like *see, look, here,* etc. (See §6.7.1 on exclamatives.)

Rev 21:5 may be another instance (if not C5). The one seated on the throne declares, 'I make all things *new*' (the idea of 'new' summarizes much of vv 1-4). To be sure, some take ἰδού here to mean *now* (GNT, BFC) or *see* (NRS).[577] There is little consensus among translations on this token.

Rev 21:5   Καὶ   εἶπεν   ὁ   καθήμενος   ἐπὶ   τῷ   θρόνῳ,   Ἰδοὺ   **καινὰ**   ποιῶ   πάντα,
 and   3S.said   the.one   sitting   on   the   throne   *   new   I.make   all.things

NRS: See, I am making all things new.

GNT: And now I make all things new! [BFC: Maintenant…]

NIV: I am making everything new!

It must be admitted that without native speakers it is hard to prove my proposal of C4b or to distinguish real cases from cases of C3 or C5. And there are one or two cases where an ex-

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[575] Gen 34:10 could be a case: καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰδοὺ πλατεῖα ἐναντίον ὑμῶν [and the land.N ἰδού wide before you] 'and the land is *very* wide before you (to choose where you wish live and support you)'. This token is interesting because it lacks a typical predicator, ἰδού follows the subject, and the Hebrew lacks הִנֵּה (וְהָאָרֶץ תִּהְיֶה לִפְנֵיכֶם [and-the-land 3Sf.will.be before-you]). Perhaps הִנֵּה was read for תִּהְיֶה '3Sf.will.be'.

[576] The construction in Gal 1:20 is an elliptical oath meaning 'I swear/affirm to God I am not lying': ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι [ἰδού before the.G God.G that not I.lie].

[577] Luk 13:35 ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν [behold 3S.is.abandoned to-you the house of.you] may be another instance. The implication would be 'Although you (Jerusalem) have been hoping for deliverance, your house *is now abandoned* (i.e. hereby cursed)'.

treme value appears to be emphasized, but the focused constituent does not immediately fol-
low ἰδού: **Act 27:24** ('all the ones sailing with you').[578] If C4b is a justifiable category, then
this latter token would represent, constructionally speaking, a step away from C4b, where
ἰδού does not function as a constituent-focus marker, but as a sentence adverb, that is, C5.

Act 27:24   καὶ   ἰδοὺ   κεχάρισταί   σοι   ὁ θεὸς **πάντας τοὺς πλέοντας** μετὰ σοῦ.
            and   *   3S.has.given to.you - God all.A   the.A   sailing.A   with you

> NRS: [22] …keep up your courage, for there will be no loss of life among you, but only of
> the ship. [23] For last night there stood by me an angel of the God to whom I belong and
> whom I worship, [24] and he said, 'Do not be afraid, Paul; you must stand before the
> emperor; <u>and indeed, God has granted safety to all those who are sailing with you.</u>'

We must also distinguish **Act 2:7** from C4b (see Fiedler p. 33 quoting Jackson-Lake),
which is the only NT instance of οὐκ/χ ἰδού.[579] Even though the context involves amazement
and ἄπαντες 'all' could (in principle at least) be emphasized, nevertheless οὐκ ἰδού is a well-
known indicator of rhetorical questions in the LXX[580] (that compute to positive assertions).[581]
To be sure, the present example is not a prototypical rhetorical question, since the speakers
do not quite believe their ears and are seeking confirmation. Moreover, unlike the present ex-
ample, not all LXX tokens clearly involve an emotive element (the formula 'are not X written
in Y' in 1Ki 11:41 etc. seems emotionally flat). Nevertheless, as with this example, most rhe-
torical questions have an emotive element, and in this way οὐκ/χ ἰδού's typical use of mark-
ing rhetorical questions resembles C4, although what it modifies (or 'emphasizes') is not the
constituent it precedes but the **truth value** of the entire proposition. It thus represents another
subconstruction (English translators are reluctant to squeeze *look* or *listen* out of this.)

Act 2:7   Οὐχ   ἰδοὺ   ἄπαντες   οὗτοί εἰσιν   οἱ   λαλοῦντες Γαλιλαῖοι;
          not   *   all   these 3P.are the speaking Galileans

> REB: Surely these people who are speaking are all Galileans!

> NET: Aren't all these who are speaking Galileans?

6.5.4 Other cases with constituent-focus, with and without deictic properties: C3, C5 and C2

With maybe one or two exceptions (Jhn 18:21 and Mat 19:27), the tokens discussed from
here on do not appear to be emotively emphatic, yet each appears to involve constituent-
focus. Translators have interpreted these in various ways. Three groups suggest themselves:
(i) instances of C3; (ii) instances of C5; and (iii) a few are hybrids, **CF+C2a**, where a deictic
thetic skeleton (C2a) is overlaid by a constituent-focus structure.

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[578] Somewhat similar is Mat 28:20 (C5). But here I take the subject to be topic, the entire predicate to be in the
focus domain and the clause final element 'all days' as likely emotively emphatic: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι
πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας 'and remember [I]$_{TOP}$ [am with you [all days]$_{EMPH}$]$_{FD}$'. The order is unmarked for ἰδού
sentences.

[579] Since ἰδού has the smooth breathing, one would normally expect not οὐχ (which actually has good
manuscript support) but οὐκ (also well supported) or οὐχί (in one manuscript) (see Nestle-Aland for the various
readings). On behalf of the editorial committee of the UBS Greek NT text, Metzger (1971:292) notes that 'A
majority of the Committee was of the opinion that οὐχ best explains the rise of both other readings.'

[580] Bruce (1990:117) notes that οὐκ ἰδού 'is used in LXX in rhetorical questions, and "in time became the
recognized equivalent for the classical ἆρ' οὐ;"' (quoting H. St. J. Thackeray's *Grammar of the Old Testament
in Greek* I, pp. 125f). Οὐκ ἰδού is a fairly common LXX rendering for Hebrew הֲלֹא 'is it not!' (Gen 13:9; Exo
4:14). Less frequently one finds just ἰδού (Jos 1:9; Jdg 6:14).

[581] According to Beekman 1972, the consensus among grammarians and commentators is that a rhetorical
question with οὐ 'not' normally expects an affirmative answer. See also BDAG §οὐ.3.a.α.

The deictic properties of ἴδε in Mat 25:20 were discussed in §6.4 ('ἴδε I have made five more talents'). I took that as an instance of C3.

The tokens in **Jhn 18:21** and **Act 10:21** are worth comparing since the subject constituents are focused in both, each answering an implicit question ('Who knows what I have said?' and 'Who are they seeking?').

Jhn 18:21   τί   με   ἐρωτᾷς;   ἐρώτησον τοὺς   ἀκηκοότας   τί   ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς·
             why   me   you.question   question!   the.ones   having.heard   what   I.spoke   to.them

            ἴδε **οὗτοι**   οἴδασιν ἃ   εἶπον ἐγώ.
            *   these.ones   know   what.things   I.said   I

NRS: [21] Why do you ask me? Ask those who heard what I said to them; <u>they</u> know what I said. [22] When he had said this, one of the police standing nearby struck Jesus on the face, saying, "Is that how you answer the high priest?"

Act 10:21   Ἰδοὺ **ἐγώ** εἰμι ὃν   ζητεῖτε·
             *   I   am   whom   you.are.seeking

NIV: [18] [Three men sent by Cornelius came to a house and] called out, asking if…Peter was staying there. [19] While Peter was…thinking…, the Spirit said to him, "[Peter,] three men are looking for you. [20] …Do not hesitate to go with them, for I have sent them." [21] Peter went down and said to the men, "<u>I</u>'m the one you're looking for. Why have you come?"

BFC: Je suis celui que vous cherchez. ['<u>I</u> am the one you are looking for.']

NVS78: Me voici; c'est moi que vous cherchez. ['Here I am; it's me you're looking for.']

ἴδε οὗτοι in Jhn 18:21 cannot have here-and-now deictic reference (C3) since the disciples who are referred to by οὗτοι are not present at Jesus' trial (with the exception of one or two hiding). Perhaps it is an instance of C5. Interestingly, most translations leave it untranslated (the NIV has *surely*). Alternatively, perhaps it is a type of (emotive) C4 (but without the feature of an extreme degree); it might contribute to the emotively charged response Jesus' answer elicits.

In contrast, Act 10:21 looks physically or metaphorically deictic. In my view, ἰδού means either *Hey!* (C5) or *Here!* (C3) and it is separate from what follows where ἐγώ is a case of constituent-focus. Most translations (e.g. NIV and French BFC above) in fact render this as a statement compatible with a constituent-focus interpretation although they generally do away with ἰδού (see also RSV, NRS, GNT, CEV; but the NVS78, FBJ, and TOB add *voici* and BDS *voilà*). A deictic thetic interpretation (C2) seems impossible from the Greek: If Peter wanted to say, 'Here I am, the one you are looking for' (see NVS78 above, which double translates ἰδού), then the form ἰδοὺ ἐγώ without the copula εἰμι would have sufficed (C1), followed by a relative clause (compare ἰδοὺ ἐγώ in Act 9:10).

The subject in **Mat 19:27** is also likely constituent-focus (also ||Mrk 10:28 and Luk 18:28). This token comes on the heels of the account about the rich young leader: Jesus had invited him sell all he had, give it to the poor and then follow Jesus, but instead he walks away depressed. Peter then points out that (in contrast to the rich young man) 'WE have left everything and followed you…' So ἰδού may be an instance of C5, for which *Listen/Écoute, Remember* and (metaphorical) *Look* are appropriate renderings.

Mat 19:27 Ἰδοὺ **ἡμεῖς** ἀφήκαμεν πάντα   καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι·
           *   we   we.left   all.things and we.followed   you

> NRS: Then Peter said in reply, "Look, we have left everything and followed you. What then will we have?"

> CEV: Remember, we have left everything to be your followers!

> NIV: We have left everything to follow you!

> BFC: Écoute, lui dit-il, nous avons tout quitté pour te suivre.

Now consider the information structure hybrids, **CF+C2a**, in **Mrk 13:21**.

Mrk 13:21 καὶ τότε ἐάν τις   ὑμῖν   εἴπῃ,
           and then if   someone   to.you 3S.says

           Ἴδε **ὧδε** ὁ   Χριστός, Ἴδε **ἐκεῖ**, μὴ πιστεύετε·
           *   here   the Christ   *   there   not you.believe

> CEV: If someone should say, 'Here is the Messiah!' or 'There he is!' don't believe it.

> GNT: if anyone says to you, 'Look, here is the Messiah!' or, 'Look, there he is!'—do not believe it.

Both tokens (with ἴδε; see also ‖Mat 24:23, and Luk 17:21b, Luk 17:23b, and Luk 17:23c, all with ἰδού) have deictic thetic skeletons with predicate locatives (i.e. C2a structures; see e.g. Luk 22:38). Each skeleton is then overlaid by a dominant constituent-focus structure. Both utterances presuppose the question 'Where is the Christ?' The locatives, which come in the marked focus position (pre-subject, in this case), are focal; first ὧδε 'here' and then ἐκεῖ 'there'[582] attempt to answer the question (given its activation status, the presupposed constituent 'the Christ' is a null form in the second clause). If these had instead been straightforward C2a deictic thetics, then we would have expected Ἴδε ὁ Χριστός (ὧδε/ἐκεῖ) (nab), where, formally, the subject would be initial, and conceptually, 'the Christ' would be in the assertion and not in the presupposition. Most English translations render these by a form compatible with a deictic thetic reading, such as *HERE is the MESSIAH* (e.g. CEV and GNT. English). Crucially, this form is *equally* compatible with the constituent-focus reading, where *here* would be stressed, but *the Messiah* if relatively activated would be an unstressed lexical NP (*HERE is the Messiah*), a pronoun (*HERE he is*), or unexpressed (*HERE!*). The GNT's *Look* (also NIV, NRS; and BFC *regardez*) is unnecessary.

The token in **Mat 12:41** (similarly in Mat 12:42 and ‖Luk 11:31 and ‖Luk 11:32) is also an information structure hybrid: a deictic[583] C2a thetic skeleton is overlaid by a dominant constituent-focus structure. Unlike Mrk 13:21 above, where the focal locatives come in the marked focus position (following ἴδε), here we find the subject constituent 'something greater than Jonah' in that position. The utterance evokes the presupposition that 'Here is X in regards to Jonah' (so ὧδε 'here' and part of the subject 'Jonah' are in the presupposition) and asserts that X is 'something greater (than Jonah)'. The CEV makes use of a deictic thetic, but essentially the same effect is achieved by the GNT's *non-deictic there* thetic with deictic *here*.

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[582] In ‖Mat 24:26b (Ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐστίν [C5:hey! in the desert 3S.is]) what is focused is 'in the desert' (and 'in the inner rooms' in Mat 24:26d). That εἰμί occurs indicates that this is not C1, which makes sense if we assume that 'in the desert' (and 'in the inner rooms') are locations that cannot be seen or directly pointed to.

[583] That the underlying construction here is a C2a thetic skeleton with locative predicate is clear from the lack of εἰμί (compare ‖Mat 12:6 with εἰμί and no ἰδού). Incidentally, while this has a deictic thetic skeleton, we should hardly expect that Jesus would be so blatant as to simultaneously point at himself. His words suffice.

Mat 12:41 καὶ ἰδοὺ **πλεῖον**   Ἰωνᾶ ὧδε.
           and *   something.greater.than Jonah here

> NRS: The people of Nineveh will rise up at the judgment with this generation and condemn it, because they repented at the proclamation of Jonah, <u>and see, something greater than Jonah is here!</u>

> CEV: They turned to God when Jonah preached, and yet here is something far greater than Jonah.

> GNT: and I tell you that there is something here greater than Jonah!

> BFC Et il y a ici plus que Jonas!

> NVS78: et voici qu'il y a ici plus que Jonas.

6.5.5 Summary comments and counts on C4

In §6.5, a variety of ἰδού and ἴδε tokens have been surveyed that simultaneously involve constituent-focus. In tokens categorized as C4, I have argued that the focused constituent forms a syntactic unit with the particle and that the focused constituent is emotively emphatic; thus, translations like *see, look,* and *here* are inappropriate.

C4 tokens divide into at least two subtypes: C4a, with *ἰδού–TIME$_{NOM}$* (what has some cleft-like characteristics and a noteworthy parallel to French *voilà-TIME-que…*) and C4b, *ἰδού + any other phrase* (in any case). Stretching the category somewhat, a third type would be οὐκ/χ ἰδού, which occurs with rhetorical questions (it emphasizes a proposition's positive truth value). There is a resemblance between C4a and C1 in that both require a focal constituent in nominative.

We also found instances of constituent-focus that did not involve emotive emphasis and where we should not assume the particle forms a syntactic phrase with the focused constituent. The focused constituent need not immediately follow the particle. In some tokens, the particles were instances of C3 or C5. Other tokens were hybrids that had a deictic thetic skeleton (C2a) overlaid by a constituent-focus structure.

Here is a summary list of the different sets of C4 tokens:

C4a: Papyri tokens; Luk 13:7; Luk 13:16; Luk 15:29; perhaps 2Co 12:14.

C4b: Luk 11:41; Luk 13:35 (? or C5); Luk 19:8; Luk 23:15; Jhn 7:26 (ἴδε); Jhn 12:19 (ἴδε); Act 5:28; 2Co 6:9 (? or C5); Gal 1:20; Rev 21:5 (? or C5). Tokens with ἴδε are more questionable, including ones with exclamative properties (all could be instead C3 or C5): Jhn 11:36; Mrk 13:1; Mrk 15:4. Tokens with νῦν 'now' include 2Co 6:2 (2x) with ἰδού and perhaps Mat 26:65 and Jhn 16:29 with ἴδε.

οὐκ/χ ἰδού (the rhetorical question marker): Act 2:7; often in LXX (e.g. Exo 4:14).

6.6 C5, ἰδού and ἴδε as instructions to pay *mental* attention

We have now come to the final set of tokens. Here I claim ἰδού and ἴδε serve to instruct the hearer to pay special attention to something being said. I designate these as instances of C5. This set is large, numbering up to 95 tokens. To be sure, it is also a somewhat mixed bag of tokens that would deserve further categorization if time allowed. Still, a general picture can be sketched despite the loose ends that remain.

What is first of all clear is that the vast majority C5 tokens cannot be interpreted as sentence-focus thetics. They are instead topic-comment constructions (where the subject is topic) or constituent-focus constructions. Second, C5 diverges from C1 and C3 in that the

particle is never used deictically to point to an entity in the here-and-now real world. Third, it seems unlikely that the particle ever forms a syntactic unit with the constituent that immediately follows it, as we found in C1, C2c-NP and C4.

But it is not clear what relationship holds between the C5 particle and its clause. (This same question came up briefly about C3 in §6.4. What is said here of C5 may also apply to C3.) We can speculate that there are two possible relationships, and perhaps both could be true, depending on the token: (i) the particle is like an interjection that is syntactically autonomous from its clause, and it may even be separated by a pause from what follows; (ii) it is not separated by a pause from what follows and there is some syntactic glue.

What might suggest the particle is never a *mere* interjection is the fact that in C5, the particle comes at (or near) the beginning of a clause, just as it does in C1 and nearly all the other constructions. Moreover, given ἰδού and ἴδε began life as imperatives of 'see', it seems that, unlike many interjections, they still hold some kind of cataphoric relationship with their clause and this in turn determines their initial position. (For a case where a tighter syntactic relationship seems very likely, see §6.6.5; for details on what can precede the particles, see §6.7.3.)

So, while the precise nature of the syntactic relation that the particle holds with its clause may not be clear, it at least resembles the prototype C1 in consistently coming at (or near) the clause beginning.

There is also a conceptual resemblance with C1, and this is very important. C5 begins one or more sentences that report something the speaker wishes the hearer to pay special attention to. The particles can be viewed as 'processing instructions'. While C1 instructs the hearer to pay *visual* attention to a state of affairs, C5 instructs the hearer to pay *mental* attention. So C5 is a metaphorical extension of C1, whereby a speaker 'points out' something being said that the hearer should, for whatever reason, 'mentally look at' (i.e. think about).

Metaphors that equate thinking or knowing with seeing are pervasive in language. Fauconnier (1997:10) mentions the metaphor 'knowing as seeing', Lakoff & Johnson (1980:48) mention the metaphor of 'understanding is seeing', and Lakoff (1987:437) 'looking at something is taking it into consideration'. As in Greek, so in English and other languages one can say 'Look!' when one does not expect the hearer to physically look but rather to pay attention to what is being said or about to be said. These metaphors are also illustrated by: *I'll take a look at it* (meaning 'I'll consider it'; Lakoff 1987:437); *(So) You see,...* (so you can infer; similarly the proverbial *'I see,' said the blind man*); *He's not focused* (his concentration is wandering); *I can't see what you're getting at* (I don't understand what you are saying); *Let me see* (Allow me to think for a moment); *in my mind's eye* (my imagination); *view* or *view point* (one's opinion and thoughts on a matter); etc. There are also examples in the Greek NT besides C5. With ὁράω: Luk 21:29 'Consider/Think about the fig tree'. With ὁράω and βλέπω: Mat 13:14c 'you will look (βλέψετε) but not *see* (ἴδητε) [=understand]'. And with just βλέπω: 1Co 1:26 'consider your calling'; Col 4:17 'pay attention to your ministry so that you are sure to fulfill it'.

Chafe (1994a:53) also argues that 'focus of consciousness' is much like vision. Just as we can only focus our vision on a small area at one time, so our consciousness can only attend to a limited amount of information at a time. So it seems quite natural that people speak of giving mental attention in terms of visual attention.

My analysis of the function of C5 fits the first definition given by BDAG for both ἰδού and ἴδε entries, where ἰδού is described as 'prompter of attention' and ἴδε as 'point[ing] out

someth. to which the speaker wishes to draw attention'. BDAG, however, combine tokens that I am categorizing as varieties of C2 with C5.

Now we may ask, what kinds of situations is *mental* pointing via C5 used for? And is there any similarity between such situations and those where *physical* pointing is used (C1)?

If someone points out to you the *physical* presence of an entity or state of affairs in the real world, he or she does so for some reason, for example, because that entity may be useful or harmful, interesting or surprising. The types of situations where *mental* pointing is used in NT seem fairly parallel.

In the NT, C5 tokens are used when something important or vital is being said, such as a promise, warning, oath, or curse; or a set of instructions are being given that the hearer should not forget; or the utterance is a 'reminder'. Some of these contexts overlap. In particular, many tokens (up to half of the 95) involve states of affairs that would likely be considered by the audience as *surprising* or *unexpected*.[584] As noted above, C1 and C2 also fairly frequently introduce surprising states of affairs. It is also noteworthy that many C5 tokens (more than a quarter) resemble C1 and C2 in that they have thetic properties, where, for example, the clause object introduces a new entity into the discourse, or where in a subsequent clause a new entity is introduced. The C5 tokens differ however in that they are seldom instances of sentence-focus. The subject is instead usually a topical entity.

Finally, all C5 tokens can be portrayed as highlighting a *positive statement,* that is, where the speaker commits himself to the *certainty* of a state of affairs. Discussion of this point is delayed until §6.7.2 since it applies to almost all the uses of the particles.

Here follows the list of 95 possible tokens. Alternative interpretations are mentioned in parentheses. Tokens that have given me the greatest trouble are ones with a lexical (non-pronominal) subject and that could be alternatively construed as some variety of C2.

Mat 1:23 (LXX quote); Mat 8:29; Mat 8:32; Mat 10:16; Mat 11:8; Mat 11:10 (LXX quote); Mat 12:2 (or C2a or C3); Mat 13:3 (see §6.7.3.2); Mat 19:27; Mat 20:18; Mat 22:4; Mat 23:34; Mat 23:38; Mat 24:25; Mat 24:26b and Mat 24:26d (see footnote 582); Mat 26:45 (or C2d); Mat 28:7c; Mat 28:7e; Mat 28:20; Mrk 1:2 (LXX quote); Mrk 2:24 (ἴδε); Mrk 4:3; Mrk 10:28; Mrk 10:33; Mrk 14:41; Mrk 15:4 (ἴδε, or C4b); Mrk 15:35 (ἴδε, or ? C3); Luk 1:20; Luk 1:31; Luk 1:44; Luk 1:48; Luk 2:10; Luk 2:34; Luk 2:48; Luk 6:23; Luk 7:25; Luk 7:27 (LXX quote); Luk 10:3; Luk 10:19; Luk 13:30; Luk 13:32; Luk 13:35 (or C4b); Luk 17:21d; Luk 18:28; Luk 18:31; Luk 22:10; Luk 22:21 (or ? C2b); Luk 22:31; Luk 23:14; Luk 24:49; Jhn 3:26 (ἴδε); Jhn 4:35 (ἴδε); Jhn 5:14; Jhn 11:3 (ἴδε, or C2d); Jhn 19:4 (ἴδε); Jhn 18:21 (?, ἴδε, see §6.5.4); Act 5:25 (or C2d);[585] Act 7:56; Act 9:11; Act 10:21 (or ? C3); Act 13:25; Act 13:46; Act 20:22; Act 20:25; Act 27:24; Rom 9:33 (LXX quote); 1Co 15:51; 2Co 5:17; 2Co 6:9 (or C4b); 2Co 7:11; Gal 5:2 (ἴδε); Heb 10:7 (‖Heb 10:9, LXX quotes); Jas 3:5; Jas 5:4; Jas 5:7; Jas 5:11; 1Pe 2:6 (LXX quote); Jud 1:14 (apocryphal quote); Rev 1:7; Rev 1:18; Rev 2:10; Rev 2:22; Rev 3:8; Rev 3:9a; Rev 3:9e; Rev 3:20; Rev 5:5; Rev 11:14; Rev 16:15; Rev 21:3 (or C3 or C2); Rev 21:5 (or C4b); Rev 22:7; Rev 22:12.

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[584] Lambrecht (1999:32-3) describes one use of *voilà* where it indicates that a state of affairs with a topical subject is 'contrary to expectation', and so '*voilà* has lost its value as a perception predicate': e.g. *Figurez-vous, Monsieur, qu'ils n'étaient pas mariés un an, paf! voilà la femme qui part en Espagne avec un marchand de chocolat.* 'Can you imagine, they hadn't even been married a year and bang! the wife runs off to Spain (lit. there's the wife running off to Spain) with a guy who sells chocolate.'

[585] Although Björck (p. 51) thinks the constituent order speaks against Act 5:25 being periphrastic, periphrasis makes more sense to me with ἰδού (so one complex state of affairs is introduced). Aerts (p. 71) slightly prefers Regard's interpretation, who assumes periphrasis here indicates progressive aspect ('en train de').

Finally, it should be noted that alone in C5 in the NT does the particle *precede* a conjunction. In seven tokens, the combination ἰδοὺ γάρ occurs: Luk 1:44; Luk 1:48; Luk 2:10; Luk 6:23; Luk 17:21d; Act 9:11; 2Co 7:11. Perhaps this combination is only possible when ἰδού holds a very loose a syntactic relation with its clause. (In the LXX,[586] one finds a couple of cases of ἰδοὺ δέ and Fiedler, p. 20, mentions a case from a papyrus.)

The following sections illustrate the above outlined claims. The first three sections are organized according to the information structure category of the ἰδού/ἴδε clause: topic-comment (§6.6.1), constituent-focus (§6.6.2), thetic and thetic-like constructions (§6.6.3). Section §6.6.4 deals with the translation of a few tokens where the subject is first person but no pronoun occurs. And §6.6.5 discusses two tokens occurring in narrative and their relation to C2c. Evaluations of renderings in English, French, and Italian are offered throughout.

6.6.1 C5 with topical subjects and predicate-focus (topic-comment function)

C5 most typically occurs with **predicate-focus** constructions. In nearly half of the C5 tokens, the subject is not expressed lexically but indexed on the verb. In all of these, the subject is topical: in some it is the primary topic of a predicate-focus construction with topic-comment function; in others it is part of a topical open proposition (see §6.6.2).

Consider **Mat 20:18** (‖Mrk 10:33 and Luk 18:31) where the subject is the primary topic.

Mat 20:18 Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν   εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ   υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
            *   we.are.going.up to Jerusalem   and the Son   -   of.Man

            παραδοθήσεται   τοῖς   ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ γραμματεῦσιν,
            3S.will.be.handed.over to.the chief.priests and scribes

            καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν   αὐτὸν θανάτῳ
            and 3P.will.condemn him   to.death

NRS: [17] While Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve disciples aside by themselves, and said to them on the way, [18] "See, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be handed over to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death; [19] then they will hand him over to the Gentiles to be mocked and flogged and crucified; and on the third day he will be raised."

NJB: Look, we are going up to Jerusalem,…

BFC Écoutez, nous montons à Jérusalem, où le Fils de l'homme sera livré…

FBJ: Voici que nous montons à Jérusalem, BDS: Voici, nous montons à Jérusalem.

NRV: Ecco, noi saliamo a Gerusalemme e il Figlio…

The clause topic 'we' is expressed alone on the verb, ἀναβαίνομεν 'we are going up'. There is nothing particularly noteworthy about Jesus' informing his disciples that 'we are going up to Jerusalem'. They presumably know this since they have already set out on the road for Jerusalem (v 17; this is also implied in ‖Mrk 10:32 and Luk 17:11). What is noteworthy and indeed surprising for the disciples is what follows this clause, Jesus' prediction of his trial, execution and resurrection. Thus, ἰδού is used at the **beginning** of a monologue—modifying several clauses—to instruct the audience to 'pay attention'. The same effect is achieved by the NJB's *Look,* assuming it understood metaphorically. Essentially the same effect is also achieved by the GNT's *Listen,* and the BFC's *Écoutez,* (both with comma). The NRS's *see* seems less appropriate. To me, it suggests that Jesus and his disciples are walking at that very moment, and that he could be pointing to their movement as evidence—which would be

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[586] Deu 20:16 and 3 Maccabees 2:13 (ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν).

entirely irrelevant. Paul Solomiac informs me that FBJ's *voici que* and even more BDS' *voici* sound old fashioned or exotic and may give the impression that Jesus is pointing at their going up to Jerusalem. (See below on the oddness of *ecco.*)

Similarly, the subject 'I' (expressed on the verb) in **Mat 24:25** is the clause topic. This clause **concludes** a section where Jesus has predicted many things about his second coming, not least that there will be imposters who will try to deceive God's people, claiming to be the Messiah. So the clause serves as a warning, highlighting that Jesus has told them these things ahead of time, the implication being that the disciples should not forget the prediction. Appropriate translations of ἰδού include the GNT's *Listen!* and BFC's *Écoutez!* and the NRS's *Take note.* (See also Mat 28:7e where the angel ends his speech with ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν '…I have told you'; but translations vary considerably in their renderings of ἰδού.)

Mat 24:25   ἰδοὺ προείρηκα   ὑμῖν.
            *   I.have.told.beforehand   you

    NRS: <u>Take note,</u> I have told you beforehand.

    GNT: <u>Listen!</u> I have told you this ahead of time.

There are also many tokens where, even though the subject is expressed lexically, it is still topical, and the clause as a whole cannot be thetic. This is especially clear in tokens where the subject belongs to a greater topical open proposition (see e.g. Luk 7:25 and Luk 17:21d in §6.6.2). There are also a few instances where the subject is the primary topic of a topic-comment construction. This applies to 'your father and I' in **Luk 2:48** where these entities are already fully activated. It is the descriptive predicate that is informative.

Luk 2:48   ἰδοὺ ὁ   πατήρ σου   κἀγὼ ὀδυνώμενοι   ἐζητοῦμέν   σε.
           *   the father of.you and.I   being.anxious we.were.looking.for you

    NRS: When his parents saw him they were astonished; and his mother said to him, "Child, why have you treated us like this? <u>Look, your father and I have been searching for you in great anxiety.</u>"

    GNT: Your father and I have been terribly worried trying to find you.

Similarly, in **Mat 10:16** the subject pronoun ἐγώ 'I' is the primary sentence topic.

Mat 10:16   Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων·
            *   I   I.send   you   as sheep   in midst of.wolves

            γίνεσθε οὖν   φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.
            be!   therefore wise   as the serpents and innocent as the doves

    GNT: [16] <u>Listen!</u> I am sending you out just like sheep to a pack of wolves. You must be as cautious as snakes and as gentle as doves. [17] Watch out [προσέχετε], for there will be those who will arrest you…

    NRV <u>Ecco,</u> io vi mando come pecore in mezzo ai lupi; siate dunque prudenti come i serpenti e semplici come le colombe.

This token comes in the middle of a long set of instructions to the disciples (Mat 10:5-42) where Jesus then highlights a set of warnings and commands, beginning them with ἰδού**.** The GNT appropriately renders ἰδού as *Listen!* The informative part of the clause is expressed by the predicate 'sending you as sheep among wolves', which is the comment about the topic 'I' (as the one who is already speaking, the entity 'I' is completely activated). ‖Luk 10:3 in fact

lacks ἐγώ. That ἐγώ is used at all for a topical entity[587] can be explained on the grounds that (a) Jesus is beginning a new paragraph (topical pronouns typically occur at the beginning of a discourse and, I presume, a new paragraph inside an ongoing discourse),[588] and/or (b) it is a case of emotive emphasis, motivated by the importance of the statement (otherwise redundant subject entities can be expressed lexically when the statement as a whole is emotive).[589] Assuming ἐγώ is a topic expression, it is impossible that ἰδοὺ ἐγώ forms a syntactic unit or that it functions in the way we found in the §6.5 with C4.

Concerning the cited Italian translations, note that, even though many use *ecco* in these examples (e.g. this last example and in Mat 20:18 above), Marco Librè informs me that its use is not idiomatic. Although *ecco* is readily comprehensible as a mental pointer in these, something like 'listen carefully' or 'pay attention' would still be more natural (the same seems true of *behold*). Furthermore, *ecco* tends to be taken as pointing to the first sentence that follows it (when not subordinate). Thus, a reader might think that in Mat 10:16 Jesus is primarily highlighting 'I am sending you out just like sheep to a pack of wolves' and not what follows it; and in Mat 20:18 'we are going up to Jerusalem' (which is clearly secondary) rather than 'the Son of Man will be betrayed…condemned…and crucified'. If one insists on using *ecco*, then it would be clearer to move it after the first clause (e.g. *Noi saliamo a Gerusalemme, **ed ecco**, il Figlio dell'uomo...* M. Librè, p.c.).

There is one rendering that I have not come across in English NT translations for C5 (or any other use), and that is *hereby* (it is no coincidence that the deictic adverb *here* is part of it). This lack is somewhat curious since ἰδού in particular often occurs with promises and other more or less official sounding statements, and these in turn sometimes have properties of 'performative' speech acts.[590] In contrast, OT translators do occasionally use *hereby* for הִנֵּה 'behold', including where ἰδού occurs in the LXX. For example, the NJPS and NRS both use *hereby* in **Exo 34:10** (the subject ἐγώ is clearly topical).[591]

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[587] Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω occurs in the LXX a handful of times for הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ (Jer 16:16; Jer 25:9; Jer 43:10=LXX 50:10) and הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי שֹׁלֵחַ (Exo 23:20; Mal 3:22). While the Greek obviously echoes the Hebrew structure (compare BDF §277.2; Fiedler p. 24 note 88), this does not mean that ἐγώ here is unnatural NT Koine (for the reasons I mention).

[588] It is hard to find comparable tokens beginning a paragraph in an ongoing discourse. In any case, pronouns often occur discourse-initially even though topical and redundant: Jhn 1:19 Σὺ τίς εἶ; 'Who are you?' (the wh-word τίς is an instance of constituent-focus, σύ 'you' is topical); Luk 9:9; Jhn 8:21; Act 11:5. See also cases in responses in exchanges: Jhn 18:37 (Οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ; 'you then are a KING?'); Jhn 11:27 with ἐγώ (Ναί, κύριε, ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς... 'Yes, Lord, I believe that you are the Christ…'); Act 22:8.

[589] Levinsohn (2000:136, 197-8) mentions an instance of a full NP used to 'highlight' an utterance ('Elizabeth' in Luk 1:41a is redundant and topical). Examples of redundant **topical pronouns** that are possible instances of emotive emphasis include: Mrk 8:29 ('But who do you say that I am?' Peter answered him, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός 'You are the CHRIST'; 'Christ' is focal; ‖Luk 9:20 lacks σὺ εἶ); Jhn 8:58 (πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί 'before Abraham was, I am'; this asserts existence; it is the verb and not the subject ἐγώ that is focal). See also Luk 1:19 and the second ἐγώ in Jhn 18:20.

[590] According to Levinson (1983:232, 234 following Austin) only explicit performatives, i.e. ones with 'performative verbs', are compatible with *hereby*.

[591] See also Num 3:12 (NJPS and NRS: 'I hereby accept the Levites…'); Jdg 1:2 (NRS: 'I hereby give the land into his hand'); Num 18:21 (NJPS, NAB); the NJPS of Gen 17:20, Num 18:8, and Isa 38:5; Num 25:12 (NRS, NAB). For הֲלֹא ('is it not!') and LXX ἰδού, see Jos 1:9 (NRS *hereby*) and Jdg 6:14 (NRS *hereby*, NJPS *herewith*).

Exo 34:10 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ τίθημί   σοι   διαθήκην
          *   I   I.establish with.you covenant

הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי כֹּרֵת בְּרִית

hinnēh ᵓānōḵî kōrēṯ bərîṯ

behold I cutting.Prt covenant

NJPS: [And God] said [to Moses]: I hereby make a covenant.

So I reason that, given the right mix of contextual ingredients,[592] English NT translators could also occasionally make use of *hereby* (the appropriateness of this translation depends on context; it is not because ἰδού literally means *hereby*). One C5 token where this rendering seems appropriate to me is **Act 13:46** (the subject, indexed only on the verb, is topic).

Act 13:46 ἐπειδὴ ἀπωθεῖσθε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε   ἑαυτοὺς τῆς
           since   you.reject it   and not worthy you.judge yourselves of.the

αἰωνίου   ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα   εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.
of.eternal life   *   we.are.turning to   the Gentiles

GNT: [45] When the Jews saw the crowds, they were filled with jealousy; they disputed what Paul was saying and insulted him. [46] But Paul and Barnabas spoke out even more boldly: "It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. But since you reject it and do not consider yourselves worthy of eternal life, <u>we will leave you and go to the Gentiles.</u>…"

NLT: and judged yourselves unworthy of eternal life—<u>well,</u> we will offer it to Gentiles

REB & NIV: we <u>now</u> turn to the Gentiles. NRS: we are <u>now</u> turning to the Gentiles.

As can be seen by the illustrated translations, most translators seem at a loss about what to do with ἰδού here. *Now* in the REB, NIV, and NRS are too weak, but still better than the NLT's (lame) *well,* or just the future in the GNT. I suggest instead, *We hereby turn to the Gentiles.* This passage is in fact the first of three such public statements that Paul makes to this effect (Act 18:6; Act 28:28). Other C5 tokens where *hereby* could be considered include Gal 5:2 (with ἴδε); Rev 21:5 (but see also §6.5.3 on C4b) and maybe Luk 2:10. (For non-C5 tokens that may function like performatives, see §6.3.3 on Act 13:11 and Rev 21:3, and see footnotes 523, 558, and 574.)

6.6.2 C5 with constituent-focus

We already mentioned in §6.5 and §6.5.4 instances of **constituent-focus** with C5. Recall again ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις 'in (royal) palaces' in **Luk 7:25** (answering the implicit question 'Where are people in fancy clothes and living in luxury?'). The subject 'people in fancy clothes and living in luxury' is topical (part of the open proposition). I take ἰδού here also to be a case of C5. The GNT and CEV render ἰδού here as Ø, the NIV as *No* and the NRS as *Look.* BDAG appropriately list this token in their section 1.c 'as a call to closer consideration and contemplation *remember, consider*, etc.' (italics are BDAG's). Jesus' statement is not at all surprising. He is making use of a rhetorical device, reminding his audience of the obvious, that is, telling them to 'pay mental attention' to something they *already know.*

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[592] Andersen (2003:50) notes about the so-called performative use of הִנֵּה that 'this nuance is constrained by pragmatics, and can be subsumed under the presentative function of *hnh.*'

Luk 7:25   ἰδοὺ   οἱ   ἐν   ἱματισμῷ   ἐνδόξῳ   καὶ   τρυφῇ   ὑπάρχοντες
            *   those with clothes   glorious and   in.luxury living

             ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰσίν.
             in the   palaces   3P.are

> GNT: [24] … "When you went out to John in the desert, what did you expect to see? A blade of grass bending in the wind? [25] What did you go out to see? A man dressed up in fancy clothes? <u>People who dress like that and live in luxury are found in palaces!…</u>"

A similar εἰμί construction occurs in **Luk 17:21d**. It serves to answer the implicit question 'Where is the Kingdom of God?' (i.e. the open proposition is 'the Kingdom of God is [in location X]'). 'Inside of you' answers that question. Such a surprising answer, however, does not have a reminding function (in contrast to Luk 7:25 above) since the answer contradicts the audience's beliefs. Given the novelty of Jesus' statement, the BFC translates it as *sachez-le* ('know/realize [it]!'), that is, pay mental attention to a new idea. Except for the most literal English translations, most render ἰδού as Ø, probably because of the presence of γάρ 'because'.

Luk 17:21   οὐδὲ   ἐροῦσιν,   Ἰδοὺ   ὧδε   ἤ,   Ἐκεῖ,
             nor   3P.will.say *   here or   there

             ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ **ἐντὸς ὑμῶν** ἐστιν.
             *   for the Kingdom of.the God inside of.you 3S.is

> GNT: [20] Some Pharisees asked Jesus when the Kingdom of God would come. His answer was, "The Kingdom of God does not come in such a way as to be seen. [21] No one will say, 'Look, here it is!' or, 'There it is!'; <u>because the Kingdom of God is within you."</u>

> BFC: "…Car, sachez-le, le Royaume de Dieu est au milieu de vous."

To complement the discussion of constituent-focus in relation to C4 in §6.5 and §6.5.4, here are two lists of the likely C5 tokens with constituent-focus:

C5, focused constituent comes late in sentence: Mat 11:8 and ‖Luk 7:25 (illustrated above); Luk 17:21d (illustrated above); Act 27:24 ('all the ones sailing with you'); Rev 5:5 ('the Lion of the tribe of Judah'). In three other passages, it may be that a constituent occurs clause finally in order to emphasize *that* part of a larger focus domain (i.e. the entire predicate is in the focus domain, but part of it is emphasized): Mat 23:38 ('desolate'); Mat 28:20 ('all days'); Mrk 14:41 ('into the hands of sinners' is in any case in its default position as a focal object).

C5 (not C4), focused constituent immediately follows particle: Mat 19:27, ‖Mrk 10:28, and ‖Luk 18:28.

6.6.3 C5 preceding thetic and thetic-like constructions

Only rarely does C5 coincide with a real thetic clause, but fairly frequently it precedes something that has thetic properties: either (i) it immediately precedes a clause that is thetic-like (e.g. the object is thetic-like), or (ii) something further off in a subsequent sentence is thetic-like or a true thetic.

I mention here first two tokens in **Luk 13:30** that could mistakenly be taken as prototypical thetics. They are, of course, not prototypical thetics, because the εἰμί 'be' clauses are existential and the subjects are implicitly partitive (meaning 'some' of a set; see §4.1 and §4.10.2). Moreover, since these are not statements about the here-and-now (as in C1 where

ἰδού would be the predicator) but about generic time,[593] εἰμί is expected. As a case of C5, ἰδού instructs the hearers to 'pay attention', thereby underscoring the surprising statements Jesus makes (the punch comes in the relative clauses). *And note this* in the NLT is appropriate. *Indeed* in the NIV (and NRS) is weak (also FBJ *Oui*). Some translators, apparently for stylistic reasons, opt not to use any highlighter (CEV, GNT).[594]

Luk 13:30 καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἳ ἔσονται πρῶτοι
         and * 3P.are last.ones who 3P.will.be first

         καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἳ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι.
         and 3P.are first.ones who 3P.will.be last

> NIV: [28] There will be weeping there…when you see Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, but you yourselves thrown out. [29] People will come from east and west…and will take their places at the feast in the kingdom of God. [30] <u>Indeed there are those who are last who will be first, and first who will be last.</u>

Under one interpretation, the ἰδού clause in **2Co 5:17** is a (typical) non-deictic thetic,[595] introducing a state of affairs (*the NEW has come!*) into an abstract mental world (it concerns the spiritual condition of every Christian).[596] I take ἰδού to be a case of C5, 'take note!' Many translators ignore ἰδού (GNT, CEV, NIV, NLT, NJB) or at most add an exclamation mark (NIV, NLT).

2Co 5:17 ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις·
       so.that if anyone in Christ new creation

       τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά·
       the old.things.N.p.n 3S.passed.away * 3S.have.happened new.things.N.p.n

> GNT: Anyone who is joined to Christ is a new being; the old is gone, <u>the new has come.</u>

> NLT: What this means is that those who become Christians become new persons. They are not the same anymore, for the old life is gone. A new life has begun!

In **Luk 22:10**, Jesus instructs Peter and John where to prepare their Passover dinner, beginning his instructions with C5 ἰδού. The first clause, a genitive absolute, has topic-comment function (the subject pronoun is practically mandatory in participial clauses). This first clause is simultaneously a temporal point of departure for what follows. What follows is a typical non-deictic thetic, introducing 'a man'.[597] The CEV, GNT, and NIV ignore ἰδού. More appropriate are the NRS's *Listen* and BFC's *Écoutez.*

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[593] As Marshall (1978) notes, 'The closing saying is proverbial in form…[and] of general application' (compare Mat 19:30, 'many that are first will be last, and the last first'). Given the proverbial use, the subjects refer firstly to generic classes of entities (e.g. 'ones who are last').

[594] The GNT, which strives to be a very idiomatic translation, reads: 'Then those who are now last will be first, and those who are now first will be last.' This is a paraphrase that makes the generic (timeless) statement more specific. One should not conclude that ἰδού can mean either logical 'then' or 'now'!

[595] The thetic interpretation assumes that καινά 'new things' is the subject and not a predicate adjective.

[596] Paul is speaking of all Christians everywhere. It is beside the point that his generic appraisal applies to specific people such as his present audience or himself.

[597] That ἄνθρωπος 'a man' is postverbal is typical of non-ἰδού thetics (recall §4.10.2).

Luk 22:10   Ἰδοὺ εἰσελθόντων   ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συναντήσει ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπος
            *   having.entered.G.Aor you.G into the city   3S.will.meet you   man

            κεράμιον ὕδατος βαστάζων· ἀκολουθήσατε αὐτῷ κτλ
            jar   of.water carrying follow!   him

NRS: [10] "Listen," he said to them, "when you have entered the city, <u>a man carrying a jar of water will meet you;</u> follow him into the house he enters [11] and say to the owner…"

In **Mat 22:4**, the first clause is formally a predicate-focus structure (with topic-comment function), but the object is thetic-like, introducing 'dinner'. The second clause is presumably thetic, introducing 'my bulls and fattened cattle have been slaughtered'.[598]

Mat 22:4   Ἰδοὺ τὸ ἄριστόν μου   ἡτοίμακα,   οἱ ταῦροί μου   καὶ τὰ σιτιστὰ
            *   the dinner of.me I.have.prepared the bulls of.me and the fattened.cattle

            τεθυμένα   καὶ πάντα   ἕτοιμα· δεῦτε εἰς τοὺς γάμους.
            having.been.slaughtered and all.things ready come! to the wedding.feast

NRS: Again he sent other slaves, saying, 'Tell those who have been invited: <u>Look, I have prepared my dinner,</u> my oxen and my fat calves have been slaughtered, and everything is ready; come to the wedding banquet.'

Other tokens introducing entities in the object position of the first or second clause following ἰδού include: Mat 1:23; Mat 23:34; Mrk 15:35; Luk 1:31; Luk 2:10; Luk 24:49; Jhn 4:35; Act 9:11; Rom 9:33; 1Co 15:51; 1Pe 2:6; Rev 3:8.

In **Act 7:56**, the predicate-focus clause ('I' is topic) introduces two states of affairs as participial object complements of the perception verb 'see' (Chapter 5). While some English translations render ἰδού as *Look* (e.g. NRS, GNT, NIV), I think we are to take this as metaphorical (C5), meaning 'pay attention' or 'listen' (BFC). Or does Stephen expect his murderous audience to share the heavenly vision (C3)?

Act 7:56   καὶ εἶπεν, Ἰδοὺ θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς διηνοιγμένους   καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
            and 3S.said * I.see the heavens   having.been.opened and the Son

            τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἑστῶτα   τοῦ θεοῦ.
            of.the Man   at right standing.Prf of.the God

NRS: <u>"Look,"</u> he said, "I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!"

BFC: Il dit: <u>Écoutez,</u> je vois les cieux ouverts et le Fils de l'homme debout à la droite de Dieu.

6.6.4 When the subject is first person and no pronoun occurs

Tokens with a first person subject only indexed on the verb deserve special comment. There are some that English translators render as deictic thetics. This is illustrated by the NLT and NIV's renderings of **Rev 3:20** and by the GNT and NIV's renderings (also REB, NJB) of **Heb 10:7** (and ‖Heb 10:9). (Heb 10:7 is a quotation of LXX Psa 39:8; this translates Hebrew Psa 40:8 הִנֵּה־בָאתִי, which notably lacks the object suffix 'I' on הִנֵּה.)

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[598] Perhaps some languages would treat the latter as topic-comment. The subject is heavy.

Rev 3:20 ἰδοὺ ἕστηκα   ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω·
*   I.stand.Prf at   the door   and knock

GNT: Listen! I stand at the door and knock,…

NLT: Look! <u>Here I stand</u> at the door and knock.

NIV: <u>Here I am!</u> I stand at the door and knock.

Heb 10:7 Ἰδοὺ ἥκω,   ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται   περὶ ἐμοῦ,
*   I.have.come in roll   of.book 3S.has.been.written about me

τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ   θεὸς τὸ θέλημά σου.
-   to.do   the God the will   of.you

NRS: [5] …when Christ came into the world, he said, "Sacrifices and offerings you have not desired, but a body you have prepared for me… [7] Then I [Christ] said, <u>'See, God, I have come to do your will,</u> O God' (in the scroll of the book it is written of me)."

CEV: And so, my God, I have come to do what you want, as the Scriptures say.

GNT: <u>Here I am,</u> to do your will, O God,…

NIV: <u>Here I am</u>–it is written about me in the scroll–I have come to do your will, O God.

But we should question these English renderings. The clearest pattern of deictic thetics (i.e. C1 and C2) with 'I' as the subject have an independent pronoun as the subject (e.g. Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, 'Here I am' in Act 9:10 and Heb 2:13).[599] So I reason that, given Greek has the option of using no pronoun (unlike English), 'I' in these passages is (a) a ratified topic and that (b) the constructions are not thetic.[600] Other translations in fact take ἰδού as C5: in Rev 3:20, ἰδού is rendered as *Listen* (CEV, GNT, NRS, BFC *Écoute*) or *Look* (NJB), thus as C5; and in Heb 10:7, as Ø (CEV), *Look* (NLT), and *See,* (NRS).

6.6.5 Possible C5 tokens in narrative

I propose that there are only two C5 tokens occurring in running narrative: **Mat 8:29** and, three verses later, **Mat 8:32**. These resemble C2c, since they come in narrative and ἰδού appears to function to make the narration more vivid. But these tokens are neither prototypically thetic nor instances of sentence-focus, since the subjects are fully topical (expressed only on the verb in one and by the lexical NP in the other). (Compare the rare construction C2c-Ø-subject with thetic-like objects in §6.3.4.4.)

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[599] As noted earlier, even if a first person pronoun does follow ἰδού, the pronoun can express either the sentence topic (e.g. ἐγώ in Mat 10:16, see §6.6.1) or constituent-focus (ἡμεῖς 'we' in Mat 19:27).

[600] To be sure, languages have hybrid thetic constructions with ratified topics. In English, where pronouns cannot be omitted as easily as in Greek, we can say *Here comes the cat* (pure thetic) and *Here he comes* (with a ratified topic). *He* is appropriate if the speakers were already talking about a certain cat that had until that moment not been present (Lambrecht [1994:39-40] describes the latter as 'both presentational and predicating [i.e. topic-comment]'; in the text-internal world *he* is a topic expression, but in the text-*ex*ternal world unexpected and so thetic). First person is different since the speaker, who is always present, never needs full activation. But English has two possibilities (L. 1999:8): *Here I AM* assumes 'I' is already being talked about, but *(Look!) Here's ME* is appropriate if one is pointing oneself out in a picture (especially if unexpected).

Mat 8:29   καὶ   ἰδοὺ   ἔκραξαν   λέγοντες,   Τί   ἡμῖν   καὶ   σοί,   υἱὲ   τοῦ   θεοῦ;   κτλ
           and   *   3P.cried.out   saying   what   to.us   and   to.you   Son   -   of.God?

Mat 8:32   καὶ   ἰδοὺ   ὥρμησεν   πᾶσα   ἡ   ἀγέλη   κατὰ   τοῦ   κρημνοῦ   εἰς   τὴν   θάλασσαν
           and   *   rushed   all   the   herd   down   the   bank   into   the   lake

           καὶ   ἀπέθανον   ἐν   τοῖς   ὕδασιν.
           and   3P.died   in   the   waters

NRS: [28] When he came to the other side,…two demoniacs coming out of the tombs met him. They were so fierce that no one could pass that way. [29] <u>Suddenly they shouted,</u> "What have you to do with us, Son of God? Have you come here to torment us before the time?" [30] Now a large herd of swine was feeding at some distance from them. [31] The demons begged him, "If you cast us out, send us into the herd of swine." [32] And he said to them, "Go!" So they came out and entered the swine; <u>and suddenly, the whole herd rushed down the steep bank into the sea</u> and perished in the water.

6.6.6 Final comments on C5 and summary of English renderings

To sum up, in C5, ἰδού and ἴδε have a generalized function. Rather than being a predicator as in C1, the particles only loosely modify one or more sentences, and instead of demanding visual attention as in C1, they demand mental attention.

To be sure, several questions remain for C5, including the exact nature of the relationship the particles hold with their clauses, and whether or not a pause intervened between the particles and their clauses. Further subcategorization could be possible depending on factors like if the particle points to facts in memory (what a hearer should know) or new facts (in the discourse), or cataphoric versus anaphoric pointing. I have also wondered if C5 could function at times to emphasize that an event is currently happening (*now* is in any case a fairly common rendering).[601]

Appropriate (modern) English renderings of C5 include at least *pay attention, take note, listen, notice* (colloquial *Hey!* is also possible), *remember (don't forget),* metaphorical uses of *look, here,* and *there;* and finally also (on rare occasion) *hereby.* I am not suggesting that translators use all these, but such are within the bounds of the meaning of C5.

6.7 General issues concerning all uses of ἰδού and ἴδε

We will now address some general issues that concern most ἰδού/ἴδε constructions. In §6.7.1, we take up to what degree the terms 'exclamative' and 'interjection' are appropriate descriptions of ἰδού and ἴδε. In §6.7.2, we consider the fact that nearly all of the uses in the NT make positive statements, and that they seldom occur with negation or real questions. Finally, we turn to constituent order issues in §6.7.3.

6.7.1 Exclamatives and interjections

Early in this chapter (§6.1.1), we noted how ἰδού and ἴδε are often called '**interjections**' and sometimes even particles of '**exclamation**' (Turner 1963 and Wallace 1996). Given ἴδε

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[601] See the periphrastic form in Jdg 8:5 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγώ εἰμι διώκων ὀπίσω Ζεβεε 'I am (right now) pursuing Zebee' (וְאָנֹכִי רֹדֵף אַחֲרֵי זֶבַח [and-I pursuing.Prt after Zebah]). Here-and-now tenses sometimes develop from deictic constructions (Welmers [1973:315-7] is suggestive). There are other interesting LXX/Masoretic Text parallels in passages with thetic-like properties that seem to emphasize 'right now': Exo 4:14 (NRS: 'even now he is coming to meet you' καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐξελεύσεται הִנֵּה־הוּא יֹצֵא נַם [indeed behold he coming.out.Prt]); Gen 32:7 (nab: 'and (behold) he is right now coming to meet you' καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται וְגַם הֹלֵךְ‖ [and indeed coming.Prt]); perhaps also verbless Gen 32:20.

and in particular ἰδού have strong emotive elements (§6.1.1), such tags are not surprising. The goal of this section is to review some definitions of these appellations and then to show that neither is fully or consistently appropriate.

According to Crystal (1994:180), **interjections** are generally taken to be grammatically 'unproductive' words that 'do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes, and whose function is purely emotive, e.g., *Yuk!, Strewth!, Blast!, Tut tut!'* A major argument in the preceding sections has been that ἰδού and ἴδε do indeed enter into a syntactic relationship with other words, most clearly in C1 as a kind of thetic predicator. Still, in some varieties, especially C3 and C5, it is less clear what exact syntactic relationship the particle holds, and they may in fact be considered types of interjections. But the fact that ἰδού and ἴδε nearly always begin a clause is indicative of some kind of syntactic relationship.

Again, following Crystal (1994:127), tags like **exclamation** and **exclamative** are taken in traditional grammar to refer to emotive utterances 'usually lacking the grammatical structure of a full sentence, and marked by strong intonation, e.g., *Gosh! Good grief!'* But since many uses of ἰδού and ἴδε do have a syntactic relationship with their clause, such a definition cannot always apply.

In some linguistic theories 'exclamative' is used in a more restricted sense, such as to refer to 'constructions which begin in English at least with *what* or *how* without a following inversion of subject and verb, for example, *What a fool he was! How nice!'* and where 'semantically, the function is primarily the expression of the speaker's feelings' (Crystal, p. 127).

In proposing a cross-linguistic typology for exclamative constructions, the definition of exclamative constructions is further restricted by Michaelis (2001). She defines an exclamative utterance as an emotional judgment about a state of affairs that the speaker feels is surprising (p. 1039). The utterance lexically evokes an open proposition where a degree is the open variable. Against that presupposition, the utterance asserts 'a particular scalar degree' that the speaker feels emotional about. For example, a weather statement like *(Man,) it's so hot!* presupposes the open proposition 'It's hot to a particular degree', that is, the speaker assumes the hearer will take for granted that the weather is, generally speaking, 'hot'. What is asserted is the extreme degree the speaker feels the heat has reached, and this is something that the speaker finds surprising. In her article, Michaelis goes on to illustrate various forms that languages employ to form exclamative constructions, some employing question words, but others not.

According to Michaelis' definition, most ἰδού/ἴδε constructions reviewed in this chapter, in particular the thetic ones, do not qualify as exclamatives. C4 comes closest to fitting this definition, except that most tokens lack a question word. Still, tokens like **Mrk 13:1**, **Luk 15:29**, and **Jhn 11:36** have a question word.[602] Nevertheless, **Luk 15:17** and **Mat 8:10** show that exclamatives do not require ἰδού or ἴδε.

Mrk 13:1 Διδάσκαλε, ἴδε ποταποὶ λίθοι καὶ ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί.
          teacher   *   what.sort.of.N stones.N and what.sort.of.N buildings.N

GNT: "Look, Teacher! What wonderful stones and buildings!"

Luk 15:29 Ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι
           *   so.many   years I.serve you

NAS: Look! For so many years I have been serving you,… [In §6.5.3, I argued that *Look!* was not appropriate here.]

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[602] Other exclamative tokens include Mrk 15:4, 2Co 7:11, and perhaps Jas 3:5.

Jhn 11:36　Ἴδε　πῶς　ἐφίλει　αὐτόν.
　　　　　*　　how　3S.loved　him

　　　NRS: [When bystanders saw Jesus weeping before Lazarus' tomb they said,] See how he loved him!

Luk 15:17　Πόσοι　　　μίσθιοι　　　τοῦ　πατρός μου　περισσεύονται　ἄρτων,
　　　　　how.many.N　hired.servants.N　of.the　father　of.me　having.leftovers.N　of.bread

　　　ἐγὼ δὲ　λιμῷ　　ὧδε　ἀπόλλυμαι.
　　　I　but　with.famine　here　I.am.perishing

　　　NRS: How many of my father's hired hands have bread enough and to spare, but here I am dying of hunger!

Mat 8:10　παρ' οὐδενὶ　　τοσαύτην　πίστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον.
　　　　　with　in.no.one.D　such.great.A　faith　in　-　Israel　I.have.found

　　　NRS: Truly I tell you, in no one in Israel have I found such faith.

　　　So what does the addition of ἰδού or ἴδε in an exclamative accomplish?

(a) Consider first that an exclamative can be preceded by a real imperative. Exclamative constructions, under Michaelis's definition, by default express the speaker's perspective and feelings. So, by adding an imperative like *Consider!* or *Look!* the speaker *invites the hearer to share that judgment.*[603] This is illustrated by **Heb 7:4** and **1Jn 3:1**.

Heb 7:4　Θεωρεῖτε　δὲ　πηλίκος　　οὗτος, ᾧ　　(καὶ)　δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ
　　　　　consider![604]　now　how.great.N　this. N　to.whom　also　tenth　Abraham.N

　　　ἔδωκεν ἐκ　τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ　πατριάρχης.
　　　3S.gave from　the　spoils　the　patriarch.N

　　　NRS: See how great he is! Even Abraham the patriarch gave him a tenth of the spoils.

1Jn 3:1　ἴδετε　ποταπὴν　　ἀγάπην δέδωκεν　ἡμῖν ὁ　πατήρ,
　　　　　see!　what.sort.of.A　love.A　3S.has.given　to.us　the　Father

　　　ἵνα　τέκνα　θεοῦ　κληθῶμεν,
　　　that　children of.God　we.should.be.called

　　　NRS: See what love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God

(b) Now when the particles ἰδού and ἴδε as C3 or C5 are taken to be more or less functionally equivalent to physical or metaphorical commands (e.g. *Look!, Take note!*), then they too can be taken as *invitations* for the hearer to share the speaker's perspective. This may apply to Mrk 13:1 and Jhn 11:36 above (tokens for which I earlier offered multiple interpretations).

(c) In §6.5.1 through §6.5.3, I argued that ἰδού and perhaps ἴδε could also be emotively emphatic constituent-focus markers (C4). In this case, the particles would be emphasizing a scalar degree, but they would not involve explicit invitations for the hearer to share the speaker's perspective. This is how I analyzed Luk 15:29 above.

　　　The different combinations in constructions reviewed here are summarized as follows:

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[603] Michaelis & Lambrecht (1996:239) note that, in the sentence *I can't believe how much he's grown,* it is from the speaker's perspective that the judgment is made. They call this personal perspective 'deictic anchoring'. In *It's amazing how fast the weather can change,* the speaker's judgment may be implicit. But in *You wouldn't believe how much he's grown,* they say that 'the speaker invites the hearer to do the judging'.

[604] Although the form θεωρεῖτε could also be an indicative present, I assume in this context it is not. In fact, in this context, it feels much like emphatic ἰδού (C4b; see Ellingworth 1993:360). Note also that the NP is nominative.

	focuses an extreme degree	exclamative word (so/how/what)	perspective invitation
exclamative	+	+	−
C3/C5 + exclamative	+	+	(+) implicit (ἰδού/ἴδε)
invitational exclamative	+	+	+ (real imperative, e.g. ἴδετε)
C4	+	−	− (ἰδού/ἴδε)

6.7.2 Questions, negation, and certainty

In §2.4.1, it was noted that prototypical deictic (here-and-now) thetics were incompatible with (i) negation, (ii) questioning, and (iii) embedding (hence the strangeness of (i) *HERE isn't HARRY with his red hat on;* (ii) *HERE'S your PIZZA?;* and (iii) *I doubt that THERE's HARRY in the kitchen*). These restrictions followed from the fact that a prototypical deictic thetic functions to intentionally point out in the here-and-now a perceivable entity or state of affairs. So, as we would expect, none of the instances of C1 involved negation or questioning (or embedding). But what about the other constructions? As it turns out, in the NT negation and questioning is very rare with *all* uses of the particles. Let's briefly consider the data.

Questions: In §6.5.3, we found οὐκ/χ ἰδού 'not behold' (in Act 2:7 and the LXX) marked *rhetorical* questions that computed as positive assertions (Act 2:7 was actually a hedged rhetorical question). I reasoned there that this was probably a variety of C4 (typically with a strong emphatic element). The only other question in the NT comes in **Mrk 2:24**, C5. But here too the speakers, some Pharisees, no doubt intend a positive statement (i.e. a rebuke). By their reasoning, there is no satisfactory reason why the disciples would be 'working on the Sabbath'. (Of course, Jesus answers them anyway. See ||Mat 12:2, a positive statement, which lacks τί 'why' and begins with ἰδού; ||Luk 6:2 retains τί but lacks ἰδού and ἴδε.)

Mrk 2:24　Ἴδε　τί　ποιοῦσιν τοῖς　σάββασιν ὃ　οὐκ ἔξεστιν;
　　　　　*　　why 3P.do　on.the Sabbath　what not 3S.is.permitted

GNT: So the Pharisees said to Jesus, "Look, it is against our Law for your disciples to do that on the Sabbath!"

CEV: Why are your disciples picking grain on the Sabbath? They are not supposed to do that!

If real questions are hard to find, true **negation** is easier to come by, even if also rare. Luk 23:15 (C4b) emphasizes a negated degree: ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου 'nothing worthy of death (has been done by him)'. Negation also occurs in embedded complements following a positive ἰδού assertion, as in Act 20:25 (C5, 'And now ἰδού I know that all of you will no longer see my face'). More interesting, however, are cases involving negated thetic-like states of affairs in the LXX (none occur in the NT). Consider **2Ki 7:10**, where ἰδού looks like a C5/C2c hybrid, that marks a surprising state of affairs. (A somewhat comparable construction in English would be *Look! There's no rabbit;* see footnote 130 in §2.4.1.) But it is questionable how idiomatic the Greek really is (the Greek, with present ἔστιν 'is' seems to be an especially literal rendering of וְהִנֵּה אֵין־שָׁם אִישׁ [and behold not.exist there man]). See also Jdg 3:25 (Textus Alexandrinus has ἦν 'was'), Jdg 21:8-9, besides other tokens.

2Ki 7:10 εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν Συρίας καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ ἀνὴρ
we.went to the camp of.Syria and * not 3S.is there man

καὶ φωνὴ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἵππος δεδεμένος καὶ ὄνος κτλ
and sound of.man except horse tied and donkey

Brenton [BibleWorks]: We went into the camp of Syria, and, behold, there is not there a man, nor voice of man, only horses tied and asses, and their tents as they were.

But besides such examples, negation and questioning are very rare with the particles. Moreover, the particles always modify main clauses, never clauses that are syntactically **embedded** or irrealis. Luk 22:10 might at first appear to be an exception, since a subordinate clause immediately follows ('ἰδού when you have entered the city, a man carrying a jar of water will meet you…Follow him and prepare the Passover where he goes'). But, as argued earlier, what ἰδού highlights is not the subordinate clause, but the discourse as a whole (which is expressed largely by statements, predictions, and commands).

So we can conclude that the particles overwhelmingly coincide with **positive statements**, where the speaker commits himself to the **certainty** of a state of affairs, whether it pertains to the here-and-now present, the generic present, the future, or past.

Along these lines we can point out that C5 tokens in particular tend to involve (strong and certain) statements that count as promises and predictions,[605] warnings,[606] curses and judgments,[607] besides other official sounding statements. And we noted on a few occasions where translators rendered the particles as *surely* (C5 NIV Jhn 18:21; C2b NRS Luk 23:29) or *indeed* or *yes* (C5 NIV, NRS, FBJ Luk 13:30; C5 NRS Act 27:24; C4b NRS Luk 23:15). Although these renderings might seem weak, they at least convey a part of the general meaning of the particles—namely that what is being said is *certain*.

6.7.3 Constituent order

In this section, general comments are made first about constituent order in §6.7.3.1, and then the position of thetic subjects is treated in §6.7.3.2.

6.7.3.1 General comments

Regarding C1, it was argued in §6.2.1 that the order *ἰδού/ἴδε–NP$_{NOM}$* was frozen, and that, assuming ἰδού and ἴδε function as morphologically invariable verbs (predicators), the thetic subject comes in the position systematically preferred for focal objects in Greek. For the rest of the proposed constructions, C2 through C5, the position of ἰδού/ἴδε also strongly tends to be at or near the sentence beginning. Thus, there is a general resemblance between C1 and the other constructions. A notable exception are rare cases of C4 where *ἰδού + an emphatically focal time phrase* occurs later in its sentence; but even this exception resembles the prototype, C1, in that ἰδού immediately precedes its focal constituent.

Now, although ἰδού and ἴδε most typically come sentence-initially, the particles may be preceded by certain elements. Quite frequently the conjunction καί 'and' precedes (καὶ ἰδού

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[605] Promises and predictions: (36 C5 tokens, 1 C2 token): Mat 1:23; Mat 11:10; Mat 20:18; Mat 23:34; Mat 28:7c; Mat 28:20; Mrk 1:2; Mrk 10:33; Mrk 14:41; Luk 1:20; Luk 1:31; Luk 1:48; Luk 2:34; Luk 6:23; Luk 7:27; Luk 13:32; Luk 18:31; Luk 22:10; Luk 24:49; Act 13:11 (C2); Act 13:25; Act 20:25; Act 27:24; Rom 9:33; 1Co 15:51; 1Pe 2:6; Rev 1:7; Rev 2:10; Rev 2:22; Rev 3:8; Rev 3:9a; Rev 3:9e; Rev 3:20; Rev 11:14; Rev 16:15; Rev 22:7; Rev 22:12.

[606] Warnings: (11 C5 tokens): Mat 10:16; Mat 24:25; Mat 28:7e; Luk 10:3; Luk 13:30; Luk 22:21; Luk 22:31; Jhn 5:14; Act 13:46 (or judgment); Rom 9:33; Gal 5:2.

[607] Curses and judgments: (C5) Mat 23:38 (‖Luk 13:35); Act 5:9; and (C2) Act 13:11.

occurs 75 times, e.g. Mat 2:9, and καὶ ἴδε once, Jhn 7:26), and occasionally καὶ νῦν 'and now' precedes it (Act 13:11; Act 20:22; Act 20:25). Not infrequently ἰδού (or ἴδε) is preceded by a vocative (e.g. ἴδε in Mrk 11:21, ἰδού in Luk 22:31), or a participle clause that functions adverbially (e.g. a temporal point of departure, Mat 2:13), or, much less frequently, some logical conjunction such as διὰ τοῦτο 'for this reason' (Mat 23:34), πλήν 'nevertheless' (Luk 22:21), ὅτι 'because' (e.g. Luk 23:29), or ἀλλ' 'but' (Act 13:25). The rhetorical question marker, οὐκ/χ ἰδού should also be recalled (Act 2:7). Twice the particle follows a left-detached topic expression: in Jhn 3:26, the topic is resumed in the main clause following ἴδε by a subject pronoun ('this'); Gal 1:20 (C4) is harder to analyze, given the elliptical oath formula. Finally, it is noteworthy that only in C5 in the NT do we find a conjunction *following* ἰδού (e.g. ἰδοὺ γάρ; see the introduction to §6.6.)

These elements that precede the particles appear to be of two general types: conjunction-like elements and left-detached phrases. Both are outside of the syntactic core of the clause (i.e. the predicate and its main arguments; see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

What follows ἰδού and ἴδε, in turn, always includes the focus domain. In the dedicated thetics—C1 and C2—the particle precedes the core arguments of the clause and these are normally in the focus domain.[608] The status of adverbs, especially locatives, is not always clear. They tend to come later in the clause and some may in fact be topical.[609] Otherwise, everything that follows ἰδού/ἴδε is clearly in the focus domain.

In C4 too, ἰδού/ἴδε precedes its (emphatic) focused constituent; this is also true of the CF+C2a (constituent-focus) hybrids. In constructions C3 and C5, where the particle presumably holds a looser relation to the clause, the particles still always precede the main constituents of the clause, even though some are topical.

Table 23 summarizes the different NT constituent orders (split subjects are ignored). An optional subject is indicated by '(S)'. Other optional elements (e.g. object, locative, time phrase) are indicated by 'x'.

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[608] In Act 11:11, I take the adverb 'immediately', which precedes its thetic subject, to be in the focus domain: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξαυτῆς τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ ἦμεν [and ἰδού immediately three men 3P.stood at the house in which we.were].

[609] See on the locatives in Luk 2:25 and Luk 14:2 discussed in §6.3.4.3,

Table 23. Constituent order in ἰδού/ἴδε sentences[610]

	number	**simple**	other	**pre**verbal S	**post**verbal S
C1	19	ἰδού/ἴδε S			
C2a/b/d	21		ἰδού S LOC	ἰδού S x V x	ἰδού V S x (rare)
				? ἴδε S V, Jhn 11:3	
C2e	2	ἰδού S			
C2c					
-NP	30	ἰδού S	(17 follow with a participle)		
-Finite V	30			ἰδού S x V x	ἰδού V x S x (rare)
-Left-det.	3	ἰδού S			
C2c-Ø.Sj	2		ἰδού V x		
C3	9			ἴδε/ἰδού (S) x V x	
C4a	time dura. 4		ἰδού TIME		(once after V)
	νῦν 'now' 4		ἰδού/ἴδε νῦν		
C4b	14		ἰδού focused element…clause		
CF+C2a	10 (hybrids)		ἰδού/ἴδε focused element…clause		
C5	95			ἰδού/ἴδε x (S) x V x	ἰδού/ἴδε x V x S x

The table shows the preference for the subject to immediately follow the particle in most constructions. We shall now turn to the interesting question of why some thetic subjects follow their finite verb (see especially C2c-FiniteV in the table). This only pertains to ἰδού thetics (ἴδε thetics never have a finite verb!).

6.7.3.2 Pre- and postverbal subjects in finite-verb ἰδού thetics

I claim here that the subject's position in C2 ἰδού thetics with finite verbs (up to 48 tokens) can be explained by essentially the same set of rules used in §5.3.2 to account for the position of the thetic-like object in the *object+participial modifier* construction of perception reports—the reader must here recall that, in perception reports, the (matrix clause) **object** simultaneously functioned as the **subject of the participle**, together forming a **complement clause**. Thus, there is a harmony in the way the thetic 'subjects' in these two constructions are treated. (In the case of participles that follow ἰδού thetics, we only find one order, *ἰδού–NP$_{NOM}$…participial.*)

ἰδού thetics of the C5 sort as well as those introducing the arrival of a time behave as if ἰδού were not present. This is presumably because ἰδού has less glue with its clause.

Let's review the rules from §5.3.2 for *object+participial modifier* in perception reports. The reader must keep in mind that the object in this construction is analogous to the thetic subject in the ἰδού constructions. After that, we will illustrate the rules for ἰδού sentences, noting that a couple of provisos are required.

- **Rule 1**: The unmarked (default) position of the object is between the matrix verb and its participle: *matrix-verb–**object**–participle.* This rule applies equally to objects that are thetic-like or topical for the viewer.

- **Rule 2**: The order *participle–object* may occur when the entity or state of affairs being introduced is overtly marked as 'demoted' (i.e. 'backgrounded') relative to other things.

- **Rule 3**: Once a new scene is established in the perceiver's world, the unmarked position of the object is after the participle, i.e. *participle–object.*

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[610] As in §6.1.2, the combined totals here equal a number greater than the actual number of ἰδού (200x) and ἴδε (29x) tokens, since some tokens have more than one possible analysis.

- **Rule 4**: The order *object–participle* is unmarked when multiple perceived states of affairs are being reported that are neutrally related to each other (e.g. happening simultaneously). This is presumably equal to Rule 1, the unmarked order.

(Rule 5, which concerned an object 'raised' out of the complement and occurring before the matrix verb, does not apply to finite-verb ἰδού thetics.)

Rule 1: Analogous to the default position of thetic-like objects in participial complements of perception reports, so the default position of the subject in finite-verb ἰδού thetics is between ἰδού and the finite verb, that is, it is **preverbal**. Of the up to 48 ἰδού thetic tokens with finite verbs (mostly instances of C2), 36 have preverbal subjects. In most of these 36, the subject entity persists in the discourse. But in a handful, the entity does not persist (Mat 8:24 a storm; Mat 12:2 the disciples; Mat 27:51 the temple curtain, an earthquake, the rocks, the tombs; Act 12:7 a light; Jas 5:9 the judge) or only minimally persist (as a non-subject: Mat 9:3 some scribes; Mat 17:5 a cloud).[611] So the preverbal position does not guarantee that the entity will be a major participant, and an entity introduced there may indeed be secondary to other events being narrated.[612] As Rule 1 states, the preverbal position is pragmatically **unmarked**.[613]

Occasionally, thetic tokens come in series, as illustrated in **Mat 27:51-52** (repeated from §6.3.4.3) and **Act 12:7** (see also Luk 7:12 and Mat 28:2, but the latter has a split subject). In these two passages, multiple states of affairs are introduced, and they are apparently neutrally related to each other, probably occurring simultaneously (except for the final thetic in Mat 27:52, 'many saints…rose', which follows the tombs opening). As **Rule 4** predicts, the subjects occur preverbally.[614]

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[611] In Mrk 14:42 and Jhn 11:3 the entity is introduced in a quote and has no persistence in that quote.

[612] For these reasons, Levinsohn's brief note on order in ἰδού clauses is inadequate. Levinsohn was responding to Van Otterloo's (1988) claim that one of the functions of ἰδού was 'to focus special attention on a major…participant as he/she/it is introduced onto the event line of an episode'. While generally agreeing with Van Otterloo, Levinsohn (2000:135, note 3) noted that (i) when the 'reference to a new participant immediately follows ἰδού, the participant typically has a major role to play in an existing scene'; but (ii) 'when ἰδού is followed by a verb…it is a significant act that is introduced to the existing scene and any participant involved is cast in a non-active role.' He then cites Mat 9:2 (καὶ ἰδοὺ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παραλυτικὸν κτλ 'and behold, they [an unspecified entity] brought to him a paralytic…'). But, as I have shown here regarding (i), a handful of the entities introduced as preverbal subjects do not persist. And his point (ii) really better fits just the two rare cases of *C2c-Ø-subject* (§6.3.4.4) illustrated by Mat 9:2.

[613] Finite-verb ἰδού clauses are also analogous to perception report complements in that a preverbal subject (like the object preceding the participle) can be topical (i.e. in non-thetic C5 tokens). See, e.g. Luk 2:48 and Mat 10:16 in 6.6.1 and Luk 7:25 in §6.6.2. In fact, if the subject is topical in C5, it is seldom postverbal.

[614] The thetic events in Mat 28:2 and Mat 17:5 are also presumably neutrally related and simultaneous. But since the second thetic in each passage has a participle (and since ἰδού has been repeated in Mat 17:5), the subject probably has to occur preverbally.

Mat 27:51   Καὶ ἰδοὺ **τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ** <u>ἐσχίσθη</u>   ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω
            and   *   the   curtain   of.the temple 3S.was.torn from above   to   below

            εἰς δύο καὶ **ἡ γῆ** <u>ἐσείσθη</u>   καὶ **αἱ πέτραι** <u>ἐσχίσθησαν,</u>
            in   two and the earth 3S.was.shaken and the rocks   3P.were.split

        52 καὶ **τὰ μνημεῖα** <u>ἀνεῴχθησαν</u>
            and the tombs   3P.were.opened

            καὶ **πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων** <u>ἠγέρθησαν,</u>
            and many   bodies   of.the having.fallen.asleep saints 3P.were.raised

            NRS: [50] Then Jesus cried again with a loud voice and breathed his last. [51] <u>At that moment</u>
            the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom. The earth shook, and the
            rocks were split. [52] The tombs also were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had
            fallen asleep were raised. [53] After his resurrection they…appeared to many.

Act 12:7   καὶ ἰδοὺ **ἄγγελος κυρίου** <u>ἐπέστη</u>   καὶ **φῶς** <u>ἔλαμψεν</u> ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι·
            and   *   an.angel of.Lord 3S.approached and light 3S.shone in the room

            NRS: <u>Suddenly</u> an angel of the Lord appeared and a light shone in the cell. He tapped
            Peter on the side and woke him, saying, "Get up quickly."

In 12 of the (up to) 48 finite-verb ἰδού thetic tokens, the subject occurs **postverbally**; this includes one split subject: Mat 3:16; Mat 17:3; Mat 26:45 (time); Mat 26:46; Mat 28:2 (split); Luk 7:12; Luk 8:41; Luk 13:30 (C5); Luk 23:29 (time); Jhn 16:32 (time); 2Co 5:17 (C5); Rev 9:12. A few of these fit **Rule 2**: Much as we found with thetic-like objects in perception reports, when the subject comes postverbally, the entity or state of affairs being introduced is overtly demoted relative to others.

Consider, for example, **Luk 8:41**. Jairus, who is clearly an important participant (his name and occupation are given), is introduced postverbally. Jesus has just begun making his way to Jairus' home when the narrative switches attention to the woman suffering from hemorrhages and recounts her healing. So the postverbal position of ἀνήρ 'a man' (Jairus) signals that the speaker (writer) anticipates a switch of attention from him to something else, and in this sense Jairus' introduction is demoted. Only after her healing does the narrative return to Jairus' story.

Luk 8:41   καὶ ἰδοὺ <u>ἦλθεν</u> **ἀνὴρ** ᾧ   ὄνομα Ἰάϊρος καὶ οὗτος ἄρχων τῆς
            and   *   3S.came man   to.whom name   Jairus and this   ruler of.the

            συναγωγῆς ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πεσὼν   παρὰ τοὺς πόδας (τοῦ) Ἰησοῦ κτλ
            synagogue   3S.was   and having.fallen at   the   feet   of.the Jesus

            NRS: [41] <u>Just then there came a man named Jairus,</u> a leader of the synagogue. He fell at
            Jesus' feet and begged him to come to his house, [42] for he had an only daughter, about
            twelve years old, who was dying. As [Jesus] went, the crowds pressed in on him. [43] Now
            there was a woman who had been suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years;…

Similarly it appears that the postverbal position of 'Moses and Elijah' in **Mat 17:3** indicates they are backgrounded in relation to other matters.[615] It is not entirely clear to me, but the backgrounding may be both anaphoric, in relation to Jesus' transfiguration, and cataphoric, in relation to the switch of attention to the shining cloud and heavenly voice, which in fact confirm Jesus' rank over Moses and Elijah.

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[615] Johannessohn (1942:43) unconvincingly suggests that the verb follows ἰδού because the idea is emphasized. He does not attempt to explain in what sense the verb could be emphasized.

Mat 17:3   καὶ ἰδοὺ ὤφθη   αὐτοῖς **Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας** συλλαλοῦντες μετ' αὐτοῦ.
          and   *   3S.appeared to.them Moses   and Elijah talking   with him

NRS: [2] And [Jesus] was transfigured before them, and his face shone like the sun, and his clothes became dazzling white. [3] Suddenly there appeared to them Moses and Elijah, talking with him. [4] Then Peter said to Jesus, "Lord, it is good for us to be here; if you wish, I will make three dwellings here, one for you, one for Moses, and one for Elijah." [5] While he was still speaking, suddenly a bright cloud overshadowed them, and from the cloud a voice said, "This is my Son, the Beloved; with him I am well pleased; listen to him!"

And in **Luk 7:12** the dead man is secondary in relation to his mother whom is given more attention.[616] It is because of Jesus' compassion for *her* that he raises the son (vv 12-13).

Luk 7:12   καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξεκομίζετο   **τεθνηκὼς**
          and   *   3S.was.being.carried.out having.died

μονογενὴς υἱὸς τῇ   μητρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ ἦν   χήρα,
only   son to.the mother of.him and she   3S.was widow

καὶ ὄχλος τῆς   πόλεως ἱκανὸς   ἦν   σὺν αὐτῇ.
and crowd of.the city   considerable 3S.was with her

NRS: [12] As he approached the gate of the town, a man who had died was being carried out. He was his mother's only son, and she was a widow; and with her was a large crowd from the town. [13] When the Lord saw her, he had compassion for her and said to her, "Do not weep." [14] Then he came forward and touched the bier, and the bearers stood still. And he said, "Young man, I say to you, rise!" [15] The dead man sat up and began to speak, and Jesus gave him to his mother.

We must diverge to mention **Mat 13:3** (‖Mrk 4:3), which is listed as C5 in §6.6.[617] Mat 13:3 might appear at first to be thetic C2 and, moreover, to have a postverbal subject because ὁ σπείρων 'the sower' hardly persists (outside of the next clause) and he is secondary to the different seed and types of ground it falls on. But as argued for ‖Luk 8:5 in §4.10.3.3, so here 'the sower' is better taken as a topic expression (i.e. as a veiled reference to the speaker himself,[618] or as a reference to the 'generic' preacher). If all these parallel passages were really discourse-initial thetics, then it would be remarkable that the subject was postverbal. That so many translations render 'the sower' as indefinite, is clearly an, albeit modest, distortion of the Greek.

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[616] Also unconvincing is Johannessohn's suggestion (1942:56, echoed by Fiedler 1969:36) that Luke may be trying to avoid a substantival participle (τεθνηκὼς 'one having died') right after ἰδού. There is, in any case, no such prohibition against substantival participles occurring as clause-initial subjects (e.g. Luk 7:14: οἱ δὲ βαστάζοντες ἔστησαν 'and the ones carrying [the coffin] stood still').

[617] Mat 13:3 and ‖Mrk 4:3 do not appear to be true narrative uses (C2c). Rather ἰδού functions to introduce the narrative as a whole (C5) (complementing the preceding imperative ἀκούετε '3P.listen!' in Mrk 4:3), not the first clause, let alone 'the sower'. Fiedler's (1969:21-2) reason for not counting Mrk 4:3 as narrative is circular: 'da der Evangelist die Partikel eben nur in der Rede verwendet.'

[618] If the next parable in Matthew is taken into consideration, 'the sower' could be identified as Jesus ('the Son of Man' in v 37).

Mat 13:3 λέγων Ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν   ὁ   σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.
          saying *   3S.went.out the sower   -   to.sow

          καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν ἃ   μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
          and in the sowing   he   some   3S.fell along the road

> NRS: [3] And [Jesus] told them many things in parables, saying: "Listen! A sower went out to sow. [4] And as he sowed, some seeds fell on the path,… Other seeds fell on rocky ground,…"

Now, ἰδού thetics introducing the **arrival of a time** are not covered by our rules for perception reports (times are, of course, abstract second order entities and not things you can see or hear). As pointed out for time thetics in §4.10.2 without ἰδού, especially where the time was indefinite and a relative clause follows, the time subject is normally **postverbal** (e.g. Luk 17:22). So with ἰδού, in three out of four tokens, the subject is postverbal (Mat 26:45; Luk 23:29; Jhn 16:32). Although I have categorized these thetics as C2, they usually behave like C5 (see below on Rule 3). Only in Heb 8:8 is the time subject preverbal; it is in fact a quote from the LXX (Jer 31:31) which has the same order as the Hebrew.

Postverbal 'the hour' in **Mat 26:45** illustrates the default position of thetic time subjects of this sort.

Mat 26:45 ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν   ἡ   ὥρα καὶ ὁ   υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται
           *   3S.has.drawn.near the hour and the Son   -   of.Man   3S.is.betrayed

           εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλῶν.
           into hands   of.sinners

       46 ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν·   ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν   ὁ   παραδιδούς με.
           rise.up!   let.us.go *   3S.has.drawn.near the one.betraying me

> GNT: [45] Then he returned to the disciples and said, "Are you still sleeping and resting? Look! The hour has come for the Son of Man to be handed over to the power of sinners. [46] Get up, let us go. Look, here is the man who is betraying me!" [47] Jesus was still speaking when Judas, one of the twelve disciples, arrived.

Now, the very next verse, **Mat 26:46** (above), illustrates another postverbal subject, ὁ παραδιδούς με 'my betrayer' (a first order entity). If this is another instance of Rule 2, then perhaps this state of affairs is to be taken as secondary to what precedes, v 45 (Jesus' speech ends with v 46). It is interesting that in parallel **Mrk 14:41-42** (below) we have almost the reverse situation: The second ἰδού clause, a thetic, ἰδοὺ ὁ παραδιδούς με ἤγγικεν, has the unmarked order (with preverbal subject), as if it were the main point. The first ἰδού does not go with 'the hour has come' but with the second clause, which is not thetic, 'the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners', and here 'Son of Man' is postverbal. This token was listed in §6.6 as an instance of C5 (clause final 'into the hands of sinners' may be an instance of constituent-focus). Although the significance of these differences are not clear to me, it is logical to conclude they are meaningful.[619]

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[619] Fiedler (p. 51, following Kümmel) suggests that 'the hour' in Mat 26:45 refers to not the betrayal but to Jesus' hour of death and what that means for God's plan of salvation. So the arrival of 'hour' in Matthew, which is modified by ἰδού, is to the fore. But in Mark, the hour refers to Jesus' betrayal, according to Fiedler. As I see it, the order in both of these ἰδού structures in Mark are unmarked (the first with a topical subject 'the Son of Man' and the second with a thetic subject 'one betraying').

Mrk 14:41   ἦλθεν   ἡ   ὥρα,   <u>ἰδοὺ</u>   <u>παραδίδοται</u>   **ὁ**   **υἱὸς**   **τοῦ**   **ἀνθρώπου**
          3S.has.come   the   hour   *   3S.is.betrayed   the   Son   of.the   Man

          εἰς   τὰς   χεῖρας   τῶν   ἁμαρτωλῶν.
          into   the   hands   -   of.sinners

     42   ἐγείρεσθε   ἄγωμεν·   <u>ἰδοὺ</u>   **ὁ**   **παραδιδούς**   **με**   <u>ἤγγικεν</u>.
          get.up!   let's.go   *   the   one.betraying   me   3S.has.drawn.near

We have thus far shown how Rules 1, 2 and 4 for thetic complements of perception reports equally apply to finite-verb ἰδού thetics; and then we have also accounted for time thetics by an additional 'rule'.

Rule 3 predicts that, once a discourse (i.e. a new scene) is established, a postverbal thetic subject is the unmarked position when general discourse continuity holds. Although the analogy is not perfect (given the syntactic differences between participial complements and ἰδού clauses), we can cite some ἰδού tokens that show a similar phenomenon. When a thetic occurs after ἰδού but is not syntactically dominated by it, then the default position of the subject is postverbal. This was illustrated in thetics where ἰδού was (I argued) an instance of C5. For example, in **Luk 22:10**, the participle clause intervenes and so ἰδού does hold a syntactic relation with the thetic clause (§6.6.4). And in **Luk 13:30**, even though ἰδού immediately precedes an existential clause, this is not a deictic thetic; ἰδού is a case of C5 (§6.6.3). See also 2Co 5:17, which I argued in §6.6.3 was C5.[620]

Luk 22:10   <u>Ἰδοὺ</u>   εἰσελθόντων   ὑμῶν   εἰς   τὴν   πόλιν   <u>συναντήσει</u>   ὑμῖν   **ἄνθρωπος**
          *   having.entered.G.Aor   you.G   into   the   city   3S.will.meet   you   man

          κεράμιον   ὕδατος   βαστάζων·   ἀκολουθήσατε   αὐτῷ   κτλ
          jar   of.water   carrying   follow!   him

          NRS: [10] "Listen," he said to them, "when you have entered the city, <u>a man carrying a jar of water will meet you;</u> follow him into the house he enters [11] and say to the owner…"

Luk 13:30   καὶ   <u>ἰδοὺ</u>   <u>εἰσὶν</u>   **ἔσχατοι**   οἳ   ἔσονται   πρῶτοι
          and   *   3P.are   last.ones   who   3P.will.be   first

          καὶ   <u>εἰσὶν</u>   **πρῶτοι**   οἳ   ἔσονται   ἔσχατοι.
          and   3P.are   first.ones   who   3P.will.be   last

          NIV: Indeed there are those who are last who will be first, and first who will be last.

Finally, we must mention Mat 28:2 with a split subject (ἰδού presumably governs both thetics). If we explain preverbal 'earthquake' as the default position (Rule 1), then the postverbal position apparently gives additional emphasis to 'great'.

Mat 28:2   καὶ   <u>ἰδοὺ</u>   **σεισμὸς**   <u>ἐγένετο</u>   **μέγας**·   ἄγγελος   γὰρ   κυρίου
          and   *   earthquake   3S.happened   great   an.angel   for   of.[the].Lord

          καταβὰς   ἐξ   οὐρανοῦ   καὶ   προσελθὼν   ἀπεκύλισεν
          having.come.down   from   heaven   and   having.approached   3S.rolled.away

          NRS: And suddenly there was <u>a great earthquake;</u> for an angel of the Lord, descending from heaven, came and rolled back the stone and sat on it.

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[620] Fiedler (p. 40) suggests that the two-clause structure in 2Co 5:17 (τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά [the old.things.N.p.n 3S.passed.away ἰδοὺ 3S.have.happened new.things.N.p.n]) is chiastic in order to emphasize the second (it seems he means the whole ἰδού clause is emphasized). But if this is C5, we should not expect the subject to be initial anyway.

To sum up, the position of subjects in ἰδού thetics can be explained by many of the same principles found to be relevant for the order of thetic-like objects in complements of perception reports. This is no accident. As underscored earlier, ἰδού thetics share many properties with perception reports, especially those with ὁράω 'see'. Both constructions in their most basic use involve physical sight and perspective, and some of the extended uses involve metaphorical perception or imagined sight. The order in the simpler constructions (*ἰδού–NP*$_{NOM}$ and ὁράω–object) conform to the system-wide pressure for focal objects and thetic subjects to come postverbally. In the more complex thetic constructions—where *ἰδού+NP*$_{NOM}$ involves an additional finite verb and the object complement is modified by a predicating participle (or other modifier)—the pragmatically neutral position of the subject of the respective thetic construction remains frozen in its position. The thetic subject is only found to follow its predicate (whether a finite or participial verb) in pragmatically marked uses. C3 through C5, which involve mostly non-thetic uses of ἰδού and ἴδε, are a different matter.

For a chapter summary, the reader is referred back to §6.1.2.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The goal of this study has been to investigate how theticity interacts with a variety of grammatical issues in Koine Greek.

As background, a thetic construction was defined in Chapter 2 more narrowly than by those who originally coined the term (Brentano and Marty) or who introduced it into modern linguistics (Kuroda). Following Lambrecht (and with substantial influence from especially Sasse), a definition in information structure terms was promoted: a thetic construction has a broad focus domain that includes the subject and predicate, and it functions to introduce an entity into the discourse. In harmony with this definition, it was argued that certain sentence types, including 'existential' sentences with polar focus, are not true thetics, or at least not prototypical ones. To get a handle on the different types of thetics in our data, I introduced a taxonomy of etic types, one that considered the type of entity being introduced into the discourse (first, second, or third order, etc.), whether the thetic state of affairs was static or dynamic, and how the new entity persists in the discourse, if at all. An extensive discussion was offered for non-deictic versus deictic thetics, with special attention to deictic thetics in English, French, and Italian. Finally, it was shown that the object in a perception report is often thetic-like, and that it may even embed a complement clause that has an internal thetic structure. But perception reports are syntactically and semantically more complex, involving the perspectives of both the audience and discourse-internal viewer (or perceiver), where one or the other perspective may be played up.

Against this background, a handful of well-known issues in Greek were reconsidered. Different uses of εἰμί were illustrated, including prototypical thetic uses, which are nearly always non-copular; also illustrated were several non-thetic uses, which may be either copular (i.e. εἰμί + a locative, adjective or nominal predicate) or non-copular (i.e. only εἰμί as predicate). In particular, thetic uses of εἰμί were distinguished from uses that assert the polarity of a proposition and the absolute existence of an entity, this distinction being of significance to theologians and philosophers. A discussion was offered of how εἰμί 'be' is used in discourse and how its use differs from γίνομαι 'happen/occur', and it was noted that γίνομαι is never used in NTG to express a future tense thetic. Different clause-level possessive constructions were treated, and it was concluded that $S_{[-id]}+BE+DAT$ (i.e. with dative possessor and unidentifiable subject) is a dedicated existential construction that is often used thetically. The *periphrastic-εἰμί+participle* construction was also treated, which was shown to be often thetic. Given well-known difficulties in distinguishing periphrastic and non-periphrastic instances of *εἰμί+participle*, an attempt was made to illustrate how a variety of linguistic factors, including theticity, could be invoked to solve individual cases. Also treated were weather and time thetics, as well as 'thetic τις' (i.e. where τις introduces a specific, unidentifiable entity). The final two chapters, 5 and 6, treated perception reports and constructions with ἰδού/ἴδε; both thetic and non-thetic uses were identified and contrasted.

Several sections were devoted to constituent order in thetic constructions. An important finding was that more than one set of templates is needed to account for constituent order in thetics. In one system, *V...S* is the pragmatically unmarked order, and in the other system, *S...V* is unmarked. What determined if a clause belonged to one or the other system was mostly syntactic (e.g. if the thetic is a relative clause, if it follows ἰδού, etc.), but its position in a discourse could also be decisive (e.g. discourse initial position). Factors accounting for marked orders were shown to be diverse and often not pure information structure categories. It was argued that the relevant factors include discourse (dis)continuity, anaphoric versus

cataphoric relations (i.e. for explanatory thetics), contrastiveness, emotive emphasis (including surprise), and notions like foregrounding/backgrounding (e.g. the 'demoting' function, which concerns global discourse themes). Finally, it was shown that, in the system where *V...S* is unmarked, the position of the (postverbal) subject in relation to an adverbial (including prepositional phrases and oblique arguments) appears to be sensitive to if and how the new entity will persist in the discourse, that is, what kind of 'subsequent predication' follows.

These findings on constituent order are significant to both linguists and Greek grammarians. Some approaches to constituent order in languages with relatively 'free' order begin by presupposing that one general template can account for all declarative clauses and that the factors controlling constituent order are normally information structure categories (e.g. topic, focus, activation). Both presuppositions have been shown to be invalid for Koine Greek.

Although my analysis of constituent order paints a more complex picture, it nonetheless underscores some important harmonies in the system. Given Lambrecht's framework, it could be shown in various ways how thetic subjects behave like focal objects. We could thus illustrate resemblances (or 'inheritance links') between functionally-related grammatical constructions, thereby enlightening our understanding of the total system.

In §2.3.4 and §2.2.3, it was emphasized that theticity (besides other information structure categories) is inconsistently expressed cross-linguistically and this is because languages differ in their grammatical and lexical resources. Still, it was assumed that most languages will use (sentence-focus) thetic structures to express at least a core set of prototypical types.

But since languages differ in their ability to express theticity, it is natural that we will find mismatches between languages, where, for example, for a given context, one language (e.g. Greek) requires a (sentence-focus) thetic construction but another requires a predicate-focus structure. This is an important issue for translators, who are often faced with mismatches between their source and goal languages. In some cases, the mismatch may be trivial, as when the Greek uses a thetic possessive construction with a dative possessor (e.g. *to her was a sister*), but another language requires a predicate-focus construction where the possessor is subject (*she had a sister*). Or the mismatch may be somewhat more serious. This can be so if the Greek uses an informationally heavy structure, and in the goal language such heavy structures are awkward or unacceptable or inappropriate for the style and register (oral or written) that the translators are aiming for (here translators may be inspired by the illustration given in §4.2.4, where, for one heavy clause in Luke, in the parallel passage of Matthew the utterance is packaged as two light clauses). Still other cases of mismatches may be severe, and the difficulty in finding good functional equivalents may be compounded by other elements. For example, difficulties may be compounded when in Greek a thetic involves a marked order that indicates contrast or emotive emphasis, or when a thetic involves additional elements of deixis or subtle nuances of surprise or wonder, as implied by ἰδού (it was shown that English translators often fail to bring across any such nuances of ἰδού).

If time allowed, such mismatches could be studied in more detail, comparing Greek and a goal language. An interesting question only hinted at here and there is how written translations can make use of typographical means (e.g. *italics*, **bolding**, ALL CAPS) to suggest focus and nuances of contrast and emotive emphasis. To be sure, it is unfortunate that such means are generally frowned upon as being 'non-literary' (or ridiculed as 'comic book'

language), in German and English at least.[621] But *Die Gute Nachricht* (GND), cited here and there in this study, is a good example of a translation that occasionally uses italics to indicate accented words. Of course, for audio productions, intonation and prosody are critical elements and Scripture materials produced for such ends obviously suffer when these matters are neglected. The task of those producing recordings is easier in some ways and more difficult in others. It is easier since readers (i.e. 'voice actors') can use intonation to do what writing cannot, but it is harder since the readers cannot hide behind ambiguous forms as easily as writers can—readers must intonationally inflect words and sentences, thereby committing themselves to certain interpretations.

Finally, we can conclude by noting several areas that were touched on, but which could benefit from further investigation, since firm conclusions could not be made. First, it was left as an open question to what degree discourse-initial thetics outside of Biblical Greek have *S...V* order. Second, with a larger database, one could continue to pursue the question of to what degree persistence type and other factors determine the position of a subject relative to an adverbial in the postverbal area. A related question is if the position of focal (thetic-like) objects in the postverbal area is influenced by the way the object will persist. Many questions remain about the function and characteristics of split subjects. And, as more general linguistic questions, the study of deictic thetics in individual languages and across languages seems to be a profitable field, as is also the study of the relationship between constituent order and emotive emphasis.

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[621] See Bailey (2004) for a review of Gross (2001). Gross analyzes Biblical Hebrew clauses with two (or more) preverbal nominal constituents, especially in poetry, noting how translators handle such clauses. He is representative of many who consider it inappropriate to use typographical means to indicate stress in a literary work (2001:144). Still, many of the German translations he quotes insightfully use such means (Bailey 2004:271).

APPENDIX: AN INTRODUCTION TO CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Construction Grammar and the notion of a **grammatical construction** were briefly introduced in §2.2.4. This section offers more background including a discussion on some key concepts shared by different construction grammar theories. Featured in this summary are especially Lakoff 1987, Goldberg 1995, Fillmore, Kay & O'Conner 1988, and Croft & Cruse 2004. Croft & Cruse provide a handy review of different construction grammar theories (chapters 9-11). Differences between these theories will not be focused on here.

What is a grammatical construction?

Lakoff defines a grammatical construction as 'a somewhat enriched version of its traditional sense' (1987:467): 'Each construction will be a form-meaning pair (F,M), where F is a set of conditions on syntactic and phonological form and M is a set of conditions on meaning and use'. Later, Lakoff explains that, crucially, what constitutes a distinct construction in a language is that there is something unpredictable about its form or meaning (p. 507-8).[622] Goldberg (1995:4) offers a similar definition:

> According to Construction Grammar, a distinct construction is defined to exist if one or more of its properties are not strictly predictable from knowledge of other constructions existing in the grammar: C is a CONSTRUCTION iff$_{def}$ C is a form-meaning pair <F_i, S_i> such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions [...] A construction is posited in the grammar if it can be shown that its meaning and/or its form is not compositionally derived from other constructions existing in the language.[623]

By 'meaning' Goldberg has in mind not only semantic but also pragmatic meaning, that is, the way the construction is used in context (1995:229, note 6). This naturally covers information structure categories of meaning too.

Many assumptions in construction grammar theories are shared with functional theories of grammar. Much like, for example, Functional Grammar (Simon Dik 1978, 1997a/b), so Construction Grammar of Fillmore, Kay & O'Conner (1988) developed as a response to transformational-generative theories that view syntax as being autonomous from semantics and pragmatics. Chomsky, in contrast, views constructions as grammatically epiphenomenal and irrelevant (Chomsky 1981:121, 1993:4 cited in Croft & Cruse 2004:228-9; see also Lakoff 1987:467-8, Goldberg 1995:1, Goldberg & Casenhiser 2006, and Michaelis 2006:73).

Fillmore, Kay & O'Conner (1988) argue that, in order to account for the structure of idioms, constructions as defined above must be recognized as grammatical entities. Here follows a summary of their analysis of idioms and their argument for constructions.

First of all, idioms are by definition in some way *arbitrary*, and so they must be learned just as any simple word or morpheme must be learned: to the degree that an idiom is

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[622] Croft & Cruse (2004:263) explain it this way: 'Any construction with unique idiosyncratic morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or discourse-functional properties must be represented as an independent node in the construction network in order to capture a speaker's knowledge of their language.' See below on the idea of a network.

[623] In a more recent discussion, Goldberg qualifies this definition by adding that 'In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency' (2006:5). For some more recent developments in the theory, see Goldberg 2009, an article in *Cognitive Linguistics, volume 20.1,* and the lively reactions to her work in that same volume.

arbitrary, language learners are unaided by their knowledge of the rest of the language. But idioms range in their degree of arbitrariness and predictability, and many are productive. Fillmore et al. suggest that idioms can be categorized into three groups:

(i) Some are '**unfamiliar pieces unfamiliarly arranged**'[624] (p. 506-8). This is illustrated by the lexical idiom *kith and kin* 'family and friends', where, outside of this idiom, archaic *kith* is 'unfamiliar'. It is also illustrated by the idiom (i.e. a complex 'construction') *the X-er the Y-er,* as illustrated in (245) and (246). Here, what is unfamiliar is 'the two-part structure uniting the two atypical *the*-phrases' (p. 507; this form also has archaic roots). Since *the X-er the Y-er* is a productive idiom, the X and Y variables can be filled by various things, as our two examples show. Fillmore et al., however, consider the proverbial saying, (246)*,* to be a fixed idiom—speakers of the language typically know it (examples, p. 506).

> (245)   The more carefully you do your work, the easier it will get.

> (246)   The bigger they come, the harder they fall.[625]

(ii) Some idioms can be categorized as '**familiar pieces unfamiliarly arranged**' (p. 508-10) as in *all of a sudden,* or *in point of fact,* neither of which follow normal syntactic patterns. Similarly, there is the productive construction '*n*th cousin *m* times removed', as in *second cousin once removed.* The individual pieces ('second', 'cousin' etc.) are familiar, but the way they are combined is not predictable from general rules of English (p. 509).

(iii) Still other idioms can be categorized as '**familiar pieces familiarly arranged**' (p. 510) as in *pull X's leg* ('tease and deceive someone') or *tickle the ivories* ('play the piano'). Such idioms make use of normal syntax and known lexical items, but the semantic and/or pragmatic meaning (p. 505) is unpredictable. Fillmore et al. call these 'formal' or 'lexically open' idioms. Following Croft & Cruse (2004:233-4), we can call these '**schematic**'. They are schematic because at least one slot in the construction can be filled by a range of items (e.g. the subject and tense in *tickle the ivories* are open). More complex examples mentioned by Fillmore et al. include: rhetorical questions being used to convey negative messages (e.g. *Am I invisible?*); 'the Incredulity Response Construction', which consists of a main clause whose subject is in the object case and whose verb is the bare-stem form (e.g. *Him be a doctor?, Your brother help me?*); and the main topic of their article, the *let alone* construction (e.g. *[A: Did the kids get their breakfast on time this morning?] B: I barely got up in time to EAT LUNCH, let alone COOK BREAKFAST; let alone* pairs two focal phrases of the same polarity where the second focal phrase is discourse-relevant and indicates a weaker value relative to the first focal phrase). **Information structure templates** (predicate-focus, sentence-focus, pragmatically marked clause positions, etc.) are further examples of formal (or schematic) idioms since all the lexical slots are open.

It is such 'formal idioms', or 'constructions', that Fillmore et al. consider as posing the greatest challenge to formal-atomistic theories (501-3, 506, 534). Such idioms cannot be generated by general syntactic and semantic rules of the language and so in this sense they are arbitrary and unique in form and function. Having said that, they point out how different constructions in a language can nonetheless resemble each other (e.g. the *let alone* construction resembles other paired focus constructions).

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[624] According to Fillmore et al., in this first category of idioms, unfamiliar pieces 'are (necessarily) unfamiliarly combined—"necessarily" because, if the pieces are themselves unfamiliar or unique, there can be no standard principles for arranging them in larger patterns' (p. 506).

[625] Perhaps today this variant is more common: *The bigger they **are**, the harder they fall.*

Thus, construction grammarians assume that constructions, including all types of idioms, schematic clause structures and what we will call information structure 'templates', are learned in much the same way as simple words are learned. In fact, constructions and words are essentially all part of the same continuum, only differing in terms of their internal complexity (Goldberg 1995:7). They all pair form with meaning and are in this respect arbitrary. The meaning of the particular form is a matter of convention. For this reason, as Goldberg (1995:7) says, 'in Construction Grammar, no strict division is assumed between the lexicon and syntax' (see also Croft & Cruse 2004:255-7).

This brings us to a key assumption in construction grammar theories: There is a unified way in which grammatical knowledge is represented in a speaker's mind, namely, by means of conventionalized form-meaning units, that is, as 'constructions' (Croft & Cruse 2004:225, 255, 279). Thus, constructions are 'the basic units of language' (Goldberg p. 4).

Relationships between constructions

Another key assumption is that the way constructions are stored in a speaker's memory is structured and not random. This structure applies to the entire continuum from complex constructions (e.g. multi-clause constructions) to simple ones (e.g. words and morphemes). Such a view has probably been assumed fairly widely for the lexicon (Goldberg 1995:72). Construction grammarians believe it applies to all of language. (From here on, my discussion will concentrate on grammatical constructions of the clause level or higher, as these are more relevant to our interests.)

This structuring in the memory is explained as internal relationships between the different constructions (Goldberg 1995:5, 72; Lakoff 1987). Such relationships, or links, between different constructions can be compared to a lattice or network (in earlier chapters, I have mostly used the term 'resemblance' to talk about such relationships). The relationships, or '**inheritance links**', reflect how and to what degree constructions are related to each other, including how one construction may be both similar to and different from another (Goldberg 1995:72, 67; Croft & Cruse 2004:262-5). Such links exist between different schematic constructions (e.g. between different clause types) as well as between a schematic construction and the specific instances of that construction where full lexical forms are used.

Goldberg (1995:69-73, following Lakoff 1987) explains the notion of inheritance relationships in terms of 'motivation'. There are aspects in language that seem to be arbitrary and others that are predictable; motivation is something in between predictability and arbitrariness (Goldberg p. 69-71). The meaning of a construction may not be entirely predictable from its parts, but it may still 'make sense' due to its meaning not being completely arbitrary (e.g. Lakoff [1987:438] discusses the meaning of *oversee, overlook,* and *look over,* which cannot be predicted from the component meanings of *over, look,* and *see* but which are nonetheless related to them and so non-arbitrary). Goldberg (p. 70) paraphrases Lakoff: 'A given construction is *motivated* to the degree that its structure is inherited from other constructions in the language.' If construction B is 'based on' A, then B inherits properties of form and meaning from A. When a part of a linguistic system is thus 'motivated', it involves 'systematic redundancy' (Lakoff p. 538, 438), which in turn makes a language more cognitively efficient and so easier to learn. (In my discussion of Greek constituent order, it was often noted how certain phenomena reflected systematic harmonies: e.g. that thetic subjects and focal objects behave similarly in a number of ways, both in unmarked and marked constructions; that the subject in most of the thetic uses of ἰδού/ἴδε immediately follows the particle, etc.)

Goldberg 1995 mentions four types of inheritance relationships: 'instance links', 'subpart links', 'polysemy links' and 'metaphorical extension links'. The last two are especially important to my study.

An **instance link** refers to the relationship between a construction and a special case of it: 'an instance link exists between constructions iff one construction is a more fully specified version of the other' (Goldberg 1995:79). Croft & Cruse (2004:262-3, 273) refer to these as 'taxonomic' relations or links. Given the schematic construction *The X-er the Y-er* mentioned earlier, both the fixed proverbial saying (246) *The bigger they come, the harder they fall,* and sentences like (245) *The more carefully you do your work, the easier it will get* would count as instances of that construction. The relationship between the schematic construction and an instance is an instance link in Goldberg's terms.

Consider a more complex example. Goldberg (p. 3) argues that English has a 'resultative construction', (247). Sentences like (248) are instances of the resultative construction. But note that such sentences are not prototypical instances of the verb *drive.* The verb *drive* here is said to 'lexically inherit the syntax and semantics associated with the construction' (p. 79). With *drive,* the meaning of the goal-state is restricted to the general notion of 'crazy'.

(247)   *Subject Verb Object Oblique* (X CAUSES Y to BECOME Z)

(248)   Chris drove Pat mad/bonkers/bananas/crazy/over the edge/*dead/*angry/*happy.

A **subpart link** (what Croft & Cruse [2004:273] call a meronomic link) 'is posited when one construction is a *proper subpart* of another construction and exists independently' (Goldberg 1995:78). For example, the resultative construction, (247), and the intransitive resultative construction, (249), are thus related, and 'the syntactic and semantic specifications' of the intransitive variety are a subpart of the syntactic and semantic specifications of the other.

(249)   *Subject Verb Xcomp* (*Y becomes Z*) e.g. *Pat went mad.*

Polysemy links relate a **central construction** to its **extensions** that are identical in their syntactic specification but different in their semantics (Goldberg 1995:75-77).[626] For example, Goldberg takes the English 'ditransitive construction', schematically *Subject Verb Object-1 Object-2,* to be 'associated with a family of related senses, rather than a single abstract sense'—as illustrated by (250) through (255) below (p. 75). Crucially, one sense is 'central'.[627] (Following Croft & Cruse [2004:274] and Lakoff 1987, we can equate the central sense with the 'prototypical' one.) Goldberg takes (250) to be the central sense for several reasons (p. 33): (a) It involves 'successful transfer of an object to a recipient, with the referent of the subject agentively causing this transfer'. The other senses do not guarantee successful transfer, even if most imply it. Such transfer is 'concrete rather than metaphorical or abstract (here: potential) […] and concrete meanings have been shown to be more basic both diachronically […] and synchronically'. (b) '[T]he other classes of meanings can be represented most economically as extensions from this sense' (p. 34). (c) *Give,* which belongs

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[626] Concerning Goldberg's discussion of examples (250) through (255) here, Croft & Cruse (p. 274) take issue with her characterizing them as all having the same syntactic but different semantic specifications. In their view, the 'syntactic schemas' differ since each extended construction is associated with a distinct subclass of verbs.

[627] There is an important distinction here. Although the meaning of the ditransitive construction in all its variations can be abstracted to mean something like a transfer of a patient to an animate recipient, this obscures the fact that one sense is 'central' or prototypical, and others do not necessarily entail successful transfer. Therefore, in this case at least, it is better to assume that it is the central sense (i.e. construction (250)) that motivates the family rather than a completely abstract schematic template.

to (250), is the most 'prototypical ditransitive verb'. This is so, not only because *give* is the most frequent verb used in the ditransitive construction, but also, she argues, because it is conceptually the most basic (p. 35).

(250) 'X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z' (*the central sense of the English 'ditransitive construction'*)

Example: Joe gave Sally the ball. (pass, hand, throw, kick, etc.)

(251) Conditions of satisfaction imply 'X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z'

Example: Joe promised Bob a car. (guarantee, owe, etc.)

(252) 'X ENABLES Y to RECEIVE Z'

Example: Joe permitted Chris an apple. (allow, etc.)

(253) 'X CAUSES Y not to RECEIVE Z'

Example: Joe refused Bob a cookie. (deny, etc.)

(254) 'X INTENDS to CAUSE Y to RECEIVE Z'

Example: Joe baked Bob a cake. (make, build, get, earn, etc.)

(255) 'X ACTS to CAUSE Y to RECEIVE Z'

Example: Joe bequeathed Bob a fortune. (leave, allocate, reserve, etc.)

Given the polysemy links between (251) through (255) and the central sense (250), each inherits some basic properties from the central sense, that is, the dominating construction. To be precise, inheritance implies that all properties of form and meaning are inherited from a dominating construction to a dominated one *so long as those properties do not conflict with ones specified by the latter* (Goldberg 1995:73; Lakoff 1987:508).[628] In other words, given two different constructions that are related by inheritance, the resemblance is assumed to be inherited from the dominating construction. But since inheritance is never complete, resemblance is also never complete. As our definition of a construction implies, the dominated construction will always differ in some way.

For another example of a family of related constructions with a central or prototypical construction, see my discussion in §2.4.1 of Lakoff's analysis of deictic and non-deictic thetics constructions. Such relationships between constructions and a central construction are also considered for ἰδού constructions in Chapter 6.

Goldberg (p. 81) writes that, 'When two constructions are found to be related by a metaphorical mapping, a **metaphorical extension link** is posited between them.' She gives the following example of a metaphorical extension, using it to explain one set of exceptional uses of the ditransitive construction, (250). First note that the central sense of the ditransitive involves 'transfer between a volitional agent and a willing recipient' (p. 141). This semantic constraint explains, for example, the oddness of (256) and (257) (see Goldberg for extensive discussion; examples from pp. 143-4):

(256) *Joe threw the right fielder the ball he had intended the first baseman to catch.

(257) *Hal brought his mother a cake since he didn't eat it on the way home.

But how can the non-volitional subject entities be explained in (258), (259), and (260) (examples from pp. 143-4)?

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[628] See the discussion in Goldberg (pp. 73-4) and Croft & Cruse (pp. 275-8) on different types of inheritance (e.g. 'normal mode' vs. 'full-entry representations') and what happens when a construction inherits properties from two dominating constructions that have conflicting properties.

(258) The medicine brought him relief.

(259) The music lent the party a festive air.

(260) She gave me the flu.

Goldberg argues that such cases fit an extension of the construction that makes use of the conventional systematic metaphor, 'causal events as transfers' (p. 144). According to this metaphor, causing an effect in an entity is viewed as (volitionally) 'transferring the effect, construed as an object, to that entity.' Thus, the inanimate subjects in (258) and (259), and the unwilling human vector in (260) are metaphorically portrayed as volitional agents. Further evidence for this metaphor outside of the ditransitive construction is illustrated in the following sentences (with indirect objects):

(261) The unforeseen circumstances *laid* a new opportunity at our feet.

(262) The document *supplied* us with some entertainment.

Consider another example of a metaphorical extension link. Goldberg (1995:81-89) argues that the 'resultative construction', illustrated above by (247) and (248), and below by (263), is a metaphorical extension of the 'caused motion construction', as illustrated in (264).

(263) Resultative: *Subject Verb Object Xcomp* (X CAUSES Y to BECOME Z)

    a. Pat hammered the metal flat. (p. 81)

    b. Pat kissed him unconscious. (p. 3)

(264) Caused Motion: *Subject Verb Object Oblique* (X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z)

    a. Pat pushed the piano into the room. (p. 76)

    b. Pat sneezed the napkin off the table. (p. 3)

In the caused motion construction, the oblique arguments in (264), 'into the room' and 'off the table' are goals (or locations, p. 53) into which something moves. In the resultative construction, the result phrases in (263), 'flat' and 'unconscious', are metaphorical goals. The metaphor involves understanding *motion as change* and *a location as a state*. In other words, a change of state (e.g. metal becoming flat) is analogous to a motion to a location (e.g. a piano moving into a room). This metaphor is pervasive in English, as illustrated by constructions (265) and (266) (p. 83, italics are hers) and no doubt in many other languages:

(265) The jello *went from* liquid *to* solid in a matter of minutes.

(266) He *couldn't manage to pull himself out of* his miserable state.

Besides this metaphor, Goldberg argues for the 'unique path' constraint (which applies to these and other constructions): *no more than one distinct path at a time, per clause, can be predicated about a physical object*. With both the above metaphor and this 'unique path' constraint, Goldberg can then explain why certain resultative sentences are ungrammatical and others grammatical. One clause cannot predicate that an object moves towards two goals simultaneously, whether they are both physical goals as in as (267) and (268), or both metaphorical goals as in (269), or one of each as in (270). However, prepositional complements that are not goals are grammatical in the resultative construction, as illustrated by 'about his latest adventure' in (271) and 'with hay' in (272).

(267) *Shirley sailed into the kitchen into the garden. (Intransitive Motion, with two physical goals)

(268)   *Shirley pushed the piano into the kitchen into the garden. (Caused Motion, with two physical goals)

(269)   *He wiped the table dry clean. (Resultative, with two metaphorical goals)

(270)   *Sam tickled Chris silly off her chair. (Mixed, with a physical and a metaphorical goal)

(271)   Lou talked himself blue in the face about his latest adventure.

(272)   Joe loaded the wagon full with hay.

According to Lakoff (1987:275-6, 269ff), such metaphors commonly found in grammar are not arbitrary but based on our common, everyday, bodily experiences. Other constructional extensions based on common grammatical metaphors were discussed in §2.4.1 (e.g. 'nonvisual perceptual space is physical space', besides other examples—see Table 4), §2.3.7.2 (reality is a metaphorical location in mental space), and §6.6 (one use of ἰδού— 'mental attention is visual attention', or 'understanding/thinking are seeing'). See also Croft & Cruse (2004:194ff) for a good summary discussion.

To sum up, we have now reviewed the proposal that constructions are stored in a speaker's memory via a network of 'inheritance' relations or links, and we have illustrated four types of links: instance, subpart, polysemy and metaphorical extension links. Another type of relationship between constructions was discussed earlier in terms of the paradigmatic relationship that holds between different information structure constructions (see discussions in §2.2.3, §2.2.4, §2.3.5; see §4.9 on some of the paradigmatic and complementary functions of εἰμί and γίνομαι; and see §4.10.6.2 on the paradigmatic contrast between *S...V* and *V...S* orders).

Finally, it can be underscored here that a construction can hold more than one type a link with a dominating construction. For example, a construction may represent one of several senses in a (polysemic) family of constructions while simultaneously involving a metaphorical extension. It is also clear that a construction can inherit properties from more than one 'parent' construction (Goldberg calls this 'multiple inheritance', p. 73).

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THE NEW TESTAMENT

Non-Biblical Sources

SAMENVATTING

THETISCHE CONSTRUCTIES IN HELLENISTISCH GRIEKS:
met bijzondere aandacht voor zinnen met εἰμί 'zijn', γίνομαι 'gebeuren', ἔρχομαι
'komen', ἰδού/ἴδε 'zie', en objectszinnen bij ὁράω 'zien'

Deze dissertatie onderzoekt hoe theticiteit, een verschijnsel op het terrein van informatiestructuur, samenhangt met de volgende taalkundige verschijnselen in hellenistisch Grieks, en vooral in het Nieuwe Testament:

- volgorde van zinsdelen

- de betekenis en het gebruik van εἰμί '(er) zijn' en γίνομαι 'gebeuren'

- possessieve constructies met εἰμί en een bezitter in de datief of genitief

- de omschrijvende constructie van *εἰμί+deelwoord*

- het onbepaalde voornaamwoord τις 'een zekere'

- constructies met waarnemingswerkwoorden, vooral objecten (lijdende voorwerpen) bij ὁράω 'zien' en ἀκούω 'horen'

- zinnen met ἰδού/ἴδε 'zie'

De resultaten van dit onderzoek zijn opgeschreven voor verschillende doelgroepen: taalkundigen, specialisten in Grieks, en vertalers.

Wat is een thetische constructie? De definitie waar deze dissertatie voor kiest, is nauwer dan gebruikelijk is bij degenen die de term 'thetisch' bedacht hebben (filosofen, Brentano en Marty) of op het terrein van de moderne taalkunde ingevoerd hebben (Kuroda 1972). In navolging van Lambrecht (1994, 2000, 1987, enz.) en onder invloed van Sasse (1987, 1995a, 1995b, 1996) wordt hier een definitie in termen van informatiestructuur voorgesteld: een thetische constructie heeft een breed focusdomein dat subject (grammaticaal onderwerp) en predicaat (gezegde) insluit, en dient er toe een entiteit in de tekst te introduceren. Omdat het focusdomein zowel subject als predicaat omvat, wordt deze informatiestructuur zinsfocus genoemd in de theorie van Lambrecht. Thetische constructies verschillen in vorm en functie van (a) constructies waarbij het focusdomein een enkel zinsdeel omvat (constituentfocus) en (b) constructies waarbij het predicaat in focus is (predicaatsfocus).

In dit kader is voor ons vooral van belang hoe talen systematisch onderscheid maken tussen informatiestructuren met predicaatsfocus en die met zinsfocus. In het bekendste, prototypische geval van predicaatsfocus drukt het subject de topic uit, d.w.z. het subject bevat de informatie die de luisteraar wordt aangeboden als het gegeven vertrekpunt van de bewering. Bij thetische constructies, dus constructies met zinsfocus, drukt het subject niet de topic uit. Onderzoek in allerlei talen laat zien dat topicale subjecten meestal anders behandeld worden dan thetische subjecten, en dat de laatste vaak overeenkomsten vertonen met focale objecten in constructies met predicaatsfocus, bijvoorbeeld overeenkomsten in intonatie, positie in de zin en dergelijke. Talen verschillen echter in de wijze waarop en de mate waarin theticiteit (evenals andere vormen van informatiestructuur) gemarkeerd wordt, en hierdoor ondervindt vergelijkend taalonderzoek soms moeilijkheden. Voorbeeldzinnen (i) en (ii) laten het verschil zien tussen zinnen met predicaatsfocus en zinnen met zinsfocus (theticiteit). (HOOFDLETTERS duiden het hoofdaccent in de zin aan; FD=focusdomein.) Voorbeeldzinnen (iii) en (iv) illustreren twee andere typisch thetische constructies (waarbij het subject volgt op het predicaat).

(i) **Predicaatsfocus:** *[My car / It]_TOPIC [broke DOWN.]_FD* (als antwoord op 'What happened to your car?')

(ii) **Zinsfocus:** *[My CAR broke down.]_FD* (als antwoord op 'What happened?')

(iii) *Once there was a BOY ...* (begin van het verhaal, verteller gaat ervan uit dat de luisteraar niet weet over welke jongen het gaat)

(iv) *... and then in walked John ...* (midden in een verhaal, verteller gaat ervan uit dat luisteraar weet wie John is)

Deze dissertatie is als volgt opgebouwd. **Hoofdstuk 1** is een inleiding. Er wordt onder meer op gewezen dat specialisten in klassiek of hellenistisch Grieks vaak spreken over de betrekkelijk vrije volgorde van woorden en zinsdelen. Recente studies hebben geprobeerd de verschillende volgordes te verklaren met behulp van pragmatische begrippen als topic, thematische (dis)continuïteit en focus. We vinden weliswaar nu en dan opmerkingen in de literatuur over de volgorde van zinsdelen in 'existentiële' zinnen met εἰμί '(er) zijn', waarvan er heel veel thetisch zijn, maar tot nu toe is er op het terrein van klassiek of hellenistisch Grieks nog geen systematisch onderzoek gedaan naar het verband tussen theticiteit en de volgorde van zinsdelen of naar theticiteit in het algemeen. Deze dissertatie probeert dat gat te dichten door te onderzoeken hoe theticiteit samenhangt met de volgorde van zinsdelen en andere verschijnselen in het hellenistisch Grieks (hierboven vermeld).

Hoofdstuk 2 bevat een algemene inleiding in de informatiestructuur en kijkt dan preciezer naar theticiteit en een reeks van thetische constructies. Er worden veel voorbeelden, vooral uit het Engels, gegeven die de lezer voorbereiden op de bespreking van theticiteit in het Grieks. In overeenstemming met de hierboven gegeven definitie van theticiteit worden argumenten gegeven voor de stelling dat bepaalde typen zinnen, inclusief 'existentiële' zinnen met polaire focus (zoals *There IS a God.*), geen echte thetische constructies zijn, of in elk geval geen prototypische thetische constructies. Om de verschillende thetische constructies te kunnen categoriseren, introduceer ik een taxonomie van 'etische' (de tegenhanger van 'emische') constructies, die rekening houdt met (i) het soort entiteit dat in de tekst geïntroduceerd wordt (primaire entiteiten verwijzen naar concrete dingen, bv. *man*, *Jan*, *hond*, *steen*; secundaire entiteiten zijn standen van zaken (gebeurtenissen, toestanden), bv. *vertrek*, *vergissing*, *aardbeving*; tertiaire entiteiten houden een bewering of gedachte in, bv. *idee*, *drijfveer*), (ii) het onderscheid tussen statische theticiteit en dynamische theticiteit, en (iii) de manier waarop de nieuwe entiteit al of niet een rol in de tekst blijft spelen. Het onderscheid tussen niet-deictische en deictische constructies met zinsfocus wordt besproken, waarbij vooral ook deictische constructies in het Engels, Frans, en Italiaans gepresenteerd worden (Engelse deictische constructies met zinsfocus zijn bijvoorbeeld *THERE's a BOY sitting on your DOORSTEP* en *HERE'S your PIZZA*; ook zijn er Franse voorbeelden met *voilà* en *voici* en Italiaanse met *ecco*). Tenslotte wordt aangetoond dat waarnemingszinnen (met werkwoorden van zien en horen e.d. plus de (bij)zinnen die aangeven wat er werd waargenomen) vaak lijken op thetische constructies omdat ze ertoe dienen iets in de tekst te introduceren en ze ook vaak thetische objectszinnen bevatten. Maar hun syntactische en semantische eigenschappen zijn complexer vanwege inbeddingsverschijnselen en vanwege het feit dat er rekening gehouden moet worden met zowel het perspectief van de toehoorders buiten de tekst als het perspectief van een personage waarover in de tekst gesproken wordt, waarbij één van beide perspectieven kan overheersen.

Hoofdstuk 3 bespreekt een aantal eerdere publicaties over informatiestructuur in klassiek en hellenistisch Grieks. Vooral wordt er aandacht besteed aan het werk van H. Dik (1994, 1995, en in mindere mate 2007), Matić (2003a), en Davidson (1999) op het terrein van

klassiek Grieks, en aan het werk van Callow (1992), Pike (2000), en vooral Levinsohn (2006, 2000, 1992, 1987) op het terrein van nieuwtestamentisch Grieks. Ik betoog dat zinnen die met een werkwoord beginnen in bijna alle contexten ongemarkeerd zijn, en dat ze over het algemeen meer 'continuïteit' laten zien. Ik laat ook bewijs zien dat aantoont dat zowel de plaats voor het werkwoord als de plaats na het werkwoord gepaard kan gaan met konstituentfocus en met informationeel prominente elementen in een breder focusdomein, en dat dit geldt voor zinnen met en zonder koppelwerkwoord. Elementen die relatief opvallender of contrastiever of emotioneler zijn, worden vaak voor het werkwoord geplaatst. In het geval van zinnen met een koppelwerkwoord zijn er aanwijzingen dat het naamwoordelijk deel van het predicaat voor het werkwoord kan voorkomen om op die manier aandacht te vragen voor iets bijzonders, bijvoorbeeld voor het feit dat men daar verderop in de tekst weer op terug zal komen.

Hoofdstuk 4 bespreekt een selectie van thetische en thetisch lijkende constructies in hellenistisch Grieks, die alle niet-deictisch zijn. Verschillende manieren waarop εἰμί '(er) zijn' gebruikt wordt, worden geïllustreerd. Er zijn voorbeelden van prototypische thetische constructies, waarin εἰμί, op een paar uitzonderingen na, geen koppelwerkwoord is, en verschillende voorbeelden van niet-thetische constructies, waarin εἰμί kan voorkomen als koppelwerkwoord of als zelfstandig werkwoord ('er zijn, bestaan'). Thetisch gebruik van εἰμί wordt ook onderscheiden van een gebruik van εἰμί dat de polariteit van een bewering en het absolute bestaan van een entiteit benadrukt (dit onderscheid is van belang voor theologen en filosofen).

Besproken wordt hoe εἰμί 'zijn' in een tekst wordt gebruikt en hoe dat gebruik verschilt van dat van γίνομαι 'gebeuren'. Εἰμί introduceert primaire, secundaire, en zelfs tertiaire entiteiten, maar als het een secundaire entiteit (d.w.z. een stand van zaken) introduceert, gebeurt dat zelden als onderdeel van de *event line*, de vertelde reeks gebeurtenissen in een tekst. Γίνομαι introduceert vooral secundaire entiteiten, en zelden primaire. Tenslotte wordt γίνομαι in nieuwtestamentisch Grieks nooit gebruikt om een thetische constructie met een toekomende tijd uit te drukken; in plaats daarvan wordt εἰμί gebruikt.

Verschillende soorten possessieve zinnen worden behandeld, en de conclusie is dat $S_{[-id]}+ZIJN+DAT$ (d.w.z. met een bezitter in de datief en een onidentificeerbaar subject) in welke volgorde van zinsdelen dan ook) een existentiële constructie is die vaak thetisch gebruikt wordt.

Ook wordt de omschrijvende constructie van *εἰμί+deelwoord* behandeld. Aangetoond wordt dat deze constructie vaak thetisch is. In verband met de bekende moeilijkheid om onderscheid tussen omschrijvende en niet-omschrijvende gevallen van *εἰμί+deelwoord* te maken, wordt er een poging gedaan te illustreren hoe in individuele gevallen dat onderscheid toch gemaakt kan worden door rekening te houden met diverse taalkundige factoren, inclusief theticiteit.

Ook wordt behandeld wat ik noem 'thetisch τις' (d.w.z. τις dat een bepaalde onidentificeerbare entiteit introduceert, bv. 'een zekere man'). Thetisch τις komt veel, maar niet uitsluitend, voor bij prototypische thetische onderwerpen. De keuze om het te gebruiken is volkomen vrij. Het is daarom niet vreemd dat het bijna uitsluitend in de geschriften van Lucas voorkomt. Wanneer het zelfstandig gebruikt wordt, introduceert het gewoonlijk (maar niet altijd) een entiteit die niet zo'n belangrijke rol speelt. Wanneer het attributief, als kwalificatie bij het belangrijkste zelfstandig naamwoord in het subject, gebruikt wordt, introduceert het zonder uitzondering een primaire entiteit die verderop in het verhaal een belangrijke rol blijft spelen. Maar wanneer het een ander zelfstandig naamwoord kwalificeert, hoeft de entiteit die gekwalificeerd wordt, niet zo belangrijk te zijn.

Hoofdstuk 4 bevat ook een bespreking van thetische constructies die te maken hebben met weer en tijd. Ik veronderstel dat entiteiten van tijd (die in thetische tijdsconstructies kunnen voorkomen) een bijzonder soort secundaire entiteiten zijn, al vertonen ze belangrijke verschillen met typische secundaire entiteiten. Ik toon aan dat bepaaldheid (d.w.z. aan- of afwezigheid van het bepaalde lidwoord) in thetische constructies tenminste voor een deel afhankelijk is van naamwoordklasse en syntactische constructie.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt het object bij waarnemingswerkwoorden, of dat nu een zelfstandig-naamwoordgroep is of een bijzin. Deze objecten lijken vaak op thetische constructies omdat ze een entiteit in de tekst kunnen introduceren. Eén van de doelstellingen van dit hoofdstuk is een onderzoek naar de manieren waarop het perspectief van de toehoorder *buiten* de tekst en het perspectief van een persoon *in* de tekst elkaar beïnvloeden en samenhangen met theticiteit (bepaaldheid kan een rol spelen als het object een eigennaam is). Wat de volgorde van zinsdelen betreft, toon ik bij het werkwoord ὁράω 'zien' aan (i) dat de ongemarkeerde plaats voor het object die na het werkwoord is, (ii) dat het object meestal deel uitmaakt van het focusdomein, en (iii) dat het object gewoonlijk thetisch van aard lijkt te zijn, tenminste voor de persoon in de tekst die waarneemt. Ik toon ook aan dat wanneer het object gepaard gaat met een attribuut dat als predicatie functioneert, de volgorde bijna altijd object-attribuut is, ongeacht de pragmatische status van het object. Dus in het geval dat een object met deelwoord functioneert als een objectszin, kunnen we zeggen dat binnen die objectszin het subject het liefst voor het werkwoord (d.w.z. het deelwoord) staat, wat overeenkomt met een volgorde *SV*. Ik concludeer ook dat thetische constructies in het geval van waarneming met ὅτι gewoonlijk de volgorde *SV* vertonen, ook al is de volgorde van zinsdelen in deze constructie niet helemaal vergelijkbaar met die van een objectszin.

Hoofdstuk 6 behandelt constructies met ἰδού/ἴδε 'zie!, kijk!'. Er worden voorbeelden zowel van thetisch als van niet-thetisch gebruik gegeven. Er worden vijf verschillende groepen van gebruik onderscheiden. Elk van deze groepen - die bestaan uit wat in Construction Grammar 'constructies' genoemd worden - koppelt vorm en zinsbouw aan betekenis en pragmatische omstandigheden van de tekst.

De eenvoudigste constructie (**C1** = constructie 1) is die waarin ἰδού/ἴδε een deictisch-thetische partikel is. Deze constructie is de beste kandidaat voor de centrale, prototypische constructie, waarop de andere constructies gebaseerd zijn. De combinatie van partikel en een zelfstandig-naamwoordgroep in de nominatief vormt een eenvoudige zin *ἰδού/ἴδε–NP_{NOM}* , waarin *NP_{NOM}* de zelfstandig-naamwoordgroep (NP) in de nominatief is. De constructie wordt gebruikt om de toehoorder te wijzen op een entiteit in het hier-en-nu van de tekst. De meest waarschijnlijke analyse van ἰδού en ἴδε is dat ze morfologisch onveranderlijke werkwoordsvormen zijn, vergelijkbaar met het Italiaanse *ecco* en het Franse *voilà*. Een voorbeeld is Handelingen 8:36 Ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ 'Kijk, daar is water'.

C2 omvat deictische of semi-deictische thetische constructies die in syntactisch of semantisch opzicht afwijken van C1. Enkele typen van C2 zijn syntactisch net zo eenvoudig als C1, maar bij andere typen komt een predicaat voor, zoals een persoonsvorm of een plaatsbepaling (zonder werkwoord). Een voorbeeld is Johannes 12:15 ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεται 'Daar komt uw koning aan'. Het meest voorkomende type van C2 in het Nieuwe Testament is de 'narratieve deictische thetische constructie' (C2c). Die dient ertoe de introductie van een nieuwe entiteit te verlevendigen, waarbij men vaak aan goddelijk ingrijpen kan denken. Bij dit type wordt er een secundaire entiteit geïntroduceerd in de voorstelling van de wereld van hier-en-nu die de verteller bezig is op te bouwen. De introductie kan gezien worden vanuit het perspectief van een personage in de tekst of vanuit het standpunt van een alwetende verteller. Een voorbeeld is Lucas 22:47 Ἔτι αὐτοῦ

λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ ὄχλος... 'Terwijl hij nog aan het praten was, (zie!) een menigte mensen ... (die voor Jezus' ogen verschijnt)'.

In **C3** worden ἰδού en vooral ἴδε deictisch gebruikt (de spreker kan tegelijkertijd iets in de werkelijke wereld aanwijzen), maar het subject is de topic, en de zin heeft dus geen zinsfocus (d.w.z. is niet thetisch).

In **C4** gaat het partikel (vooral ἰδού) vooraf aan een konstituent met focus waarin een emotie meeklinkt. Net als in C1 vormt het partikel een syntactische eenheid met het focale zinsdeel, en daarom kunnen de partikels ἰδού en ἴδε hier focusmarkeerders genoemd worden. In het type C4a duidt de konstituent met focus een tijdsduur aan (waarschijnlijk steeds in de nominatief), en de combinatie met het partikel geeft aan dat de spreker de tijdsduur buitensporig vindt. In het type C4b ziet de konstituent met focus er anders uit: subject (nominatief), object (accusatief), bijvoeglijk naamwoord, of werkwoord. De duidelijkste voorbeelden van C4b duiden een buitengewone graad of maat aan.

C5 staat aan het begin van één of meer zinnen die iets vertellen waarvoor de spreker bijzondere aandacht bij de toehoorder vraagt. Terwijl C1 de toehoorder vraagt visuele aandacht te geven, vraagt C5 de toehoorder mentale aandacht te geven, wat beschouwd kan worden als een overdrachtelijke uitbreiding van C1. Het partikel in C5 is dus een 'aandachtsrichter'. C5 verschilt hierin van C1 en C3 dat het partikel niet deictisch gebruikt wordt om te verwijzen naar een entiteit in de werkelijkheid van hier-en-nu. Syntactisch gezien staat het partikel helemaal of bijna aan het begin van een zin (net zoals in C1), maar heeft geen sterke syntactische verbinding met de rest van de zin (en hierin komen C5 en C3 waarschijnlijk overeen). De vorm die de informatiestructuur in de zin kan aannemen, kent weinig beperkingen. Veel gevallen hebben een topic-comment functie; andere hebben de functie van konstituentfocus (waarbij de konstituent in focus gewoonlijk niet onmiddellijk op het partikel volgt); en weer andere komen overeen met een (niet-deictische) thetische constructie.

Verscheidene secties in de hoofdstukken 4, 5 en 6 zijn gewijd aan de volgorde van zinsdelen in thetische constructies. Een belangrijke conclusie is dat één patroon niet voldoet om de volgorde van zinsdelen in thetische constructies te verklaren. In één systeem vertoont het patroon *V...S* de pragmatisch ongemarkeerde volgorde, en in het andere systeem is *S...V* ongemarkeerd ('...' duidt aan dat er een tussenliggend zinsdeel aanwezig kan zijn). Het criterium om een zin tot één van beide systemen te rekenen is vooral syntactisch van aard (bv. dat een thetische constructie een betrekkelijke bijzin is, of volgt op ἰδού, enz.), maar de plaats in een tekst kan ook bepalend zijn (bv. de plaats aan het begin van een tekst). Om preciezer te zijn: *S...V* is ongemarkeerd voor thetische constructies (i) die volgen op ἰδού 'zie', (ii) die samen met een deelwoord als object bij een waarnemingswerkwoord voorkomen, en waarschijnlijk ook (iii) die aan het begin van een tekst voorkomen en een nieuw begin maken waarvoor nog geen achtergrond geschetst is. In de meeste andere contexten is de volgorde *V...S* ongemarkeerd.

Factoren die gemarkeerde volgordes van zinsdelen kunnen verklaren, blijken verschillend van aard te zijn en niet altijd te vatten in begrippen op het terrein van informatiestructuur. Betoogd wordt dat tot de relevante factoren gerekend moeten worden: (dis)continuïteit, terugverwijzende tegenover vooruitverwijzende verbanden (bij thetische constructies die een verduidelijking inhouden), contrast, emotie (inclusief verrassing), en plaatsing op voorgrond of achtergrond (wat samenhangt met globale thema's in de tekst).

Ik laat ook zien dat de manier waarop bepaalde elementen in een focusdomein reageren op de pragmatische factoren van contrast en emotie, getuigt van een systematische harmonie.

Dit geldt enerzijds voor objecten in een focusdomein (de lezer zal zich herinneren dat de pragmatisch ongemarkeerde plaats van een object die na het werkwoord is) en anderzijds voor thetische subjecten in het systeem waarin *V...S* de ongemarkeerde volgorde van zinsdelen is. Deze feiten lijken te ondersteunen wat Lambrecht (2000) beweerde, namelijk dat er in tal van talen overeenkomsten in gedrag zijn tussen thetische subjecten in constructies met zinsfocus en focale objecten in constructies met predicaatsfocus.

harmonie bij thetische subjecten en focale objecten

	gemarkeerde constructie	*ongemarkeerde constructie*
thetische constructie	gemarkeerd thetisch subject –werkwoord	werkwoord – thetisch onderwerp
andere constructie	gemarkeerd focaal object – werkwoord	werkwoord – focaal object

Tenslotte wordt aangetoond dat de plaats van het subject ten opzichte van een bijwoordelijke bepaling (inclusief voorzetselvoorwerpen en bijvoorbeeld meewerkend voorwerp) beïnvloed kan worden door de mate waarin en de manier waarop een nieuwe entiteit een rol blijft spelen in het vervolg van de tekst, althans in het systeem waarin *V...S* ongemarkeerd is.

Bovenstaande conclusies ten aanzien van de volgorde van zinsdelen zijn van belang voor zowel taalkundigen als specialisten in Grieks. Verschillende benaderingen van de volgorde van zinsdelen in talen met relatief veel vrijheden op dat vlak veronderstellen dat één patroon alle volgorden van zinsdelen in meedelende zinnen kan verklaren en dat de factoren die de volgorde van zinsdelen bepalen gewoonlijk gevat kunnen worden in begrippen op het terrein van informatiestructuur (zoals topic, focus en activering). Aangetoond wordt dat beide veronderstellingen onjuist zijn ten aanzien van hellenistisch Grieks.