The Linguist as Pedagogue

New Testament Monographs, 11

Series Editor
Stanley E. Porter

The Linguist as Pedagogue

Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament

edited by
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Sheffield Phoenix Press

2009

Published by Sheffield Phoenix Press
Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield
45 Victoria Street, Sheffield S3 7QB
England

www.sheffieldphoenix.com

A CIP catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Typeset by CA Typesetting Ltd
Printed on acid-free paper by Lightning Source UK Ltd, Milton Keynes

ISBN-13 978-1-905048-28-1

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Preface

This collection of essays includes papers delivered over a significant span of time at a variety of Society of Biblical Literature conferences.

The papers in Part I, on the linguist as pedagogue, were delivered in 2001 at the SBL Annual Meeting in Denver, Colorado. The papers in Part II, on the notion of prominence, were delivered in 2003 at the SBL Annual Meeting in Atlanta, Georgia. These two sets of papers were delivered as part of dedicated sessions organized by the Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics section of the SBL.

The papers in the other two Parts of this volume were, for the most part, delivered at a range of SBL Annual Meetings as part of the open sessions of the Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics section, and are included here for their intrinsic interest. Though the papers were delivered on a variety of occasions, there is an inherent unity to them on the basis of their topics, especially those in part three on discourse analysis.

The editors of the volume wish to thank the individual contributors for their patience in seeing these papers appear in print. We wish also to thank our patient publisher, who has gently reminded us of this volume, and now seen it through to publication.

On behalf of the contributors, the editors would like to thank our respective academic and related institutions for the support that they provide so that it is possible to be a part of such scholarly and academic conferences as the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and related organizations.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
BAGD	Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. William Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn, 1958)
BDAG	Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (rev. and ed. F. W. Danker; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3rd edn, 2000)
BDF	Friedrich Blass, A. Debrunner and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961)
BLG	Bible Languages: Greek
CTL	Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics
ExpTim	*The Expository Times*
FN	*Filología neotestamentaria*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JSNTSup	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Supplement Series
NIBC	New Interpreter's Bible Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SNTG	Studies in New Testament Greek
SNTSMS	SNTS Monograph Series
TrinJ	*Trinity Journal*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary

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Introduction: The Linguist as Pedagogue and Much More

Stanley E. Porter

Linguistics was once thought to be a rarefied academic discipline, in which its advocates utilized a range of terminology that was unfamiliar to those with more traditional grammatical tastes. At the advent of linguistics, and through its development in terms of structuralism and functionalism, new insights were often accompanied by new terminology that was foreign and hence posed a communicative problem for those more traditionally inclined.[1] At that time, traditionalists were much more comfortable with such language as syllable and word, subject and predicate, sentence and paragraph, than they were with talking about morphemes and graphemes, syntax and semantics, and pragmatics and discourse.[2] Linguists were undeterred in their efforts, however, but continued to utilize the language of their developing discipline, along with promoting the findings of their research efforts. Linguistics as a discipline has matured significantly, to the point of establishing its methods and criteria.[3] In terms of biblical study, the result is that today there has been something of an acceptance—even if it is a begrudging one—of the viability and even productivity of a linguistic approach to the study of ancient languages, such as the Greek of the New Testament. One of the major reasons for such an acceptance, I believe, is that linguistics has shown that there are genuine and important insights to be garnered through the use of such categories of analysis. This volume provides a useful indication of some of the understanding to be gained through a linguistic approach to the Greek New Testament.[4]

1. A useful survey of such developments is found in G. Lepschy, *A Survey of Structural Linguistics* (London: Deutsch, new edn, 1982).

2. Every discipline has what appears to others to be arcane terminology. Linguistics is no different, although many of the terms have now become common through use. For a handy guide, see D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Language* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn, 1999).

3. See S.E. Porter, 'Studying Ancient Languages from a Modern Linguistic Perspective: Essential Terms and Terminology', *FN* 2 (1989), pp. 147-72.

4. I have been involved in publishing a number of previous volumes that gather collections of useful essays. I trust that they have had an impact on making such terminology

Part I of this volume is entitled linguistics and pedagogy. This section consists of two essays that not only lead off the volume, but have given the entire volume its name: The Linguist as Pedagogue. All of us who are involved in the teaching of the Bible are acutely aware of technological developments that are designed to aid us in this task. One of the important possible benefits and consequences of a linguistic approach to the study of ancient languages is the utilization of such insights in language instruction. These two essays address this particular issue. Jonathan Watt, who comes to academic teaching after years in pastoral ministry and hence some first-hand knowledge of one of the ways in which Greek learning might be used—as well as having a strong linguistic background—examines what we mean by learning a second language. Rather than specifically examining a number of the older or more recent theoretical and practical approaches to language learning, he examines some of the major practical issues involved. He recognizes that second language learning is not like first or natural language learning. In the light of this, Watt introduces the kinds of issues that one must face in teaching any second language, but especially ancient Greek, to elementary students. He notes the challenges, especially when confronted by the competing interests of contemporary culture, with all of its many attractions. In some ways, Watt concludes that the old ways are still the best—or at least, there is no substitute for the hard work that learning a language requires.

In the second essay in this Part, Rodney Decker investigates a topic that is not far away from anyone involved in education today—the adaptation of technology for pedagogical purposes. In this essay, Decker does not attempt to provide a philosophical critique or justification for such technology, nor is he simply concerned to chronicle and herald various techniques that might be used. Instead, his more important and useful purpose is both to assess the benefits of the use of technology and to warn about some of the potential liabilities of such implementation. In order to do this, he surveys a number of the important factors to keep in mind when developing technological resources to aid in the teaching of Greek. He endorses an

and methodology more accessible, while also contributing to textual understanding. See S.E. Porter and D.A. Carson (eds.), *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research* (JSNTSup, 80; SNTG, 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); Porter and Carson (eds.), *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek* (JSNTSup, 113; SNTG, 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); S.E. Porter and J.T. Reed (eds.), *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results* (JSNTSup, 170; SNTG, 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Porter and Carson (eds.), *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures* (JSNTSup, 168; SNTG, 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Porter (ed.), *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (JSNTSup, 193; SNTG, 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

incremental approach that builds up a number of resources that are clearly understandable and useful to students. Of course, along the way Decker reminds us that technology is quickly changing, and the use of it requires that we keep current in its utilization in order to be most effective—especially when our students may well know more about such technology than we do!

Part II of this volume contains three essays on the topic of prominence. Prominence is a widely used, yet highly disputed, notion that has much of its basis and background in markedness theory, first developed by Prague school linguists, and has come to be a very important notion in various types of discourse analysis. In this Part, there are three papers that address issues related to prominence. The first paper, by Stanley Porter, offers an introduction to the theory surrounding prominence. He notes that the notion of prominence has been developed in two major ways in recent linguistic thought—in terms of functionalist linguistics and psycholinguistics. In other words, there are those who consider prominence in terms of the functionalist syntagmatic and paradigmatic criteria, while others treat it in terms of how prominence is created and heard by those who use language. Porter defines the concept of prominence in terms of a cline or scale of grounding, so that there are various degrees of prominence, depending on a number of linguistic criteria, that function at various levels of discourse. The rest of the essay is devoted to considering a broad range of linguistic features that may be used to indicate prominence, and the level at which they function.

The second essay on prominence, by Cynthia Westfall, further treats prominence in terms of questions of methodology. At the outset, she recognizes the problematic nature of the concept of prominence, especially as it relates to such terminology as markedness and focus. She sees the major function of prominence being at the discourse level, and she explores in the rest of her essay the various ways that prominence enters into discourse structure. One of the major features of her essay is to consider prominence in relation to Robert Longacre's concept of zones of turbulence. To carry out such a discussion, she must consider how prominence relates to a number of linguistic features and their markedness. At the discourse level, Westfall then sees prominence being used in a variety of ways to structure discourse. She then considers how prominence functions in questions, with a central sentence, and then, more broadly, in John's Gospel.

The third and final essay of this second Part is by Randall Tan. His essay is an application of a particular type of prominence theory to a single text of the New Testament. After briefly recognizing potential questions about the use of the notion of prominence, Tan introduces the use of distributional statistics to determine markedness. In his calculations of various distributions, he in particular analyzes word order in terms of clausal constituents and

verbal aspect. His primary text is Paul's letter to the Galatians. Recognizing that there may be some limitations on the basis of his sample size, Tan nevertheless examines these two major categories in regard to their statistical distribution, in order to help determine prominence within this Pauline letter. On the basis of these distributions of forms and structures, which are inconclusive in some instances, he is able to posit some conclusions in terms of frequency and type of occurrence. These include variations in word order on the basis of the appearance or not of the subject, and the relation between perfective and imperfective aspect.

Part III of this volume is given to essays that utilize various forms of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis continues to be developed further as a viable interpretive framework for New Testament texts, and these essays draw on a number of different yet in many ways noticeably compatible approaches to discourse in order to arrive at their conclusions. The texts that are handled include both epistles and narratives. The first essay, by Steven Gunderson, is a discourse treatment of two episodes in John's Gospel. Gunderson utilizes the resources of discourse analysis in order to engage in a contrastive character study of Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman at the well in John 3–4. By using discourse analysis in this way, Gunderson goes beyond much previous discourse analysis, and enters into the territory of literary study. His bringing of the two into useful dialogue enables him to provide an analysis that supersedes either of the methods on their own, and moves far beyond what has been previously gained through traditional types of form-critical analysis of John's Gospel. Form-critical analysis tends to see discontinuity between the episodes involving Nicodemus and the woman. Gunderson provides a detailed study of the two characters, as well as an analysis of a number of linguistic and literary features, to show that there is greater continuity between these two characters than others have seen. In fact, the coherent narrative depicts a world turned upside down in which Jesus is not recognized, no matter who is looking, even by those who should be looking.

The second essay in this Part is co-authored by Matthew Brook O'Donnell and Catherine Smith. One of the features of much discourse analysis is that it produces far more data than can often be analyzed in any given treatment, so that providing a discourse analysis of a single book is often seen as an impossibility. One of the ways to address such a situation is to treat a small book such as 3 John. Even so, the treatment of this short book provides more than enough useful linguistic evidence for O'Donnell and Smith to apply their discourse model. They utilize a form of Hallidayan discourse analysis that has been widely used in recent years by a number of New Testament scholars, in conjunction with the clausal annotation method and data generated by the OpenText.org project (www.opentext.org). As a result, they are able to provide as close as one can come to a thorough analysis of

an entire biblical letter. For the most part their conclusions are supportive of those found through more traditional exegetical methods. However, they also are able to demonstrate through their analysis that it is Gaius who is put forward as the example of 'good' in the letter, thus advancing understanding both methodologically and textually.

In the third essay of this section, Cynthia Westfall, in her second essay of the volume, dares to take on one of the most difficult texts in the entire New Testament, Rom. 7.7-25. She does so using a form of Hallidayan discourse analysis, while paying attention to the history of interpretation of these problematic verses. Her thorough analysis examines a range of linguistic features within this passage, including the use of 'I', the notorious switch in verbal tense-forms at 7.14, and the uses of such terms as 'sin' and 'law'. She concludes both that there has been a large amount of linguistic misunderstanding of usage within this passage and that her analysis can push forward understanding. She finds that there is a peak to the discourse as it moves from 7.7-13, to 7.14-25, and then peaks in 8.1-2. She believes that the rhetorical use of 'I' provides the best explanation of Paul's use of this personal pronoun.

Part IV of this volume consists of four essays that have been labeled Linguistic Investigations. This is not to imply that the other studies in this volume are lesser linguistic studies, but that these four essays, while not focused upon a single topic or approach, as are the other essays, nevertheless are linguistically oriented in their investigation. The first essay, by Stephen Levinsohn, asks the question of whether ὅτι is an interpretive marker. Traditionally, this conjunction is variously interpreted as indicating direct speech, causality, or complementation. Instead of finding that this conjunction has these three different and distinct uses, Levinsohn concludes that ὅτι indicates a following interpretation. Whereas Levinsohn has previously examined such usage in Mark's and Luke's Gospels, here he examines uses of ὅτι in Matthew, especially in those instances that are followed by reported speech. Rather than seeing the speech as simply quotation, he believes that it is a summary or refers to earlier speech in the Gospel. This second usage further explains what is often seen as the causal use of the conjunction.

The second essay, by Jonathan Pennington, addresses one of the perennial difficulties of Greek study, the notion of verbal deponency. This has proved endlessly difficult for students to grasp, but, more importantly, it raises questions regarding the use of voice in Greek and its relationship to morphology. Pennington believes that, rather than deponency indicating a morphological irregularity in the Greek verbal system, deponency is an erroneous concept, perhaps due to the use of categories from Latin being imposed on Greek. Pennington structures his argument in three major sections. In the first he investigates the notion of deponency, especially as it

has been found in a wide range of Greek grammars. Despite some questioning along the way, the vast majority of grammars have to varying degrees accepted the notion. Then Pennington disputes the notion of deponency, and instead endorses a more robust understanding of the meaning of the middle voice. He does this by examining a number of instances from the Greek of the New Testament. He closes by exploring the implications for study and teaching of the Greek of the New Testament.

In his second essay in this volume, and the third in this Part, Stephen Levinsohn tackles the near and remote demonstrative pronouns, οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος. Picking up on the observation that the near and remote Greek demonstrative pronouns indicate nearness and remoteness, whether in time, space (location) or even narrative proximity, from the perspective of the language user, Levinsohn develops the contexts in which these pronouns function anaphorically and describes the various reference points from which such demonstration is indicated. In the course of doing so, he shows that often the reference point for usage is a main referent that has thematic status in the discourse, that is, it is something around which the discourse is organized or centered. Thus, the use of these pronouns has a wider discourse function.

In the final essay of Part IV, Gene Green offers an introduction to relevance theory and the role that it can play in biblical interpretation. For many biblical scholars, relevance theory will be a new innovation, although, since its development by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, it has become widely used in certain linguistic circles. As Green emphasizes, relevance theory is a communication or cognitive theory, rather than a code-based theory of language. It is concerned to appreciate authorial intention and what is implied by the author on the basis of context. Rather than it being a theory of language and interpretation in and of itself, it serves as a means of linking text and context together so that the text can be better understood within its context. Green concludes his essay with several examples in which use of relevance theory makes understanding of contextual features clearer, and suggests that it has wide-ranging interpretive methodological implications.

This volume, though diverse in the types of essays that it includes, touches on some of the major and relevant issues in current linguistic understanding of the New Testament. In this day of increased pragmatism, in which language study is under direct attack, we need all of the best insights that contemporary linguistic thought can bring to bear on linguistic pedagogy. However, one of the implications of our title is more than simply that linguistics has something to say about pedagogy. The title indicates the greater realization that linguistics is constantly functioning as a form of pedagogy, in that it approaches familiar texts with new methods and categories of analysis, designed to aid our understanding by teaching us new ways of

thinking about the text. As a result, part of what it means for linguistics to be pedagogical is that we are concerned with such topics as prominence, discourse analysis, and a range of other studies that help enlighten textual understanding. All who practice such forms of linguistics effectively serve the discipline of New Testament studies as pedagogues.

Part I
Linguistics and Pedagogy

Talking to the Dead: Linguistics and Pedagogy of Hellenistic Greek

Jonathan M. Watt

Introduction

Greek and *pedagogy* are two topics of behemoth proportion, and at their intersection lies double trouble. Modern instruction of ancient Greek is fraught with obstacles, some of which are particular to the subject (most young adults find Greek grammar difficult) while others emanate from the students' environment (meticulous attention to printed detail is anathema to many). This paper addresses practical concerns that arise when young adults take their first classes in Greek, though I believe much of what is discussed here would also help with the instruction of living languages. From the pool of students who survive the preliminary levels will be a handful who move on and really develop their newly found abilities. Hence, instructors of advanced courses and those who design research tools do well to keep one eye on what is happening in the first semesters, for effectiveness at the upper levels will be possible only if success was first attained in the baby steps.

This paper is written by one who committed nearly two decades to full time pastoral ministry, during which he used the biblical languages for exegesis. Additionally, this writer has taught Greek and Hebrew for another seven years at the college and seminary levels. We will interact with a variety of fields that have impacted both his study and that of his students during those years, including general linguistics, psycholinguistics, education and language ideology. We will identify some substantial hurdles facing instructors of Greek and will suggest ways to deal with certain educational obstacles. Participants in the Society of Biblical Literature meetings are a consortium of Janus-faced optimists: we attend these conferences in order to further our own development even as we are attempting to hone the skills of the young and the brave who dare resist the flow of their selectively literate generation. From the intersection of Greek and pedagogy, the horizon appears rocky. For if the acquisition of living languages presents a daunting challenge—the field is increasingly under pressure, in part due to the forces of globalization—then talking with the dead appears almost impossible.

So, what directions might one travel from the collision of the two behemoths? Various possibilities beckoned as I prepared this paper. One direction would have been to survey the Greek grammars produced in recent decades in the hope of culling the best techniques, though with a field said to possess instructors and grammars in a one-to-one correspondence, I decided to pass on that one. Another possible direction would have been to explore general teaching techniques, such as can be found in Gangel (1982), in order to explore business development applications for classroom teaching, such as Cornesky's *The Quality Professor* (1993). Still another might have been to address motivation in the classroom. Moore[1] did this in what she described as 'an invitation to passion—*passion about theology and educational method*', a relationship 'that seems so obvious to some [it] is often deeply buried, masked, or ignored so that theologians and educators act as if the relationship were not even there'. And then there is a twist on that motivation theme represented, for example, by Dilts *et al.* (1994), who present appraisal criteria for whether faculty are doing their job in *Assessing What Professors Do*. Indeed, possibilities beckoned from various quadrants! I considered examining reprints of old works; it would have been a trendy thing to do, for just as musical hits of the seventies and eighties are being 're-mixed' these days, there was Carl Shafer's *Excellence in Teaching* that re-collects John Milton Gregory's *The Seven Laws of Teaching*, 'remixing' a book that had first appeared in the 1880s. I also thought about surveying the handbooks now available for strengthening one's grasp on New Testament Greek, such as William Mounce's *The Morphology of Biblical Greek* (1994) and *The Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament*, companion volumes to his *Basics of Biblical Greek* text and accompanying workbook (1993). However, I chose none of these options, nor countless others that stand near the intersection of our Greek and pedagogy behemoths.

But I reflected on something Jacques Maritain[2] said in his Terry Lectures given at Yale University during the Second World War, to the effect that: 'Education is an art, and an especially difficult one'. Indeed it is, otherwise it would not have needed to develop a mythology of self-perception aimed at maintaining the practitioner's security before the face of suspicion, a mistrust fueled by George Bernard Shaw's dictum that 'He who can, does; he who cannot, teaches'. But teaching *is* 'a performing art', as Eble[3] insists, and it *ought* to include some expression of the instructor's personality, as this will impinge on students' motivation. If an instructor can relate why he likes to do this kind of thing, there is the chance it will catch on with his students.

1. 1991: 1.
2. 1943/1960: 2.
3. 1976: 9.

What I therefore chose to include in this paper, I admit, is somewhat pragmatic and eclectic and certainly expressive of my personality. But teaching evidences all of these facets. As I identify some of the challenges I perceive to be present in the instruction of ancient Greek, I will offer ways we can engage students using language acquisition insights drawn from multi-disciplinary sources.

The Challenge of L2 Acquisition

Second language instruction always wages battle on a steep learning curve, for memorization of lexicon and morphology are the raw materials that facilitate second language (L2) comprehension and production. The majority of syntactic forms are learned in one's native language by about age five or six, and with*out* formal instruction. Yet languages acquired after one's adolescence are never gained with perfect fluency. Brown (1987) and many others demonstrate that first language (L1) and second language (L2) acquisition differ fundamentally from each other.

The pragmatics of time also weigh in heavily against second language acquisition at the teenage and adult levels, and the tide of resistance swells as the pace of life accelerates. Half a dozen years of secondary-level language instruction in the United States rarely produce students capable of actually functioning in the target code. After all, students almost never get to experience the environment that might have made their knowledge workable, such as a study semester abroad, if they even had the motivation to do so in the first place. Add to this a few years of study hiatus, and the atrophy of memory—though not fatal—vastly reduces their limited capacities.

The angle of that steep learning curve is increased further in a culture of youth that has known nothing but a world-wide English *lingua franca*. To a generation that sports wrist-watch calculators, second language learning is an abacus. Why attempt a *classical* language when the odds are already against you? Ancient works have been translated into English—many repeatedly—and attempts at wielding the basic tools of exegesis are, according to one of my degreed co-workers, 'like re-inventing the wheel'. One seminary student commented to me recently that learning Greek had been more challenging than his other recent accomplishment: graduation from law school. Language study of any kind requires a greater input of effort and hours than many would deem profitable—and, as I shall argue, the task continues to get harder.

Language Acquisition amidst the New Hellenization

No longer is it sufficient to say that English is the language of wider communication (LWC), or *lingua franca*. Rather, English is positively *invad-*

ing other cultural arenas. It is no longer a mere convenience, it is a necessity, a global imperative. American students were once encouraged to study German because it was the language of scientific and theological research, or to study French because it was the language of love, or Spanish because it opened windows to incoming North American ethnics. Language departments were relabeled 'language and culture' departments even though these entities can neither be equated nor indissolubly conneted—a disconcerting reality proclaimed loudly in the field of language ideology.[4] The old maxim went: 'He who gains a language gains a soul'. Revised for today's youth, it might say: 'He who gains a language ought to get a life'.

The 'triumph' of the English language is extending far beyond North America by geometric increments, a fact bemoaned by a Swedish university professor who said (in personal conversation) that English has 'invaded our cultural domains'. He explained that tradition-bound topics and even private conversations between Swedes were occurring more and more in English, even in a nation that a few decades ago had made the astounding decision to provide primary and secondary immigrant students an education in their native tongues. Keeping stride with that Scandinavian trend is the fact that graduate students throughout much of Europe are now expected to produce publishable work in English as well as in their native tongue. English is to the modern world what Alexander's Greek had become to the ancient Mediterranean.

Many people are realizing that the most effective investment of effort is to learn one second language, English, as a supplement to their native tongue (NL). In theory, then, people from around the world could converse with everyone while knowing only two languages. English already has become *the* second language to learn. So, for example, a forty-one year-old West African informant I interviewed for a recent project said he had acquired seven languages fluently (and three others with limited comprehension) by adulthood so that he could navigate the vicissitudes of inter-tribal communication in his native Liberia. The younger generation of Africans, like their European counterparts, is considering a much simpler tactic: use the NL at home and English everywhere else. How can it be that English is so easily acquired? Quite simply, it is a structurally simple language that is taught in the classroom and honed to perfection during daily interaction. The 'word on the street' is English. The joke on campus these days is: 'How can you identify an international student? He's the one who speaks *perfect* English.'

This language shift of sorts (it has occurred in the L2, not the NL, of many populations) is being facilitated on many levels. The shift is toward

4. See, for example, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994.

languages of prestige, while prestige is gained in connection with cultural desirability, through wealth, or by virtue of its implicit promise of increased accessibility. Perceptions of language prestige can be schizophrenic: the culture associated with a language may be discredited because of politics or religion, but if it opens doors it is deemed valuable. Despite the fact that Osama bin Laden issues vitriolic threats in a Classical Arabic that was described by one European Arab scholar (in personal conversation) as 'flawless' and 'stunning in beauty', many Fundamentalist Moslems would rather agree with three Jordanian students who once confided to this writer: 'America we hate, but Americans we love'. Of course they used English to convey these sentiments, and they often stuck with it even while conversing with each other.

The ubiquitous American media—from TV sit-coms to Steven Seagal action videos to Back Street Boys CDs—have brokered the success of international English. And the advent of the internet, with its preference for the English language, is cinching the deal. By the time they finish their elementary years, monolingual American students have most likely interacted with peers from around the world *in English*. But a side-effect is that students now entering college who might have considered some kind of second language study are implicitly prejudiced against the prospect. They have cyber-traveled the globe without knowing a single foreign word. It is any surprise, then, that one Scandinavian university recently cut its German language faculty by half for lack of interested students. Why should they learn more languages? In their mind, they arrived at university already having what they needed to engage the world.

So, language instructors who fail to reckon with these developments of the last half-dozen years will unwittingly find themselves resisting a tide of indifference borne of functional reality. Whereas the acquisition of multiple codes once marked the cosmopolitan or the polymath, it now takes only two languages (in theory, anyway) to circulate globally. A dire report issued by the Worldwatch Institute[5] fits this picture: it claims that half, and perhaps even ninety percent, of the world's 6800 living languages are headed for extinction within the century. One wonders if the new world status symbol might be native English *mono*lingualism.

Language Learning amidst Iconography

This trend pertaining to modern languages, I believe, is influencing the prospects of ancient language instruction. As the FBI advertises for Arabic translators in our post-9/11 society, undergraduate and graduate enrollments in French, German and Russian have diminished by one-third to one-half

5. See Superville 2001.

since 1990, according to a recent issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.[6] The trend is not without exceptions: students of Spanish have increased in the same period by about one-fifth. But the overall tide is flowing away from foreign language study, and that holds huge implications for classical language instruction. If the acquisition of a foreign language with potential relevance to life is losing its appeal, then the appeal of some moribund code associated with arcane studies appears microscopic to postmodern teens.

So, why do students dare to engage in such an exercise? When I ask each of the hundred, or so, students I have mentored in Greek in recent years why they are taking it, I usually hear one of three answers. A handful indicate their desire to become classical language scholars at an institution of higher education. Another small group say they are meeting a core foreign language requirement and my Greek class happened to fit into their schedule. Besides, Greek sounds exotic! (Despite my worst fears, some of these have been of superior caliber.) The majority, predictably, were taking Greek as a preparation for Christian ministry in various Protestant or Eastern Orthodox traditions. They hope it will serve them in preaching or teaching, and they intend to apply their skills in a parish context one day.

What they have in common is that they dare to resist a wall of inertia reinforced by a popular culture of 'iconography'. I intend the term, here, in the sense coined by Neil Postman in his books *The Disappearance of Childhood* and *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. Postman observed that whereas the printing press threw open the gates of a private or esoteric world to anyone who could read, pictures and images (icons) throw open those gates to anyone who can *see*. Teachers (and parents) bemoan the diminished reading capacities of college students—in English. How can this not be worse for Greek? If students find it difficult enough to discipline themselves to read the words of their native language in sequence—an absolutely necessary task in order to comprehend meaning—then how much harder will it be when we ask them to think of varying SVO *or* VSO clause structures? Or to entertain case morphology instead of the linear-based analytic grammar of their native English? Or to keep post-positives always post-positive? Or to juggle noun declensions? Or to remain flexible enough to imagine the language-specific idiosyncrasy of prepositions when most undergraduates cannot even define the word? Decreasing English literacy is reducing the pool from which we may hope to develop students with Greek literacy.

How do I assess my students' long-term prospects? I find it delightfully ironic that the number taking classical languages at Geneva College sometimes rivals the number starting into Spanish. However, the painful reality is that only a handful will continue to use Greek (or Spanish) after they

6. Brown 2001: 10.

graduate, so I have become determined to find techniques that may increase the chances that they will stay the course.

Unrealistic Expectations of Undergraduates

To that end, I start early by filtering my students from the outset. A study of incoming freshmen conducted recently at Geneva College uncovered some startling figures. About one-third (32%) reported that, during their high school years, out-of-class weekly study time was no more than two hours, if not absent altogether.[7] Approximately half (49%) reported 3-5 (27%) or 6-10 (22%) hours per week. So I begin my GRK101 classes with cold realism, something many young adults are short of. In my initial class sessions I aim to compensate for their perceptual deficiency. About sixty percent of incoming students devoted the same or less weekly study time to *all* of their high school study (i.e. up to five hours) as I recommend for my one Greek class! Students often nod submissively when told that language learning requires constant effort, but many fail to heed the warning. Hence, I make it concrete: I tell them that the Greek definite article paradigm has two dozen slots, as do adjectives and nouns, and that a Greek verb (counting participial forms) can take about 480 manifestations. Some elect to drop the course shortly thereafter.

Then, I advise course survivors that learning is best done in short bursts of 5-10 minutes for the acquisition of paradigms, in blocks of 15-20 minutes for vocabulary review, and perhaps for an hour at a time for sentence and text translations that apply the paradigms they have supposedly memorized. Hence, my first round of engagement during the opening days of class occurs at the level of perception: I cannot change student culture, but I can influence their expectations. I regard it an act of honesty.

Study Habits in the Era of Disabilities

Federal and state laws pertaining to educational institutions evidence a growing body of legal statutes relating to students with disabilities. Just how much of the population has a genuine disability and how much has been 'written into' the category of the disabled, I do not know and cannot speculate. But any course that requires memorization and the production of objective right/wrong outcomes, such as the sciences, math and languages,

7. I am indebted to Graduate Education professor David Guthrie for providing this information. Students further reported as follows regarding weekly study time during their high school years: zero (2%), up to one hour (13%), 1-2 hours (19%), 3-5 hours (27%), 6-10 hours (22%), 11-15 hours (9%), 16-20 hours (about 5%), and over 20 hours (about 4%). Yet self reporting tends to be optimistic.

is going to feel the crunch of students with learning disabilities. Thankfully, the field which has empowered legal statutes also suggests methods of effective learning. Established research in disabilities suggests that people use four different strategies for learning. Lerner (1997) is one recent example of the current educational consensus regarding these 'modalities of learning'. Most undergraduates need help assessing their best learning strategies or that steep L2 learning curve may expose their weakness and lead to early failure. From the outset, I encourage students to figure which of the four learning modalities works best for them, so I demonstrate methods appealing to all four modalities and encourage my students to put into service what works best for them.

One modality is that of *auditory* strategies, 'the ability to store and recall what one has heard'. It includes the ability to remember sequences and the blending (or separating) of sounds. I have found that, depending on their native dialect, some have difficulty distinguishing certain sounds. Many cannot hear the difference between the *alpha* and *omicron*, for in many North American dialects the very word often cited as illustrative of the *alpha* pronunciation (*father*) has a stressed vowel pronounced the same as the vowel in the word *hot*. Students with Southern dialects especially struggle with the *epsilon-eta* and *omicron-omega* distinctions. It is crucial to learn sounds patterns when learning any language, even a reconstructed or moribund language, and a wrong reconstruction is better than none at all. So I urge 'correct' pronunciation. (A few students have indicated to me that they previously had been instructed in Greek but were not expected to learn *any* pronunciation whatsoever!)

In connection with auditory strategies, I encourage what I nickname *mantras*—a catchy label when used in a Christian liberal arts environment. But I am not teaching Eastern mysticism; my students are learning to repeat paradigms with a rhythm—usually, suffixes, with or without connecting vowels, depending on which works best when spoken out loud. I have them repeat, for example, the present verb endings in an almost mind-altering fashion: 'ω…εις…ει…ομεν…ετε…ουσιν' over and over again for a few minutes at a time. When a student has trouble recognizing a verb in context, I ask him to activate the mantra, and the identification is more forthcoming.

But there are other learning modalities as well. A second one involves *visual* strategies. Lerner[8] states that 'the ability to discriminate letters and words *visually* is essential in learning to read'. A third modality involves a *tactile* strategy, activating the sense of touch. It is closely related to a fourth, called *kinesthetic* perception, which involves body movements and muscle feelings. (These two are sometimes grouped together and labeled 'haptic'.[9])

8. 1997: 331.
9. Lerner 1997: 336.

I encourage students to practice language while walking and moving about. For even though I am not in the business of teaching educational psychology, I do promote all four strategies and model them in the classroom. So, on the paradigm cited, I direct my students to write out the Greek letters and do so repeatedly (but only for a brief time). They are to scratch out the endings on a piece of paper, activating sight and movement along with sound, and they are to walk around their dorm room while in the process. This pastiche approach maximizes the likelihood of the paradigm being stored and available for retrieval from the memory. The old adage about the necessity of 'memorization' is unhelpful, in my opinion, because it is non-descript: *how* one memorizes is more important, because it is idiosyncratic to the learner.

Seeing is Understanding: The Value of Mnemonic Devices

Memory, of course, is crucial to learning Greek. But explaining to students *why* the above techniques are needed goes a long way. The difference between short- and long-term memory is an important concept for them to wrestle with, for getting morphological material transferred from the first to the second kind of memory is the difference between a pass and a fail. Hockenbury and Hockenbury[10] state: 'At best, you can hold most types of information in short-term memory up to 30 seconds before it's forgotten' in the absence of repetition of some sort, i.e. what is called 'maintenance rehearsal'.

Relevant specifics are vital to language study: for memory of numbers, about seven (give or take two) is the maximum in the short run. Visual memory is even briefer, lasting as little as one-half second in the worst cases. 'Memory chunks'—perhaps a word or cluster of closely-connected items—are the pieces put up for barter between the two terms of memory. When transferred to long-term memory, chunks are stored as either 'procedural' information (relating to skills, operations and actions); as 'episodic' information (memory of an event); or as 'semantic' information (including facts, names, definitions, concepts, ideas).[11]

Moving material from short- to long-term memory requires bridges—and thankfully, many kinds are available. In Western Pennsylvania, students see bridges all the time, for Pittsburgh has been dubbed 'the city of a thousand bridges'. State license plates are imprinted with a keystone. Every teacher should know the value of memory devices, or bridges, yet I am seeing more and more language aids that attempt to do this *for* the student instead of

10. 2000: 227.
11. 2000: 230-31. See also Kosslyn and Rosenberg 2001: 200-205.

getting the student to create them himself. Instead, I give a few examples to my students and then I elicit theirs. I encourage two kinds of mnemonic devices, *visual* and *auditory*. (I have explored the potential of culinary mnemonic devices as well, distributing home-made baclava to a class disgruntled by some low scores on a recent test; results of that study are forthcoming!) For visual, I urge the use of the standard flash card: repeated sketchings of words or suffixes until they catch on. One student reported that she pasted her dorm room with flash cards; the roommate is not thrilled but the student got straight A's.

Since language is living—or at least *was* living at some time in its history—I take the liberty of 'personifying' it for my students. 'Prepositions are bullies: they demand the case of the noun they govern. Participles are fickle: they decide whether to be adjectival or substantival only after they have surveyed their lexical environment. Adjectives are conformists: they always agree with the nouns they modify. Third declensions are devious: they love to trick unsuspecting students.' Students usually remember preposterous things—purple dinosaurs and teenage mutant ninja turtles come to mind—so why not create a grammatical 'theatre of the absurd'? Prepositions, of course, are hard to define: one recent grammar of English I consulted, apparently oblivious to the principle that a word cannot appear in its own definition, defined a preposition as 'a word that heads a prepositional phrase'. Instead, I offer some gems from past students: a *preposition* is 'everywhere a cat can go and then some' or 'everything you can do with a cloud'. These quirky aids are proving quite effective.

I still sense that morphology paradigms, like religious denominations, are necessary evils. Both claim to present the facts at the risk of stifling curiosity. But other techniques, like songs, are curiously effective when it comes to memory. One of my new students came to his second class period excited to have learned the Greek alphabet quickly: he had set it to the tune of 'Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee'.

It's All Greek to Me—Or Is It?

Everyone possesses a strong sense of what constitutes a 'good' utterance in his L1. The smallest alteration in phonetics or morphology, even the slightest shift in semantic nuance, not to mention the stretching of syntactic possibilities (such as the separation of verb and preposition in two-word verbs like 'run up' and 'write down'), taxes the native speaker's sense of 'rightness'. For example, it was the pronunciation of the city name *Seattle* as /sitl/ that prompted a wary Canadian customs officer into a line of questions late in 1999 that culminated in the arrest of a man attempting to bring a carload of explosives across the border intended for the Los Angeles airport. He was betrayed by a phoneme. It was the kind offer of Philippinos in Manila to

carry my 'luggages' that reminded me that their otherwise excellent English was, nevertheless, a second language. And it was a British man's offer to 'nurse' a baby which made it evident he was not from North America. And is it the fact that certain sentences which I regard as acceptable English—such as 'That the car is well cared for is quite clear to me'—but which are considered unacceptable to Western Pennsylvanians who assure me that 'This sentence needs changed', which reinforces to many of my students that I am not a native-born American. Despite our differences, though, all of us have a strong sense of what makes 'good' grammar.

This deeply embedded instinct can be used to our advantage in the instruction of Greek. Students love prescriptive grammar rules even when they cannot explain why. They know that sentences such as 'This is he' or 'This is she' represent correct wording, though few have heard of 'linking verbs' or can remember 'predicate nominatives'. Childhood instincts once led us to believe that a foreign language sounded 'strange' or 'weird'. So I like to turn the tables by using supportive evidence from students' native language to show the 'normalcy' of Greek, quite often to their surprise. For example, during a recent class session, a student complained about how 'unfair' it was that neuter plural nouns in Hellenistic Greek usually take singular verbs. English, he said, would not do such a ridiculous thing. Of course, he was wrong. I reminded him of the difference between American and British English dialects when it comes to collective plurals: Americans say 'Congress *is* in session' while the British say 'Parliament *are* in session'. Then I asked him if he has seen recent headlines in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, which oscillated back and forth when it came to the *Taliban*: the paper used both British and American forms, so that in reports from Afghanistan, 'The Taliban…' were said to 'execute…believe…flee' on some days while the Taliban 'executes/believes/flees…' on others. Gradually, Greek starts to look a little more 'fair' after all. With their own language exposed, students are more open to foreign idiom.

Baiting always helps. It keeps students on their toes because they cannot know what is coming next. Not a few have been primed to think that, if a class is difficult, it must be entirely the fault of the subject (or the instructor). After all, had I not told them from the outset that Greek was hard? And had they not heard from pulpits and Bible commentaries that Greek was a 'deeply meaningful' and 'rich' language, and that even the word λόγος had more than fifty meanings? Then it codes all its nouns for case—how impossible is *that*! It must take a super-sleuth to unravel the complexities of a language like that! At least, that is what many young adults are thinking. So I turn the tables: I ask if English ever works the same way. They know that if I have asked the question, I am onto something. So I bait them again: where does English show this kind of morphological coding? Most are baffled, but some come alive when they realize that English pronouns have been keeping great secrets:

he/him/his, *she/her/hers* and *who/whom/whose* are vestiges of Old English case marking. Students have been betrayed by their own familiar linguistic territory. So I find that once they become suspicious about their own NL, they are more openly curious about this strangle L2. When they realize that English words can have vastly different referents depending on context, they are more open to the variability of Greek words. And I ask them mockingly: if English is *that* complex, could Greek be all that much harder?

Talking with the Dead: Reading as Dialogue-Surrogate

Dulay, Burt and Krashen[12] show that L2 acquisition depends heavily on environmental and subjective factors, and that 'mechanical or manipulative practice', e.g. manual translation, and frequent repetition alone, are of limited value.[13] Instead, 'full, two-way communication' is the optimal mode for effective language learning. This presents an obvious problem for teaching a moribund language. However, it need not mean that 'dialogue' reinforcement is eliminated, only that it is restricted. We have to be creative. Students who use oral approaches usually report considerable improvement, whether their responsive interaction was to CD-ROMs (such as the one accompanying Mounce's text), to a study companion, to in-class prompting from the instructor, or to audio tapes of themselves reading familiar blocks of text. They must, however, realize the necessary time investment and strategizing needed to acquire Greek. We can approximate, even if we cannot equate with, that oral scenario by reading many Greek sentences, using verbal inquiry techniques, and by eliciting Greek-to-English *and* English-to-Greek equivalences in their writing and speech.

A phenomenon of learning, including learning of languages, that will keep instructors humbled is that of *implicit* learning. Hockenbury and Hockenbury[14] discuss memory without awareness (implicit, or non-declarative), i.e. knowledge and abilities that one possesses even apart from conscious apprehension. Many of my students, quite independently of each other, have commented that no matter how fast or slow we progress in class and no matter what the topic happens to be, they 'get it' a week or two *after* the fact. They seem to be reflecting this phenomenon of implicit learning: after we stop teaching and they stop studying, *students continue to learn unconsciously*. This leads me to wonder whether a slightly delayed testing policy might be in order, leaving a buffer between what we have just taught in class and the material we cover on their next test.

12. 1982: 13-43.

13. 1982: 43. See also Brown 1987: 38-39, on fallacious assumptions about repetition in language acquisition.

14. 2000: 231-32. See also Ellis 1995.

Conclusion

The discussion I am involved in has been influenced by modern linguistics with its emphasis on *spoken* language and the importance of oral interaction to an understanding of meaning-in-context. One of the more thorough-going attempts at this approach is Dobson's 1988 grammar (and reprints), which takes a kind of anecdotal, oral or inductive approach. Kubo[15] expresses the philosophy clearly as he 'emphasizes the recognition of individual forms and their translation, rather than the memorization of entire paradigms'. These contrast sharply with language instruction tradition, which perhaps might be symbolized by Harper and Weidner's 1888 volume, *An Introductory New Testament Greek Method*, which expresses its philosophy in seven principles littered with educational dirty words like 'careful examination', 'systematized' arrangement and 'memorizing'.[16] Harper and Weidner defend the approach, interestingly enough, by stating: 'The memorizing of the facts of a language before a knowledge of the principles has been acquired is, indeed, a piece of drudgery, and yet not so great as is the memorizing of grammar without a knowledge of the facts'.[17]

One century later, I am cautiously inclined to agree. I question whether the modern linguistic method that is undergirded by phonetic transcription and analysis necessarily *requires* an approach to basic language instruction other than the traditional memorization of paradigms. The only successful exception I can imagine would be the teaching of a classical language in a context where its daughter dialect is a living code. Hence, I admit that the ideas suggested in this paper remain open for experiment. For the time being, at least, my students will continue to memorize paradigms as they attempt to converse with the dead.

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15. See his 1979 grammar, and reprints, including comments on the book's back cover.
16. See in particular Kubo 1979: vi-vii.
17. Kubo 1979: viii.

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Adapting Technology to Teach Koine Greek

Rodney J. Decker

Introduction[1]

> In today's cultural vortex of rapid technological change, half-truths and outright falsehoods swirl around us, buffeting our common sense while lifting our imaginations to new heights of revelry. Every day we hear of the promises of cyberspace, the possibilities of the Internet, and breakthroughs in all manner of computer technologies.[2]

Technophiles wax messianic over new devices and bedazzle their auditors with 'breathless prophecies of social regeneration' through the latest technology.[3] Cyberspace has been nearly deified.[4] There have been utopians

1. The original presentation utilized many of the technologies discussed in the paper and many elements of the oral presentation remain, including frequent use of first person. Much of that material cannot be adapted to print for traditional publication. The reader should realize that any paper of this sort will be rapidly outdated by the continued developments in software and hardware. Reading parts of it in a few years will surely seem archaic. The content of this published version has been generalized in an attempt to extend its useful life. Hopefully the principles discussed will be relevant even when the technology has long been superseded.

2. Douglas Groothuis, *The Soul in Cyber-Space* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1997), p. 9. *Cyberspace* was coined in the 1984 novel *Neuromancer* by William Gibson. It refers to 'the "space" in which computer-mediated communication occurs, that is, to the interface between digital bits and human consciousness—or between silicon and the soul' (Groothuis, *Cyber-Space*, pp. 13-14). The first two paragraphs of this paper have been adapted from my earlier article, 'Communicating the Text in the Postmodern Ethos of Cyberspace: Cautions Regarding the Technology and the Text', *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 5 (Fall 2000), pp. 45-70.

3. Groothuis, *Cyber-Space*, pp. 10-11.

4. Technology has become a god 'in the sense that people believe technology works, that they rely on it, that it makes promises, that they are bereft when denied access to it, that they are delighted when they are in its presence, that for most people it works in mysterious ways, that they condemn people who speak against it, that they stand in awe of it, and that in the born-again mode, they will alter their lifestyles, their schedules, their habits, and their relationships to accommodate it. If this be not a form of religious belief, what is?' (Neil Postman, *The End of Education* [New York: Knopf, 1995], p. 38). Slouka's reaction is similar: 'The literature of cyberspace, I now began to see, was all about

throughout history and contemporary technology has now produced its share of 'digitopians'.[5] On the other hand, there is no end to the nay-sayers (both secular and religious) who are convinced that Armageddon is just around the corner—cyberspace is the kingdom of antichrist. But we need to view all this carefully before we adopt the panaceas that will certainly bring in the kingdom—or before we retreat to non-technological enclaves to await our deliverance.[6]

The purpose of this paper is not to provide a philosophical critique of technological issues, though I certainly realize that they exist. Nor is it a training manual for implementing the various technologies that are mentioned. The goals are rather to demonstrate some of the potential benefits in adapting current technology for use in teaching Greek on the one hand, and, on the other, to suggest a few of the pitfalls that might be encountered by those who choose to explore such means. This paper is neither a listing of

salvation. The new, electronic millennium. Transcending time and space, the family and the body' (Mark Slouka, *War of the Worlds: Cyberspace and the High-Tech Assault on Reality* [New York: Basic Books, 1995], p. 29).

5. One of the most obvious examples of a digitopian is Nicholas Negroponte, *Being Digital* (New York: Random House, 1996). A volume that would be worth reading in this regard is *Responsible Technology* (ed. Stephen Monsma; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986). Although written when cyberspace was only an infant, and long before the 'web' was envisioned, it presents a serious Christian critique of the underlying technologies and philosophies involved. The authors argue that 'this drive for human autonomy and mastery apart from God and his will manifests itself in what we will call *technicism.* Technicism reduces all things to the technological; it sees technology as the solution to all human problems and needs. Technology is a savior, the means to make progress and gain mastery over modern, secularized cultural desires' (p. 49). This is also the theme of Jacques Ellul's *The Technological Bluff* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990); see also David Wells, *Losing our Virtue* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 23-25.

6. 'A good long squint and some head-scratching directed at the emerging world of cyberspace may equip us to make some wise choices while we yet have choices to make. From a Christian perspective, such rumination is not merely an academic exercise: It forms the heart of biblical discipleship. Followers of Christ have always lived with the creative tension of being in, but not of, the world system. They are citizens of heaven, yet emissaries of Christ on earth. As such, their pattern of life must resist the corruption and coercion of sinful ways of life in order to honor their Sovereign.' And again, 'This does not mean one must regard every new technology as the invincible advance of Antichrist or as another Tower of Babel. We need not be reactionary Luddites, who want to smash new technology simply because they alter our forms of life. Human ingenuity in subduing creation, including technical facility, is part of what it means to be made in God's image.' Later in his helpful book, Groothuis points out that 'We should aim to be wise skeptics who realize that something is wrong with everything in a fallen world, that things are rarely as good as they seem initially, and that finite and fallen knowers can never accurately predict all the effects of a new mode of life' (Groothuis, *Cyber-Space*, pp. 19, 20, 53).

nor a review of all possible avenues, but a representative sampling that will hopefully suggest some creative means to enhance a common end: introducing students to the language of koine Greek, particularly the language of the New Testament.

It should be noted at the outset that the use of technology is not to be regarded as a pedagogical panacea. It has some unique advantages, but it also comes with inherent complexities, some of which can be counterproductive. It also comes at high cost, in terms of both the time required to implement and maintain such systems, and the significant investment in hardware and software up front and the ongoing cost of upgrading the same. Some technologies are not compatible with individual teaching styles and there is no guarantee that, even if they are compatible, they will produce a corresponding increase in the student's mastery of the material.

The use of some technological enhancements in teaching Greek does have the potential in some situations to improve both teaching and learning. For example, the use of (static) graphics, video, and animation in addition to traditional text-based approaches has correspondingly greater potential for effective learning since multiple cognitive pathways are involved.[7] The following multimedia techniques, all of which are adaptable to use in both the classroom and in an Internet/web environment, suggest some ways in which Greek pedagogy might be enhanced.

- Audio annotations to graphics
- Graphical visualization
- Audio annotations to video demonstrations
- Video demonstrations of graphical elements
- Animated graphical frames (animated gifs)
- Audio annotations for animated graphics
- Animation of physical [linguistic?] concepts
- Text annotations to video frames[8]

In all of these techniques there must be a text-based interpretive framework to provide content. Multimedia in themselves are of little educational value apart from such a basis, for then it becomes simply entertainment. But such enhancements can be sound pedagogical tools that can help a teacher explain and illustrate that content.

It is also necessary to be cognizant of the context in which we attempt to implement such technological endeavors. What may be realistic for use

7. Nishikant Sonwalkar, 'Changing the Interface of Education with Revolutionary Learning Technologies', *Syllabus* 15.4 (November 2001), p. 12.

8. Sonwalkar, 'Changing the Interface', p. 12. Sonwalkar's list includes several additional items that do not seem to me to be useful in teaching koine Greek in the usual written/read format, though they would be to language courses that teach an oral/conversational level of the language.

in the setting of cultural affluence is frequently not realistic in third-world countries. Even the school with the most meager of budgets for technology is remarkably wealthy compared with some of our fellow teachers in other countries. In a discussion on the B-Greek List in the summer of 2001, a query regarding using technology brought a helpful reminder from Dr Stephanie Black who teaches Greek formerly in Ethiopia and now Kenya. For her, *chalk* is a helpful technology—and even that is rationed!

The key factor in successfully teaching koine Greek is not in the technology used, but in the teacher's ability to communicate complicated, nonnative concepts to students in a manner that is both clear and compelling. Clarity and motivation are far more important than technology. Greek pedagogy will not be improved simply by throwing money at a department saddled with ineffective teachers. A good teacher, by contrast, will make the best of any tools available, whether that be a piece of chalk, a video projector, an electronic whiteboard, or any of the technologies that will surely emerge in the years to come.

Background

Although I would normally hesitate to do so in a paper of this sort, it would be helpful for you to know something of my experience in attempting to adapt technology to teach Greek. The following vita is shared, not to boast of my own work, but so that you know either how limited my perspective may be (if you happen to have done much more than I have in this area),[9] or so that you can determine how closely my experimentation and institutional resources might parallel your own situation.

I have taught Greek since 1990 at two different institutions, both at the undergraduate and the graduate level. My present position involves teaching Greek at an unaffiliated, regionally accredited, Baptist seminary in which two and a half years of Greek are required in a three-year Master of Divinity program. Our school is not large—the seminary program accounts for approximately 250 students in a total undergraduate and graduate enrollment of 1,100. I thus speak from a context quite different from those who may work in a university setting.

My first venture into adapting technology was in the early 1990s as I designed and installed a new biblical languages lab built around Accordance

9. I well remember the experience of a noted New Testament scholar at an SBL textual criticism section meeting a number of years ago. He demonstrated how he had adapted technology for use in New Testament textual criticism. He was using, at that time, the AppleWorks database running, if I remember correctly, on an Apple IIe. The following speaker then demonstrated a sophisticated program dedicated solely to textual criticism—much to the chagrin of the first speaker! I realize that I run a similar risk.

software on a Macintosh network, though we also grandfathered some older DOS equipment that ran the GRAMCORD software on dual-floppy 80286s. In the classroom I installed a Macintosh-controlled grayscale LCD panel on an overhead projector.

When I later moved to Pennsylvania to teach I inherited a similar system, though the equipment consisted of a color LCD active-matrix panel running from a Windows box. In the past few years we have gradually moved to video projection systems, initially a single portable unit, now to multiple classrooms with ceiling-mounted projectors, electronic white boards, and live Internet connections, all controlled from permanent teaching stations.

I have also ventured into teaching Greek as an Internet course. The first such class was offered in 1997 and was implemented with standard web pages. More recently we have moved to commercial course delivery software and have twice taught the first three semesters of Greek in this format. I have also experimented extensively with using similar technology to supplement the traditional residential course.

My current semester resident classes consist of approximately twenty students in each of first semester Elements of Greek and a third semester Greek Reading course. There are an additional half dozen students enrolled in the Internet-only version of Greek Reading. These Internet students are physically spread from coast to coast.

Hardware

With that background, consider the potential options, both hardware and software. The most common delivery method for teaching Greek is the traditional resident classroom. More recently Internet courses have become feasible and popular.[10] A third option is the hybrid 'super course' which supplements a resident course format with a web site that adds technology more commonly associated with Internet courses.[11] The technologies discussed below will have varying application in these different settings.

Currently the most versatile piece of hardware for the classroom is the video projector. Anything that can be displayed on a computer monitor, whether class content or actual linguistic software, can be projected onto

10. Contrary to common belief, many Internet students are not strictly distance education students. They are more likely to be simultaneously enrolled in resident courses. They often take Internet courses for scheduling convenience rather than to overcome limitations of geographical location. This has been the experience of our seminary's Internet course offerings and is substantiated by Steven W. Gilbert, 'The Hybrids Are in Bloom', Technology Implementation column, *Syllabus* 14.6 (January 2001), p. 16.

11. Such hybrid courses are sometimes referred to as web-enhanced or web-enabled courses. The web component of these courses is accessed by the student outside of the regular classroom context.

a screen of almost any size. If the projector is properly sized to the room, this can be done at normal room lighting levels—something that was very difficult (and expensive) to accomplish only a few years ago.[12] Ideally these projectors should be permanently mounted on the ceiling of the classroom, although portable solutions are feasible when necessary.

Another technical tool that has become more affordable of late is the electronic whiteboard. Although smaller, portable models are available, to be practical in the classroom, these must be large and permanently mounted.[13] They look like a standard whiteboard, but are actually a large touch screen that works in tandem with a computer and video projector. The touch screen transmits contact information from a plastic tipped pen to the computer which translates the location to a colored mark or line on the computer monitor as well as projects the same colored mark onto the surface of the white board itself using the video projector. The board thus serves two purposes: to record the location of the pen and to serve as the projection screen for the video projector.[14]

This is a remarkably versatile tool for teaching Greek. The teacher can project prepared course material (using *any* software tool available[15]) that is far more legible than his or her handwriting on a conventional chalkboard or white board. It is also much faster than writing by hand. Although a video projector can do that on any surface, the advantage of the electronic white board is that it is interactive and instantly reusable. The teacher can write on the screen in a 'layer' that is separate from the projected text, can then save those annotations, print them, or instantly erase them. It serves as an infinite series of blank whiteboards with the added advantage of being able to return to any previous board if desired. I use this constantly in my classes, whether by marking up paradigm charts to show similarities or differences with previous material, walking students through translation exercises, dissecting the morphology of a verbal form, showing

12. Projectors with a minimum of 1,500 lumens are recommended for classrooms of average size. Brighter (and more expensive) projectors are necessary for lecture halls or auditoriums.

13. I use boards of approximately 4' × 5' in size (72' diagonal). This is adequate for my classes of twenty students, and I think this size could adequately serve up to 30 or 40 students. Screens much larger than this would be unusable along the top simply because most people can't reach that high. Since the board must match the proportion of a typical computer monitor, wider configurations are not presently practical.

14. In the years since this paper was originally written other options using tablet computers have become available which enable much larger projection screens since the instructor writes only on the computer monitor and does not need to reach the projection screen—or turn his or her back on the class.

15. This might be a presentation program, a word processor, or a technical study tool such as Accordance or BibleWorks. Software options are discussed later in the paper.

them the discourse structure of a passage, emphasizing key points of new material, or highlighting features of manuscripts being studied. If there is both a resident and an Internet section of the class, selected screens can be saved to a graphic file and posted on the course web site for the benefit of the Internet students.[16]

Software

There have been few software products designed explicitly for teaching Greek. Due to the nature of our discipline, it is frequently necessary to find creative ways to adapt general purpose software to meet the specialized needs of our craft.[17] Although the hardware is unavoidably expensive, it is not necessary to expend large sums of money on specialized software. There are a number of general software tools that can be used to good effect in the Greek classroom.

Word Processors

Although many people think immediately in terms of presentation programs such as Microsoft's PowerPoint for classroom materials, I have found that a word processor offers much greater flexibility and effectiveness, at least given my own style of teaching.[18] Since most institutions will have site licenses for such software, no additional cost is involved. My basic approach to using such a word processor is to prepare a single document for each textbook chapter. This document contains the information from the chapter that I intend to highlight in class, complete with any appropriate charts, graphics, translation exercises, etc. Since this is projected and not printed, I can use color freely—something that enables me to highlight, e.g., each morphological piece of a verb form, the various functional parts of a sentence, etc.

16. Other options for making this a progressive, step-by-step movie are considered below.

17. Since my topic is *adapting* technology, I will not be considering the use of software designed explicitly for the biblical languages such as Accordance on the Mac or BibleWorks on Windows, either of which can be used in the classroom to good effect.

18. Those who spend more time working with a presentation program may think that my view is jaundiced at this point! Someone who is skilled in such software can accomplish much of what I describe here, though to use this teaching style one would often have to revert to running in edit mode rather than in presentation mode—which defeats the purpose of using a presentation program in the first place. Once one does that, a word processor is explicitly designed for efficient editing and, I would argue, is the better tool for such purposes. But each to his own! Not everyone teaches the same way and not everyone uses a computer the same way, despite the similarities that are certainly present.

After preparing this document and formatting it with an appropriately sized font,[19] I then select the entire document and change the font size to 8 point. This makes it essentially unreadable when projected, but it allows me to control the flow of information as I teach. As I introduce each section in class, I select the appropriate line or paragraph and change the font size to 24 point. I have assigned several function keys on the keyboard to apply specific fonts and font sizes so that I do not have to reach for the mouse and access the font menu as I teach.

I can also change font colors or sizes interactively as I proceed. This makes it easy to review or administer a spontaneous self-test as I teach: columns and/or rows of charts can be made invisible by changing the text to white, then filled in by changing the color back to black, etc. as students supply the correct information, cell by cell. It is also very helpful in showing students how to analyze a sentence, applying either colored text or highlighting to the successive parts of a sentence, and to the specific morphological markers that identify each syntactical part. Any formatting that can be applied to text in a word processor thus becomes a potential tool in an appropriate setting. Newer versions of most word processors can also embed video clips or contain live links to web pages, all accessible within the document during the class session.

An additional advantage of using a word processor instead of a presentation program is the flexibility in moving backwards or forwards through the material in random sequence as questions arise regarding material that was previously covered, or forward if the class discussion raises a point not yet covered. Such flexibility and adaptability is much more difficult with a presentation program which assumes that the sequence be planned in advance. Although there are means of moving to different parts of a presentation out of sequence, this is much more difficult than navigating a word processing document in this fashion.[20]

It is likewise not possible to edit text live with a presentation program which assumes that specific content, wording, and sequence is known in advance. The spontaneity of the classroom, however, constantly suggests

19. A 24 point font is minimum for good legibility in projected text; 36 point may be necessary for larger classes.

20. Some presentation programs have the means of hiding a certain slide or series of slides and optionally accessing them at a particular point in the presentation if they are needed, but even then, the link is from a particular slide—which may not be where the presenter is when the question arises in class! It is also possible to right click in presentation mode and pop up a list of all the slides in a presentation file and go directly to a specific slide—*if* one knows the title or slide number one needs. And, of course, the user can always drop back into edit mode to find the right slide. Some may prefer these avenues, but I have found a word processor to be the more efficient tool at this task.

the value of improvisation. If, for example, a question arises regarding word order in a Greek sentence, a word processor enables the teacher to select and drag text to a different position in the sentence to illustrate the difference such a change makes or (more likely) does not make in the meaning of the sentence. This is not possible in the midst of a slide presentation unless one cancels the presentation and returns to editing mode—but that defeats the point of a presentation, to say nothing of being a very clumsy way of doing what is much easier in a word processor.

The list of possibilities could go on, but perhaps these suggestions are adequate to stimulate your own creativity in using a tool that you may not have considered. I would advise that you should know your software very well before attempting to use it before a live audience in this way. The last thing you want to do is become frustrated with the software while teaching. You should be able to perform the operations described above without stopping to figure out each step in the midst of your class session. The focus should not be on the technology, but on the content of your teaching session. The technology should be as nearly transparent as possible. Never draw attention to the 'gee-whiz' factor of what you can do on the screen. Use it naturally so that the students focus on what you are communicating to them, not on the means that you use to do so. A related caution: be careful that you do not go too fast. Since the technology allows you to present very large quantities of information very rapidly, do not assume that your students can keep pace. They still need the same amount of time to absorb the points you are making and to record what is necessary in their notes.

PDF Files

An ideal supplement to a word processor when material is to be presented not only live in the classroom but also on the web is the pdf file (portable document format). There are various programs available to create pdf files that can display and print a document originally created in almost any other software program without the user having that same software program or fonts installed.[21] It is also a cross-platform solution that allows the interchange of documents between a wide variety of platforms. This is a major advantage when students are likely to represent at least the Windows and Macintosh worlds and perhaps some flavor of Linux, etc. Software pdf viewers enable anyone to view and print pdf files without owning software that can create such files. I have developed all of my Internet courses around this core format for all the course content materials. Since I developed my course materials over a span of nearly 10 years in a different

21. Increasingly, operating systems and even other software programs enable the creation of pdf files without purchasing dedicated pdf creation software.

(legacy) font that my present students do not use, this enables them to view the materials without the font installed on their computer. (See additional notes regarding the font issues below.)

Acrobat can also be used with other programs. (Anything that can be printed can be captured in a pdf file.) I use it, for example, with Accordance (a Mac-only program), creating Acrobat documents from search results or from the diagramming module. This enables me to distribute files from a Mac-specific program to my students, most of whom are Windows users.

Presentation Programs

My preference for a word processor does not preclude using a presentation program. I do use it in my first year classes, though more selectively. I recommend that you use it for what it is good at: straightforward presentation and illustration of a tightly-knit sequence of material. I use it, for example, to introduce verb morphology. In this instance I am trying to communicate the concept of how verbs are formed and the significance of each morph rather than expecting them to understand each particular verb form. My presentation sequence utilizes the basic animation features of PowerPoint to illustrate the concept. I then return to a word processing document to take them step-by-step through their first verb form. I do something similar when I am introducing the concept of contract verbs. I also tend to use PowerPoint more in later classes where I am not concentrating on teaching the elemental mechanics of first year grammar and syntax. A presentation program is also more suited to handling a large number of graphics. If you include many photographs (as I do, for example, in my textual criticism classes), file size can easily mushroom beyond the 'safe' size of a word processing document.

Screen Video Recording

A somewhat more specialized piece of software (or at least less standard) is a program which captures everything that happens on the computer monitor with optional simultaneous voice recording from an external microphone to a video file. Especially when used in conjunction with an electronic white board, this can be very effective in recording a classroom segment step-by-step, complete with progressive electronic whiteboard annotations and instructor explanation. Although this will not have direct, in-class use as a teaching tool, it is invaluable in providing material for two other formats: first as a review tool for students who can study the clip from a class and listen to the teacher's explanation as they watch the material being illustrated, and second as a means of providing some of the traditional classroom flavor for Internet courses. I frequently record such segments in my regular class and then use them as part of the Internet class in which the students never sit in the classroom.

Animation Tools

There are a number of programs designed explicitly for creating computer animations. These are not usually part of a standard installation or site license and they are much more complicated to learn and use than a word processor. If, however, you have the support staff to help (or technically savvy students willing to contribute their skills), some very helpful animations can be constructed. These can be used either in the classroom or as web-based study/ review tools.

Another animation technique is the use of animated gif files.[22] This technique can be used, for example, to teach beginning Greek students to write the characters of the Greek alphabet. These graphic files can be included on appropriate web pages for use by either resident students or by Internet students. They are particularly helpful to the Internet student who otherwise never gets to see the instructor write the alphabet on the board. Creating an animated gif is much simpler than the complex process of using animation software—though obviously the options are much more limited.

Web Browsers/Pages

With the explosion of the World Wide Web there are a great many options available for teaching almost anything and Greek is no exception. This is not the place to discuss the ins and outs of the web, but only to suggest how it may be adapted to the needs of the Greek classroom. The web can be used to considerable advantage as a supplement to the regular classroom. A course web site can contain the usual syllabi, reading assignments, etc., but it can also be adapted to the specialized needs of teaching Greek. Many of the other items discussed in this paper can be organized easily in a web site since the framework is a very inclusive one that allows a myriad of other file formats and programs to run within the confines of a web browser. Some of the better candidates for use in this fashion are presentation files, static or animated gifs, pdf documents, animations, straight html content, and audio/ video files. The one format that is not as flexible here is the word processing document due to formatting and font issues (see below), though this can be accommodated if a standard program, and fonts can be defined and required of students so that the teacher can be confident that the student is seeing exactly what the teacher intends.[23]

22. Animated gifs are the computer equivalent of the old fashioned 'flip books' in which a series of small pictures are rapidly displayed to create the appearance of motion.

23. Converting word processing documents to Acrobat pdf files is usually the best option for posting this sort of material on the web. Otherwise using an interchange format such as rtf allows most word processors to view a document with most of its formatting intact.

The same approach can be incorporated in a course that is taught totally over the Internet. Here a more comprehensive approach is necessary since *everything* necessary for the course must be included. This can be done in a normal web site, though specialized course delivery software can expedite this to a considerable extent. The first year that I taught elemental Greek as an Internet course I used a standard web site constructed with html pages. I have since been able to move to using course delivery software (see below). When designing web pages, especially those that incorporate Greek fonts, it is always important to double check the resulting page in multiple versions of different browsers on different platforms since each will display the page in a slightly different way.[24]

Audio and Video

Adding audio and video to a course, either resident or Internet, requires greater expertise, but can be very valuable. The greatest need for audio-video material is in an Internet course since the only spoken Greek the student hears will be the audio files the teacher puts online. This is most crucial at the beginning of the course as the student learns to first pronounce the alphabet, then individual words, then entire sentences. I have recorded the beginning steps as very small audio files that consist of only an individual letter or word. Students can play them over as many times as necessary as they become proficient. I have also recorded the vocabulary lists for each chapter, as well as a number of the early reading assignments so that the student can hear the proper pronunciation (or at least the one that I use!).

Video recording is now feasible at a much lower cost and skill level than previously. Although they will not replace a professional video studio for some purposes, inexpensive video cameras can record video that is of acceptable quality for most Internet course purposes. In our Internet courses we have used both video shot in our campus studio as well as video recorded directly to the instructor's computer, either in the study or in the classroom. The later option is not only less expensive, but much more efficient in terms of a teacher's time since it is not necessary to reserve time in the studio, arrange for the camera technicians, and walk across campus to the studio.

We convert longer video clips to RealMedia format and stream them from our RealMedia Streaming Server. Using a streaming format makes both audio and video usable even on a 56K modem connection. Shorter clips (letters and words) are simply posted in wav format. Other formats that have equal or better quality and compression include Microsoft's

24. Version numbers are a moving target. Due to various technical differences, a minimum browser version should be required for Internet course use or for web resources for regular courses. Students who attempt to use older versions than those for which the course materials were designed will experience constant problems.

Windows Media and Apple's QuickTime. Streaming servers are also available for these formats.

One of the things that I have attempted to do in an Internet class to compensate for the lack of my ability to provide 'hands on' motivation for learning Greek is to record short videos consisting of the comments of a number of pastor friends regarding their use of Greek.[25] I sprinkle these throughout the year, all streamed in RealMedia format.

Although it is not as crucial for a resident class, it can still be useful to incorporate recorded audio. I have, for example, used an audio track that attempts to reproduce first-century koine pronunciation.[26] Although I still use Erasmian pronunciation, it helps the student conceptualize Greek as a living language. I have also incorporated a number of the video clips in the regular class.

Font Issues

One of the major problems with using modern technology to teach Greek is with fonts and various technical issues related to how computers handle fonts—much of which is arcane or incomprehensible to most of us in the classroom. We are nearing the end of a transitional time technologically and standards are finally taking hold.[27] At this point, everyone should be using Unicode for all Greek text, both in the classroom and on the web.[28] Doing so resolves enormous problems and complexity that we have dealt with for many years.

Specialized Course Delivery Software

With the growing popularity of Internet courses, there have been significant developments in specialized course delivery software. A number of such software packages are available, both commercial and open source. Many of the commercial products in this category are very expensive and can only

25. Remember that I teach in a seminary context preparing pastors; university teachers can substitute appropriate role models for their students.

26. Randall Buth has recorded the results of his work in this area on a CD. I have only a sample CD with a few tracks, but it is helpful for my limited purposes. Professor Buth would like us all to do more in this area, and he may be right.

27. That was not true in 2001 when this paper was originally presented. As a result this chapter is now much shorter than it was nearly ten years ago.

28. The original paper included nearly six pages of material explaining the differences between using legacy encoded fonts and Unicode fonts (which were only beginning to come into common use at the time). I will assume that most readers now use an operating system that contains built-in support for Unicode and can intelligently substitute fonts if necessary to display text in a web browser or other program. For any who might need an introduction, I have provided that in 'What a Biblical Scholar/Student Should Know about Unicode', available at <NTResources.com/unicode.htm>.

be justified by large institutions. Open source options are available, but they necessitate the requisite technical skills to install and configure.

Although much of what course delivery software does can be implemented using regular web pages, there are at least five major advantages to using course delivery software.

- All courses delivered with such software will have a consistent look and user interface. This makes it much easier for students to learn how to take a course.
- Unless there is professional development help available, such a course will also have a more professional appearance. A sloppy, amateurish appearance will diminish the credibility of the course and its content.
- Automated quiz/test capabilities are built into many course delivery packages, something which is very difficult to implement in a regular web page.
- Threaded discussion forums are an integral part of many such programs.
- The publisher provides technical support.

If teachers have adequate skilled support available through their institution, particularly if there are html and Java programmers and network engineers on staff, then such advantages may be less significant, especially if there are only a few courses being taught or supplemented with online resources. But if Internet capabilities are being utilized very extensively, then it is far more resource efficient to work within the framework of existing course delivery software solutions, even if these are supplemented with other web-based materials.

In contrast to the student's interaction with the program, the user interface for the course designer[29] is not necessarily user friendly. At times it may be downright clumsy. The learning curve is a steep one. Since this is presently a relatively new software category it does not have the maturity of other common software and is therefore often not as well designed as the typical word processor or presentation program. Part of the reason for that is due to the software architecture: the software runs totally on a server and both designers and students access all features of the program through a web browser. It is thus limited to the kind of controls and interface that can be implemented in a browser due to the current state of such technology.[30] All

29. By course designer I refer to the teacher—unless there is support staff to handle all the mechanics of an Internet course.

30. In the years since 2001, these capabilities have improved considerably, though course delivery systems are still primitive in terms of both interface and capabilities compared with desktop applications. The push toward cloud computing may hint at better options in the near future (as of 2009).

processing is done on the server; all the user sees is a screen display. Each change or command must be sent to the server and a new screen drawn for making even small changes. This has the disadvantage of slower response, although that is somewhat offset by the versatility of the design: everyone always has the same version of the course materials, and the software can be accessed from any computer with an Internet connection and a web browser. The instructor can work on the course from home or out of town just as easily as on campus, and that without installing any additional software on the other computer.

The designers of these software programs apparently never envisioned using the software for teaching a foreign language that uses a script different from English. Consequently, it takes some creative tactics to coax Greek out of a web browser running these tools, but it can be done effectively, especially now that we can use Unicode fonts. (Older versions of such programs did not support Unicode.) The user's web browser default font is used for all text. That means that, as in any web page, the designer has no way of knowing exactly what any given student's screen will look like. The content will be unchanged, but it may be formatted and spaced differently on each student's computer. As a result, spacing cannot be assumed; formatting must use tables or graphics if spacing is crucial.

The quiz systems available in some course delivery programs are often adequate to handle quizzes that include Greek, though it will take some experimentation to figure out some of the options. I use online quizzes, not only for the Internet students, but also for the regular resident classes. Doing so saves me a significant amount of class time each week and also allows my students to take the quiz when they are ready to do so. They can study as much as necessary to master the material and then take the quiz anytime before the deadline. I am experimenting this year with allowing the students to take each quiz twice and receiving the average grade of the two attempts. The software will administer this automatically, so it does not add an administrative load to my schedule and (hopefully!) encourages the students to master the material.

A variety of question types is possible, most of which can be graded automatically by the software. Quiz answers must be manually reviewed even when the software provides automated scoring. This is an ideal task for a teaching assistant or grader if you have that luxury. Each completed quiz is displayed for review and incorrect answers are flagged. All that is necessary is to scroll rapidly down the quiz until a flagged answer appears. Then a quick check can determine if it is a simple English misspelling, legitimate alternate translation, etc. (The software grades 'literally', letter-for-letter, so one extra space, incorrect spelling, or variant punctuation mark will be scored as incorrect; 'case insensitive' can usually be specified.) Multiple correct answers can be included and I always try to do this with vocabulary.

Translation is more difficult to grade automatically. I include a simple translation and sometimes an additional variation or two. This sometimes scores correctly, but translation questions must always be graded manually.

Parsing-related quiz questions stumped me for some time and initially I defaulted to making them short answer questions and grading manually. If students used my 'single letter parsing abbreviations'[31] in the correct sequence, this would grade correctly, but I could never determine easily if they had the correct lexical form. I have finally devised a multiple choice method of expediting a parsing question on a quiz. Instead of the usual four or five choices, I list about twenty. These answers, for which multiple responses are allowed, list the major parsing categories in sequence. For example,

Parse the following form; mark all that apply: ἐβαλομεν.

First person	Active voice
Second person	Middle voice
Third person	Middle or passive voice
Singular	Lexical form βαλω
Plural	Lexical form βλαω
Present	Lexical form βαλλω
Future	Lexical form ἐβαλον
Imperfect	Lexical form ἐβαλω
Aorist	Lexical form ἐβαλλω

In this format, the quiz software can correctly score the parsing. Be aware of one thing, however. If you only indicate the *correct* answers, some quiz software will score a 100% if the student marks *all* the options! A savvy student will figure this out after a few quizzes. To avoid this problem, it may be possible to define a *negative* score for *incorrect* answers. In this example, since there are five correct answers, each one can be scored as 20%, but the incorrect options can be marked in the question editor as worth -10% (or -20%, etc.). If students are told in advance how this parsing is scored, it becomes an effective way to prevent either guessing or cheating on such questions.

Course Development Suggestions

I conclude with six suggestions regarding developing technologically-aware Greek courses. 1. Start small and build over several years. Do not try to incorporate everything possible in one year—unless you have abundant

31. I use the single letter abbreviations that originated in the DOS version of GRAMCORD.

resources, both financial and support staff. Learn as you go. Become comfortable with one or a few technologies per semester. Developing a complete Internet course takes hundreds of development hours. Even though I already had all my course materials on computer, most of them already in use with a video projector in the classroom, it took me an entire summer to prepare my first Internet course offering of first year Greek, and then I completed many of the pieces as the semester progressed.

2. *Do* work toward developing web-based support materials for your resident classes even if you never attempt to teach Greek in a totally web-based class. Providing these resources to your students *is* worth the effort. It can save you a considerable amount of class time if you do nothing other than develop a quiz system that can be administered automatically out of class. Remember that everything you develop is a long term investment in your pedagogical tool box. You only have to do it once. (At least until you upgrade to different software or your old software no longer functions on new hardware, etc.—but that's life in the world of technology!) Future years can add additional pieces or enhance earlier ones.

3. In materials designed for student access (web enhancements to a course or especially Internet courses), use mainstream, 'least common denominator' technology whenever possible—technology that does not require the student to implement non-standard configurations or specialized technologies with complex installation procedures.[32] Also keep cross-platform issues in mind. Since you will frequently have students using at least Windows and Macintosh, do not use materials that can only be accessed from one or the other of those platforms. It is reasonable to expect students to install a particular font, to use an up-to-date browser, to be able to access both pdf files and word processing files through rtf interchange format. Beyond these basics, I would advise experimenting with more complex technologies only for optional course resources. In the classroom or a campus computer lab setting, you can, of course, assume more robust options. Where you need to be careful is in assuming what a student has in the dorm or at home, especially if he or she is a remote, Internet student with only a modem connection.

4. Be sure to provide explicit instructions for students, especially for technologies (such as online quizzes) that are a required part of a course. Provide the necessary information, step-by-step, in printed form, on the web, and in email. Tell them multiple times what to do and how to do it. The first two weeks can be somewhat hectic and even initially disheartening as they learn a new system, but they'll get the hang of it and they will appreciate the flexibility and additional help that it provides. It *is* worth it.

32. The continued growth and development of the web is a positive step in the direction of open access and cross-platform standards, but it is not a perfect world in this regard and probably will never be in every area.

5. Never experiment with a new piece of hardware or software in an actual class setting. Always test it without an audience, using the same computer, projector, etc. as will be used in class. One can lose far too much teaching time by debugging problems in front of a class. Even on a fast computer, rebooting wastes a lot of time, to say nothing of the disruption of the lesson when problems occur at an inopportune time. Always have a backup plan in mind. If you plan to incorporate network-dependent resources or a web page from another site, remember that network outages are seldom anticipated. Internet congestion can hamper access to other sites—and all too often that other site just happens to be down when you need it. Such is life on the net!

6. Technology is not a magic wand for all your teaching woes. It won't transform your teaching or make your work easier. By itself, it can't motivate students. It won't raise scores overnight. But it can help. It provides enough promise to be explored by any Greek teacher who has access to the necessary resources so long as unrealistic expectations are avoided and whatever technological avenues that are attempted are compatible with an individual instructor's teaching style.

Part II
PROMINENCE

Prominence: An Overview*

Stanley E. Porter

1. *Introduction*

Prominence is an understudied concept even in discourse analysis, but its importance should not be underestimated. As Longacre humorously remarks, 'If all parts of a discourse are equally prominent, total unintelligibility results. The result is like being presented with a piece of black paper and being told, "This is a picture of black camels crossing black sands at midnight".'[1] Or, as Callow states,

> A story in which every character was equally important and every event equally significant can hardly be imagined. Even the simplest story has at least a central character and a plot, and this means one character is more important than the others, and certain events likewise. Human beings cannot observe events simply as happenings; they observe them as related and significant happenings, and they report them as such.[2]

In other words, it is not only important, but necessary, that those using language indicate the relative degrees of prominence of various items in their discourses as a means of differentiating their importance for the discourse, and hence as a means of guiding interpreters in the best way to 'read' their

* I wish to thank my wife and fellow researcher, Dr Wendy Porter, whose doctoral research in markedness theory has aided me in this study, and whose work I draw upon below (with her permission!). I also wish to thank my colleague and continuing conversation-partner, Dr Matthew Brook O'Donnell, for all of his work that has gone into this chapter.

1. R.E. Longacre, 'Discourse Peaks as Zone of Turbulence', in J.R. Wirth (ed.), *Beyond the Sentence: Discourse and Sentential Form* (Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma, 1985), p. 83. Similar is the analogy of Kuipers: 'If we write in black on a white background the black 'stands out' and is 'marked'. That of which there is less, that which is less usual, will be experienced as 'marked'. If we normally read roman type, italics are marked. In a text printed in italics, a word in roman type will stand out. Therefore, that one of a correlated pair of phonemes which occurs more often, will tend to become the "background" against which its correlate stands out' (A.H. Kuipers, 'On Symbols, Distinctions and Markedness', *Lingua* 36 [1975], pp. 31-46 [43]).

2. K. Callow, *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), p. 49.

discourse. This importance can encompass a number of different reasons, ranging from simple emphasis to more complex patterns of organization.

Let me begin with an example from phonetics. Coulthard discusses prominence as a feature apart from grammatical structure and from individual word stress, being indicated in stressed syllables.[3] Note the following questions and responses:

Q: Which card did you play?
R: //the QUEEN of HEARTS//

Q: Which queen did you play?
R: //the queen of HEARTS//

Q: Which heart did you play?
R: //the QUEEN of hearts//

As Coulthard points out, there are differences of stress, that is, prominence, indicated, but these differences also have a relation to the informativeness of the discourse. Certain of the words, such as *of* between *queen* and *hearts*, are entirely predictable, and others, such as the article *the*, are limited in their paradigmatic choice (*the*, *a*, *this*, or the set of determining words), while others of the words are drawn from a much larger set of choices, governed either by the actual set of words available (for example, the four suits, or the thirteen number and face cards in a standard deck of cards), or by the set of possible words available in a user's language (the person in theory could have answered //fifteen of cauliflower//). Even within the confines of the available paradigmatic choices, however, there is stress given to *queen* or *hearts*, or both in varying degrees. This example does not even address instances where syntagmatic choice might be operative. Thus, in prominence in spoken language, there are variable means by which elements may be brought to attention, including paradigmatic and syntagmatic choices. But in written text, what are the paradigmatic and syntagmatic means that bring elements to prominence? What is the relationship between these formal elements and semantics, or these formal elements and discourse? How does the linguist judge between various, and potentially competing, indicators of prominence? How does one describe and characterize the force of prominent items? All of these questions merit answers.

In this paper, I wish to offer a brief overview of the history of discussion of prominence, out of which the key issues will emerge. Then I will attempt to define a broad theory of prominence especially as it applies to the New Testament. I will conclude by explicating the major linguistic features utilized in creating prominence in New Testament discourse, part of a theory

3. M. Coulthard, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis* (London: Longman, 2nd edn, 1985), pp. 102-103.

of discourse that Matthew Brook O'Donnell and I have been working out for a number of years.[4]

2. *Development of the Notion of Prominence*

Prominence is also referred to in the secondary linguistic literature, where it is referred to, as emphasis, foregrounding, relevance or salience,[5] and is directly related to early developments in what has come to be called markedness theory—and that is where the difficulty begins. A quick analysis of each of these notions indicates that there are a number of different conceptual spheres in which discussion of prominence takes place, including phonetics and phonology, functionalism, literary theory, psycholinguistics, structuralism, pragmatics and the like. The notion of prominence—by whatever name—is found in a range of linguistic and literary models and methods, ranging from discussion of the sounds of language to entire discourses. As Givón writes, 'The notion of markedness has been implicit, under one guise or another, in linguistic analysis since antiquity'.[6] That is the basis of both its challenge and its importance.

Prominence (as I will refer to it in this paper, except where I am quoting the words of others, or where I must use another word for reasons that will be evident) had its origins in Russian formalism and Prague school structuralism.[7] Russian formalism emphasized the formal dimensions of language use, especially in literature. As a result, they developed a functional view of literature, in which attention was paid to the notion of defamiliarization or estrangement, that is, deviation from a norm. There was some ambiguity in the notion of defamiliarization, since it was used both in terms of literary elements of the text itself that were not familiar or usual, and in terms of the effect of the text upon a reader.

There is no doubt that Russian formalism had a direct influence upon the emerging thought regarding notions of prominence developed by the Prague

4. This chapter in revised form is one of the major chapters in our heretofore unpublished monograph on discourse analysis.

5. See J.T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* (JSNTSup, 136; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), p. 105. Reed's is the most thorough discussion of prominence regarding the Greek of the New Testament (pp. 105-19).

6. T. Givón, *Functionalism and Grammar* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 25.

7. See W. Van Peer, *Stylistics and Psychology: Investigations of Foregrounding* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 1-26, whom I utilize throughout the following historical discussion, even if I do not follow him at every point. He is also followed by G. Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles: A Functional-Grammatical Approach to the Lukan Perspective* (JSNTSup, 202; SNTG, 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 51-56.

school of structural linguistics in several ways.[8] The literary dimension was continued in the work of Mukarovsky, who argued that poetic language revolves around the deformation or distortion of the standard components of language.[9] Whereas Mukarovsky and those who followed him continued to analyze poetic language, a more precise linguistic analysis that could undergird studies of prominence was introduced through the phonological work of the Russian prince who fled Russia at the time of the revolution, Trubetzkoy.[10] Trubetzkoy defined three distinctive phonemic oppositions, privative, gradual and equipollent:

(a) *Privative* oppositions are oppositions in which one member is characterized by the presence, the other by the absence, of a mark.
(b) *Gradual* oppositions are oppositions in which the members are characterized by various degrees or gradations of the same property.
(c) *Equipollent* oppositions are oppositions in which both members are logically equivalent, that is, they are considered neither as two degrees of one property nor as the absence or presence of a property.[11]

Trubetzkoy's analysis of types of opposition in terms of distinctive features has been very important not only in phonology, but in various other areas of structural linguistics. Trubetzkoy's structural analysis is grounded in a functionalist analysis of language.[12] The emphasis is upon utilizing a norm, against which the non-normal appears. Trubetzkoy's analysis also laid the ground for a more flexible notation, in which there were gradations of features, or a cline. As Comrie states, 'the degree of markedness

8. See G.C. Lepschy, *A Survey of Structural Linguistics* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1970), pp. 53-64.

9. See J. Vachek, *The Linguistic School of Prague* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1966), pp. 99-100, and *passim* for comments on key figures in the Prague school. In fact, a translation by Garvin in 1964 of Mukarovsky's term 'aktualisace' by 'foregrounding' introduced the word into English parlance. See Van Peer, *Stylistics and Psychology*, p. 5.

10. Cf. Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, pp. 52-53, who treats Mukarovsky and Trubetzkoy in parallel.

11. N.S. Trubetzkoy, *Principles of Phonology* (trans. C.A.M. Baltaxe; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969 [1939]), p. 75, although Trubetzkoy had been working on such ideas since the 1920s; cf. his *Introduction to the Principles of Phonological Descriptions* (trans. L.A. Murray and ed. H. Bluhme; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1968 [1935]). See also E. Andrews, *Markedness Theory: The Union of Asymmetry and Semiosis in Language* (Sound and Meaning: The Roman Jakobson Series in Linguistics and Poetics; Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1990), esp. chs. 1 and 4.

12. It is worth noting that the functional model of K. Bühler underlay the work of Trubetzkoy. See Lepschy, *Survey*, p. 57.

of a marked form need not always be the same',[13] and a cline or scale allows for analysis of this.

In many ways, the linguistic and literary elements were combined together in the work of Jakobson, also a member of the Prague structuralist school of thought and a person influenced by Russian formalism through his background and training. In dialogue with the work of Trubetzkoy, Jakobson proposed his theory of binary opposition:

> One of the essential properties of phonological oppositions is the fact that the two members of an oppositional pair are not equivalent; one member possesses the mark in question, the other does not; the first is designated as 'marked', the other as 'unmarked'.[14]

Jakobson emphasized privative oppositions, so that each opposition is between the presence and absence of a feature. Later, Jakobson developed his now well-known communications model, which emphasized the element of parallelism rather than deviation in poetic language.[15] This development is seen as important in helping to balance the notion that all prominence consists of deviation. There has been much debate whether Jakobson's integration of these perhaps competing notions has been positive or negative, however. Some have argued that Jakobson's enlightened structuralism was perhaps confused by the integration of information theory in his analysis. This has been characterized in various ways, including as a confusion of logic and fact, or of concept and fact.[16]

In more recent times, the notion of prominence has been developed in two major ways. One is in terms of British functionalist linguistics. Leech wrote a significant essay in 1966 that went some way in combining a number of the trends that had been found in previous studies of prominence.[17] He combined the notions of deformation or distortion and parallelism into what he called paradigmatic and syntagmatic foregrounding. In other words, he was able to categorize and analyze instances of what he called foregrounding

13. B. Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 122.

14. R. Jakobson, *On Language* (ed. L.R. Waugh and M. Monville-Burston; Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), editor's Note, p. 134, quoting from R. Jakobson, 'Structure of the Russian Verb', 1932, pp. 1-14 (1), trans. and repr. in L.R. Waugh and M. Halle (eds.), *Russian and Slavic Grammar: Studies, 1931–1981* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984).

15. R. Jakobson, 'Linguistics and Poetics', in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), pp. 350-77.

16. Kuipers, 'On Symbols', p. 39. But cf. Martín-Asensio, *Linguistically-Based Foregrounding*, p. 68 n. 59.

17. G.N. Leech, 'Linguistics and the Figures of Rhetoric', in R. Fowler (ed.), *Essays on Style and Language: Linguistic and Critical Approaches to Literary Style* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 135-56.

in terms of either how deviation from a set of paradigmatic choices was made or how continuation of repeated patterns is made when one would expect variation to take place. He also attempted to find a way to determine the degree of deviation that takes place in a given instance of foregrounding. Later, Leech introduced the notion of cohesion as a means of accounting for prominence, that is, there needed to be a sense in which instances of prominence or foregrounding cohered with other elements of the discourse.[18] As Leech notes elsewhere, questions must be asked, such as: 'When is a linguistic deviation (artistically) significant?' He offers three possible responses: (1) 'When it (i.e. the deviation) communicates something', (2) 'When it communicates what was intended by the author' and (3) 'When it is judged or felt by the reader to be significant'.[19] Leech notes that each answer is subject to criticism, such as the meaning of communication, how one knows what is being intended, and how one determines and judges a reader's response. This particular issue motivated Halliday in his work to define the relationship between prominence and foregrounding:

> Foregrounding, as I understand it, is prominence that is motivated. It is not difficult to find patterns of prominence in a poem or prose text, regularities in the sounds or words or structures that stand out in some way, or may be brought out by careful reading; and one may often be led in this way towards a new insight, through finding that such prominence contributes to the writer's total meaning. But unless it does, it will seem to lack motivation; a feature that is brought into prominence will be 'foregrounded' only if it relates to the meaning of the text as a whole.[20]

One need not accept Halliday's exact formulation to recognize the importance of linking marked features with semantic motivation.[21] Thus, without neglecting the effect of the work, Halliday and Leech emphasize the formal structures within a broader semantic and discourse framework.

18. G.N. Leech, '"This Bread I Break": Language and Interpretation', *Review of English Literature* 6.2 (1965), pp. 66-75.

19. G.N. Leech, *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (English Language Series; London: Longmans, 1969), pp. 58-60. This chapter is an expansion of his 'Linguistics and the Figures of Rhetoric'.

20. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Linguistic Function and Literary Style: An Inquiry into the Language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*', in S. Chatman (ed.), *Literary Style: A Symposium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 330-68 (339); repr. in Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (London: Arnold, 1973), pp. 103-43 (112).

21. Note that I am using 'prominence' in this essay in the way that Halliday uses 'foregrounding'. See below. See Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, pp. 15-16: 'Those linguists and schools of linguistics which have adopted some form of markedness theory can be divided into two major groups: (1) those who work with meaning, and (2) those who attempt to describe language as a purely "formal" system without utilizing meaning'.

The other major development of prominence is in terms of psycholinguistics. One of the tensions noted above in discussion of prominence is that between the linguistic work as creator of prominence and the reader or hearer of the work as perceiver of prominence. The shift from the one to the other is the move from the structuralist to the psycholinguistic perspective on prominence. Kuipers notes the significance of perception: 'Symbols serve the social function of communication, and all communication takes place through the medium of the senses. A symbol therefore implies the possibility of being made *perceptible*.'[22] The psycholinguistic element is fully appreciated by Wallace in his discussion of figure and ground, terminology that has come to be associated with discussion of prominence from a psycholinguistic standpoint. Wallace says: 'Human perceivers do not lend equal weight to all incoming sensations, but notice some as more salient figures which "stand out distinctively" in front of a less salient ground'.[23] He defines the terms 'figure' and 'ground', used within the framework of Gestalt psychology, further:

> linguistic categories…function to differentiate linguistic figure from linguistic ground: the speaker uses such categories to structure an utterance (of one or more sentences) into more or less salient portions, and the listener uses such categories as clues to interpreting the speaker's verbal picture.[24]

This framework has been developed further by van Peer, into what he calls the 'standard theory'.[25]

Thus one can see that the elements that have traditionally been discussed in the development of prominence theory revolve around a number of factors.[26] These include the nature of literature and whether literary and non-literary texts function similarly; the means of determining when prominence is occurring and to what degree; the question of whether prominence resides with the author or text or with the hearer or reader; whether prominence is based upon deviance or continuation, paradigmatic or syntagmatic

22. Kuipers, 'On Symbols, Distinctions and Markedness', p. 31 (his emphasis).

23. S. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground: The Interrelationships of Linguistic Categories', in P. Hopper (ed.), *Tense–Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1982), pp. 201-23 (201).

24. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', p. 214. Wallace recognizes some of the limitations of his categories, even within psychology: 'the figure–ground distinction is only one principle of perceptual organization… One particularly problematic area is the fact that Gestalt theory makes strong claims about universal innate perceptual mechanisms, while acquired individual, social, and cultural dispositions clearly play a role in determining, among other things, perceived figures and grounds' (p. 217).

25. Van Peer, *Stylistics and Psychology*, pp. 20-23.

26. Some of these are discussed by H. Dry, 'Foregrounding: An Assessment', in S.J.J. Hwang and W.R. Merrifield (eds.), *Language in Context: Essays for Robert E. Longacre* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1992), pp. 435-50.

choice; the relation of individual marked features, prominence, grounding, and semantics; and how prominence relates to other linguistic, textual and psychological factors in textual transmission.

3. *Defining Prominence and Grounding*

The indicative features of prominence used in the Greek of the New Testament are all features of the written text, though not necessarily of the grammar. An all too typical means of discussing prominence is simply to note instances where there is a departure, deflection or deviance from a standard linguistic pattern.[27] Such an estimation can become simply a statistical analysis, in which instances of deviation are cited against the regular pattern, with virtually no attention paid to larger questions such as theme, motivation or discourse semantics. Furthermore, instances of departure from a norm for a given author may appear in such frequency that these can be seen as typifying a given author's style, rather than being deflections from the norm. There is the further problem of attempting to adjudicate among potentially competing deviant patterns, with no larger framework for analysis. Halliday defines prominence as 'the phenomenon of linguistic highlighting, whereby some feature of the language of a text stands out in some way'.[28] He phrases his definition in this way to avoid characterizing prominence in terms of simply departure or deviance, and sees prominence in terms of motivation to create foregrounding. Nevertheless, it is hard to deny that there are departures from expected syntactical or paradigmatic patterns, many of which may not appear to be prominent in a discourse.

I wish to posit here a cline of prominence that attempts to recognize linguistic features with their levels of formal marking along a semantic scale of grounding. Thus, markedness refers to the formal characteristics, and grounding to the semantic significance. Items of linguistic prominence that have interpretative significance are grounded to varying degrees in the semantics of the text and brought to the fore in support and reinforcement of this semantic framework.

a. *Semantics as the Coordinate of Formally Based Prominence*

The traditional discussion of prominence as deviant or deflected linguistic features has been limited by the failure to assess individual deviant features within a larger semantic framework. This is not to say that frequency of occurrence of particular syntactical patterns is not significant, or not to be noted, however, since any discussion of prominence and related phenomena is predicated upon varying formal patterns of analysis. It simply is not enough

27. See, for example, Leech, *Linguistic Guide*, pp. 56-58, and *passim*.
28. Halliday, 'Linguistic Function', p. 340; *Explorations*, p. 113.

to note instances of deflected syntax without a larger ideational framework. Therefore, semantic criteria seem to be necessary as a determinative for the significance of a given linguistic feature. As Hasan states, 'Each utterance has a thesis: what it is talking about uniquely and instantially; and in addition to this, each utterance has a function in the internal organization of the text; in combination with other utterances of the text it realizes the theme, structure and other aspects'.[29] In the discussion below, I will discuss various means by which prominence is indicated in a discourse. In fact, I will note so many different features that it is impossible to weigh them all without a guiding ideational framework. All instances of prominence must be related to their contribution to the grounding of the discourse.

b. *Prominence and Grounding*

A useful definition of levels of prominence utilizes the language of grounding, and posits the levels of background, foreground and frontground.[30] This visual imagery borrows from the categories of cognitive linguistics, with its concern for how it is that individuals organize and convey their information, as well as utilizing categories first promoted by the Prague school. This is often referred to as salience theory, out of which has grown discussion of figure and ground. The ground is the background against which a figure is seen, much as in a painting or drawing a figure stands out against the background. As quoted above, Wallace states, 'linguistic categories…function to differentiate linguistic figure from linguistic ground'.[31] The theory of grounding has developed from this, until many linguists recognize a fundamental set of divisions regarding discourse between background and foreground. As Wallace states,

29. Halliday, 'Linguistic Function', p. 346; *Explorations*, p. 119, citing R. Hasan, 'Linguistics and the Study of Literary Texts', *Études de linguistique appliquée* 5 (1967), pp. 109-10. Cf. R.S. Tomlin, L. Forrest, M.M. Pu and M.H. Kim, 'Discourse Semantics', in T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process. Discourse Studies: Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 1 (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 89-90.

30. It has been proposed that grounding should be discussed in terms of three categories: theme, focus and emphasis. These terms originated with discussion in terms of Bible translation, and have been accepted by a number of linguists since, including Reed, who proposes background, theme and focus as three terms on a cline to describe levels of prominence. However, the terminology is not fortuitous, since the three categories come from different conceptual spheres and are not readily correlatable. Callow defines them in terms of their register function. Thus, theme is concerned with ideas, focus with what others might call prominence, and background with interpersonal relations. There is definite merit in trying to link the constraints of register with levels of prominence, but the categories are not transparent in how they relate to each other or to the functions of register. Cf. Callow, *Discourse Considerations,* pp. 52-53; Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, pp. 108-10.

31. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', p. 214.

> Included in the foreground, for instance, are the more important events of a narrative, the more important steps of a procedure, the central points of an exposition, the main characters or entities involved in an episode. The background includes events of lesser importance, subsidiary procedures, secondary points, descriptions, elaborations, digressions, and minor characters or things.[32]

As Wallace notes, the background material is not unessential, since to say that a discourse has foreground material in it assumes that such material be embedded in a context that provides the relevant background for the highlighted material. Nevertheless, in the process of producing or understanding discourse, more importance is given to some information than to other information, and it is the foreground information that receives such attention. Nevertheless, simply to contrast background and foreground information, in the light of the various ways that prominence can be established in language, leaves discourse production and interpretation with a tool that can be made more linguistically responsive. For Greek, a third category of frontground is also useful to introduce, as a means of introducing a more finely gradated cline of semantic grounding.[33] The frontground provides a narrower range of characteristic semantic features than do items of background and foreground, conveying discrete, well-defined and contoured description. In other words, grounding is a way of differentiating various planes of discourse.[34]

c. *Grounding and Discourse Levels*

One must also discuss the relative semantic weighting of the grounds in terms of the discourse levels, clause, clause complex, paragraph and discourse.

The background elements seem to function at the level of clause, since these are often used to establish the backbone of a narrative or the supporting historical and descriptive material for a discursive or expositional text (text-types are discussed below). In a narrative, supporting information for the background can be provided through the use of infinitive, participle and secondary constructions. The sequence of a narrative is often conveyed by finite verbs, usually sequentially ordered in relation to the sequence of events discussed. In other words, there is a movement from primary clause to secondary clause. Since the material is background, it does not serve a

32. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', p. 208.

33. Note that the Greek verbal system is not bi-partite but rather tri-partite, with aorist, present and perfect tense-forms, one of the reasons for such a distinction.

34. See S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG, 1; New York: Lang, 1989), pp. 92-93, where these three levels of grounding were introduced to the study of Greek. On planes of discourse, see Dry, 'Foregrounding: An Assessment', p. 441.

function larger than that of the clause, except as such elements are taken and utilized elsewhere in the discourse, and thereby made more prominent in the discourse. Some background material can be eliminated without losing its importance, such as some background material to an exposition, or certain events in a narrative. Material that is reduced, such as the use of pronouns instead of a full noun, function at the background level.

The foreground elements seem to function at the level of the clause complex (multiple linked clauses). Foreground elements are those that have significance greater than the simplest structural discourse unit, the clause. The items introduced, whether they be persons, events, motifs or other concepts, are meant to be distinguished from background material, whether this be supportive or mainline discourse. The clause complex is where such foreground material functions. Foreground elements are more explicitly tied to the topic and comment of the paragraph, and discourse. Thus, for example, even though a character has been functioning within a discourse, if at a given moment this figure is named, this linguistically marked item shifts this reference to the level of foreground prominence.

The frontground elements seem to function at the level of the sub-paragraph and paragraph. Frontground elements are the most discrete and well-defined, and are clearly differentiated in their conceptualization and presentation from both background and foreground material. These can be referred to as discourse peaks, since they tend to jut out of the mainline, causing a 'zone of turbulence'.[35] Whereas background material is supportive and developmental, and foreground material presents characters, and often events or concepts, frontground elements are often unexpectedly introduced or characterized in such a way that is unexpected considering their further development (or lack of it) in the discourse.

d. *Marking and the Domain of Prominence*

Markedness has undergone much evaluation.[36] What started as an attempt to mark specific phonological features, has broadened to include a variety of features that go toward indicating markedness. The result is that markedness is a concept that includes a complex of factors, depending upon the items being considered. Markedness in this scheme is not a matter of privative

35. See Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p. 38.

36. Besides those works mentioned above and in the discussion below, see E.L. Battistella, *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990); *The Logic of Markedness* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); S. Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1992), esp. pp. 52-56; M. Shapiro, 'Explorations into Markedness', *Language* 48 (1972), pp. 343-64. Cf. M. Haspelmath, 'Against Markedness (and what to Replace it with)', *Journal of Lingustics* 42 (2006), pp. 25-70.

opposition regarding a single feature, but a cline of markedness values, from the least to the most heavily marked, but all formally based. Markedness can be divided into five categories: material, implicational, distributional, positional and cognitive markedness.[37]

Material markedness relates primarily to the morphological substance or bulk of a set of related forms (e.g. verb stems, cases). Implicational markedness concerns the nature and kinds of irregularities to be found in a set of related forms. Those forms with heavier markedness have fewer irregularities, with the less heavily marked forms having greater irregularities (e.g. tense-forms, voice forms, case endings). Distributional markedness, as mentioned above one of the standard criteria for determining prominence, is complicated by a failure to establish the meaning of statistical results, as well as a lack of sufficient information for an ancient language such as Greek. Nevertheless, general statistical patterns are present (e.g. tense-forms,[38] cases[39]). Positional markedness defines markedness in relation to the position of an element within a given linguistic unit, for example, the position of a noun or verb group within a clause, or a word within a group. When elements are found in certain positions, they take on marked value in relation to the other units (e.g. pre-positional order). Cognitive markedness indicates that the elements that have more precisely defined cognitive features are those that have greater markedness (e.g. genitive over other cases).

This discussion of markedness indicates that markedness occurs across domains, such that one element of markedness may be confined to the morpheme (e.g. morphological markedness), while others may relate to other units, up to and including the clause (e.g. positional and cognitive markedness). Markedness is one of the most important means by which prominence is established for a given linguistic element. In determining prominence of a given linguistic element, the domain in which that item functions must also be noted.[40] This is an important part of determining levels of grounding. Topic functions at the level of paragraph and sub-paragraph, extending to

37. See A.M. Zwicky, 'On Markedness in Morphology', *Die Sprache* 24 (1978), pp. 130-37. Cf. Givón, *Functionalism and Grammar*, p. 28; and Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, pp. 136-39, on frequency distribution. I use the term cognitive markedness rather than semantic markedness to specify that the markedness is formally based but concerned with the cognitive complexity of the notions involved. There is clear overlap with the notion of semantics.

38. Exceptions are explained by Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 181.

39. Regarding the cases, the nominative is more frequent than any of the oblique cases, and the accusative is more frequent than any of the other oblique cases. However, I have recently been challenged by Dr Cynthia Westfall to think of the accusative case as perhaps the least marked, because it is the recipient of the action.

40. See Callow, *Discourse Considerations*, pp. 50-51.

the level of the entire discourse. The topic provides the controlling conception by which elements are judged to be grounded to various levels. Prominence is determined by various means at the level of the word to the clause complex. However, not each of the elements that may have prominence functions at each level. These levels of function must be determined on the basis of each item.

e. *Mainline and Supporting Material*

The basic framework in which material is presented in a discourse is in terms of mainline and supporting material.[41] This distinction of mainline and supporting material—though related to notions of genre—is in some ways more fundamental to the way that any discourse is constructed, as well as interpreted. Any discourse type has a mainline of development, with all of the other material, whether it is prominent or subordinate, that is, the material that departs from this mainline, or storyline, placed under the category of supportive material.

There are at least two basic discourse types.[42] Narrative discourse is generally regarded by linguists as the fundamental discourse type, with which to begin such a discussion. As Hopper says, 'It is evidently a universal of narrative discourse that in any extended text an overt distinction is made between the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events'.[43] It is the discourse type that has the clearest development or linear progression, and is usually associated with past actions, a realm thought to be more objective in that it is said to deal with what has already happened, and is less subject to change. For the Greek speaker or writer, the aorist tense-form characterizes the mainline or storyline of narrative discourse. Thus, in narrative sections of the Gospels, and other Greek narrative literature, the mainline of the narrative is usually carried by a string of aorist indicative verbs in primary clauses. Secondary clauses and embedded clauses (such as infinitives and participles, a well as relative clauses) are used to subordinate ideas within the discourse. The other tense-forms—the present/imperfect and perfect/pluperfect—are used for the foregrounding and frontgrounding of supporting material, including events but also evaluations and emotive statements (see below for further discussion of the Greek tense-forms).

41. R.E. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse* (New York: Plenum, 2nd edn, 1996), pp. 21-23.

42. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 105-107. Longacre (*Grammar of Discourse*, p. 19) posits a third, exhortation, which is perhaps better seen as a sub-category of non-narrative or discursive/expositional discourse. Others may be posited as well, including procedural, hortatory and poetic—in which their characteristics need to be defined.

43. P.J. Hopper, 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse', in T. Givón (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*. III. *Discourse and Syntax* (New York: Academic, 1979), p. 213.

The second discourse type is discursive or expositional. Discursive or expositional discourse is not associated with the relatively secure realm of past actions but with processes as they unfold, with the more subjective nature of this process part of the discourse type, that is, fulfillment of events is held in abeyance. For the Greek speaker or writer, the present tense-form characterizes the mainline of discursive or expositional discourse. Thus, in non-narrative sections of the Gospels, as well as most sections of the letters of the New Testament, and speeches from a variety of ancient Greek literature, the mainline of the discourse is carried by a string of present tense-form verbs. Secondary clauses and related structures (such as infinitives and participles) are used to subordinate ideas within the discourse. The other tense-forms—the aorist and perfect/pluperfect—are used differently than they are in narrative. The aorist tense-form is used in discursive or expositional discourse as a means of backgrounding the discourse in other events, often seen to be in the past, while the perfect tense-form is used as a means for the frontgrounding of supporting material, including events possibly but usually evaluations and emotive statements. Whereas in narrative the imperfect is used as a foreground narrative tense-form, in discursive discourse the imperfect describes processes 'remote' to the mainline conveyed by the present tense-form.

3. *Prominence and Grounding in the Greek of the New Testament*

As noted above, the concept of prominence and grounding is a complex one that requires examination of a number of different phenomena. These can be analyzed on both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic formal levels, with some indication of their domain and interpretative consequences also being worthy of comment. These two levels of analysis result in a complex calculus by which levels of grounding, and hence prominence, may be indicated.

a. *Paradigmatic Choice*

Paradigmatic choice is concerned with the element of choice of a single linguistic item as distinct from other linguistic items of the same class that might fulfill the same function. In a syntagmatic chain, at any point along the chain one makes choices along the paradigmatic axis. Paradigmatic choice is essential not only for the grounding of meaning, but for differentiating the meaning of a given linguistic unit in relation to the other units of the language. In other words, some choices have greater prominence than others.

1. *Verbal Aspect*.[44] Verbal aspect theory is the theory that tense-forms in Greek do not grammaticalize temporal relations, but another semantic

44. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, esp. pp. 75-108; Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, pp. 113-15.

category concerned with how a speaker or writer chooses to conceptualize and present a process. Contrastive substitution, as well as other determiners, shows that the tense-forms in Greek are not time-based, even in the indicative, but that temporal relations are established through other means. Instead, the tense-forms grammaticalize verbal aspect, and these morphologically-based verbal aspects serve the discourse function of indicating various levels of prominence.[45] As Wallace states,

> Grammarians of… Greek, who have produced some of the most detailed grammars in existence, have been long aware, especially with regard to narrative discourse, of the role of aspectual contrasts in providing different sorts of information in extended texts. They point out, for example, that the… Greek 'aorist' [i.e. perfective] provide[s] the basic narration, that is, the presentation of the central sequential events, whereas the 'imperfect' in these languages is the verb form of description, the depiction of attendant circumstances.[46]

The stative aspect—a third aspect in Greek—goes further and focuses more specifically upon definite and contoured description and depiction of attendant circumstances.

The choice of verbal aspect takes place at the level of the word, where a paradigmatic choice is made to select one of the verbal tense-forms to fill the structure of a verbal group. This tense-form grammaticalizes a particular set of semantic features that, though instantiated at the word level in a group, pragmatically functions at the level of the clause complex, and hence may have prominence at the level of the sub-paragraph or paragraph, and even in some sense at the level of discourse. As Hopper states, 'the fundamental notion of aspect is not a local-semantic one but is discourse-pragmatic'.[47]

Extended analysis of Mk 11.1-11 may help to bring this framework into sharper focus (cf. also Mk 14.12-16, where the tense-forms are used similarly).[48] The triumphal entry provides an example of how the writer draws

45. One must also note that the tense-forms/aspects perform other functions as well. There are three grammaticalized verbal aspects in Greek, conveniently labelled as the perfective aspect (aorist tense-form), imperfective aspect (present/imperfect tense-form), and the stative aspect (perfect/pluperfect tense-form). Aspectually vague verbs [e.g. εἰμί] are not made prominent on the basis of verbal aspect, although they might be prominent through other means. On aspectual vagueness, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 441-47.

46. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', p. 208.

47. P.J. Hopper, 'Aspect between Discourse and Grammar: An Introductory Essay for the Volume', in Hopper (ed.), *Tense–Aspect*, p. 5.

48. This example was first used in S.E. Porter and J.T. Reed, 'Greek Grammar since BDF: A Retrospective and Prospective Analysis', *FN* 4 (1991), pp. 154-56; and was repeated in S.E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (BLG, 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2nd edn, 1994), pp. 302-303.

upon various verbal features in the light of larger discourse concerns, one that the interpreter can draw upon in attempting to understand the passage. This paragraph is linked to the preceding one by Mk 10.52b, in which the author makes a transition out of the events regarding the healing of blind Bartimaeus by stating that Bartimaeus received his sight (ἀνέβλεψεν, aorist) and then followed (ἠκολούθει, imperfect) Jesus. This compound clause shifts the focus of the discourse from one event to another, the aorist being used as the background tense to conclude the previous paragraph and the imperfect being used to introduce (i.e. foreground) a new stage in the discourse. The imperfect tense-form, as opposed to the present tense-form, indicates an event remote in staging from those marked by the present tense-form in the following passage. Mark 11.1 details the events of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, with three present tense-form verbs foregrounding new events in the narrative: ἐγγίζουσιν ('arriving'), ἀποστέλλει ('sending'), and λέγει ('saying'). In Mk 11.2-3, the narrative details Jesus' direct statements regarding the disciples' task of securing a colt, including statements of how the disciples are to enter the village, where they will find a colt upon which no one has sat, and the procedure for release and return of the colt. Certain actions in this series are characterized as background events (ἐκάθισεν, 'sitting'; λύσατε, 'loosing'), while others are foregrounded (ὑπάγετε and εἰσπορευόμενοι, 'going'; φέρετε, 'bringing'). The most significant use of a tense-form relates to the colt in v. 2, where the colt is said to be 'bound' (δεδεμένον), with the prominent perfect tense-form providing frontground information. This is an abrupt use of the tense-form, especially when used of the colt. In Mk 11.3, the storyline is carried by two aorist verbs of saying (εἴπῃ, εἴπατε), with the content of those verbs made prominent by foregrounded present tense-forms (ποιεῖτε, ἔχει, ἀποστέλλει). The narrative shifts in Mk 11.4-7 from Jesus' direct statements to the fulfillment of his words, with the storyline again advanced by aorist tense-forms (ἀπῆλθον, εὗρον). The author frontgrounds both how the bound colt (δεδεμένον) is found and how the individuals standing there (ἑστηκότων) query the disciples. In Mk 11.7, the author foregrounds the bringing of the colt and casting of garments upon it (φέρουσιν, ἐπιβάλλουσιν), then develops the storyline further with several aorist tense-forms (ἐκάθισεν, ἔστρωσαν, κόψαντες), leading up to, with three foregrounded actions (προάγοντες, ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἔκραζον), another frontgrounded peak of the paragraph. In Mk 11.9b, the crowds cry out, quoting Ps. 118.25-26, 'Hosanna! Blessed (εὐλογημένος) is the one coming (ἐρχόμενος) in the name of the Lord. Blessed (εὐλογημένη) is the coming (ἐρχομένη) kingdom of our father David. Hosanna in the highest.' The frontgrounded words of blessing are supported by the foregrounded words of movement applied to Jesus. By marking prominence, the author indicates these processes as the peak of his paragraph, with the frontgrounded perfect tense-forms consonant with

the overriding theme of his discourse regarding 'the good news of Jesus Christ' (Mk 1.1). In Mk 11.11, the author continues the storyline with three aorist tense-forms (εἰσῆλθεν, περιβλεψάμενος, ἐξῆλθεν; note that οὔσης is aspectually vague, and hence does not contribute to the grounding of the discourse), describing Jesus' entrance into the Temple at Jerusalem, bringing the paragraph to a close. The background tense-forms are expected, since the author is making a transition out of this paragraph and into a new development of the storyline.

Some have found it implausible that the perfect tense-form is used to frontground the colt and the calls of those welcoming Jesus into Jerusalem, especially since these tense-forms are supposedly relatively common for these verbs in the Greek of the New Testament.[49] When the perfect participle is used to describe the tied up colt (Mk 11.2, 4) and those standing by it (Mk 11.5), this draws attention to the state of the colt, and when the perfect participle is used to describe the calls of the people (Mk 11.9, 10), this draws attention to the people's recognition of Jesus, both seen as part of the author's strategy in the light of his entire discourse. Two factors support this. The first is that the emphasis upon the colt seems to be directly related to the prophetic importance that the colt was to play in the entrance of the Messiah,[50] and the second is that this is the object of Jesus' own prophecy to his disciples, both of which prophecies are fulfilled in Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, as the author depicts the crowd as recognizing.[51]

2. *Verbal Mood*.[52] The mood-forms of Greek—indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, and (in some ways) infinitive and participle—are used to grammaticalize the speaker's subjective attitude and opinion toward an event with regard to reality.[53] A basic distinction is made between the indicative and non-indicative forms. As Gonda states,

49. δέω appears 23 of 40 times in the New Testament in the perfect tense-form, ἵστημι 64 of 154 in the perfect tense-form, and εὐλογέω 11 of 42 times in the perfect tense-form.

50. See W.L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 395.

51. See S.E. Porter, 'The Greek Language of the New Testament', in S.E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament* (NTTS, 25; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 118-19.

52. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 163-78; Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, p. 115; see Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 50-61, for terminology.

53. The indicative is no more to be equated with reality than are the other mood-forms, since the mood-forms are used by the speaker or writer to indicate an attitude towards reality, and hence to shape the way that the discourse conveys such information and is interpreted.

> If we may describe the verbal category of mood (such as it appears in Greek or Sanskrit) as a means of intimating the speaker's view or conception of the relation of the process expressed by the verb to reality, it will be clear that the main distinction made is between what the speaker puts forward as fact (whether it be true or not) and what he does not regard as such. If he wishes to mention a process which in his opinion is a fact or actuality, he uses the indicative, if he wishes to put forward a process as a contingency the ancient Greek used the optative etc.[54]

The indicative mood-form grammaticalizes assertive attitude and the non-indicative mood-forms non-assertive attitude. The non-indicative forms also grammaticalize specific semantic features.[55]

The relative prominence of the Greek mood-forms has not been widely discussed. There appears to be a major distinction between when they appear in primary and secondary clauses. In this case, syntagmatic relations take precedence over paradigmatic choice. In primary clauses, the indicative mood form appears to be the background form, since it merely makes an assertion about what is put forward as the condition of reality, without any statement as to its actuality. As Robertson states, the indicative mood-form is 'the most frequent' and 'the normal mode to use when there is no special reason for employing another mode',[56] and hence is relatively unmarked, and serves as the background attitude. Thus, in Jn 1.24-28, all of the verbs used in the narrative storyline are in the indicative. However, the non-indicative forms, when they are used in primary clauses, form a cline of prominence, as well. For example, the imperative, subjunctive and even optative may be used in commands and for other functions (e.g. purpose, result, cause).[57] The imperative, used in the third and second person, indicates the background, providing direction regarding distant events or people (third person), or

54. J. Gonda, *The Character of the Indo-European Moods, with Special Regard to Greek and Sanskrit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1956), p. 6.

55. The imperative grammaticalizes the attitude of direction of a process, directing or commanding another to perform an action. The subjunctive mood grammaticalizes the attitude of projection of a process with no expectation of its fulfillment. The optative mood-form grammaticalizes the attitude of projection of a process with a contingent expectation of fulfillment, that is, fulfillment is contingent upon other processes. The future form is not a fully aspectual form, and is in many ways better discussed as similar in meaning and function to the subjunctive, although being a more heavily marked form. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 404-16.

56. A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 4th edn, 1934), p. 915.

57. The difference between the aorist and present tense-forms of the imperative, subjunctive and optative is not whether the action is instantaneous or ongoing, etc., but based on the prominence and hence grounding of the verbal aspects. For example, in 1 Pet. 2.17, the aorist imperative provides the background, against which three foregrounded present imperatives are used. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 336-47, 351-60.

regarding others involved in the discourse (second person). The subjunctive is used when one wishes to direct the actions of oneself or those with whom one associates (the so-called hortatory subjunctive) or indicate the purpose for an action or its anticipated result. Luke 15.23 is a good example of the coordinated use of the imperative and subjunctive: φέρετε τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν. θύσατε καὶ φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν ('bring the fatted calf. kill it and, eating, let us rejoice').[58] The optative form, often used in a command, appears to be highly marked, and hence frontgrounded (so-called volitive usage). Mark 11.14: μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγοι ('may no one ever eat fruit from you forever').

In secondary and embedded clauses, there is a similar scale of prominence. Indicative and non-indicative forms can be used in both types of clauses. A frequent example is the relative clause, by which supporting material, in terms of defining or specifying a participant or thing, is indicated. In Mt. 24.21: ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλῖψις μεγάλη οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ('there shall be a great tribulation, such as has not come about from the beginning of the world'), the embedded relative clause defines the tribulation. Secondary clauses also consist of those clauses that are dependent upon secondary clauses. An example is Jn 3.16: ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον ('God loved the world, so that he gave his only begotten son, so that all who believe in him might not perish but might have eternal life'). In this example, the infinitive clause is embedded, and the subjunctive clause, which could be primary, is secondary here because it is dependent upon the infinitive clause.

Conditional sentences perhaps indicate the relationship between the moods in the clearest way, as well as indicating the relationship of primary and secondary clauses. The protasis is a secondary clause, and the apodosis is a primary clause, regardless of the mood form used. The first-class conditional, with an indicative verb in the protasis, is the most widely used form, and simply makes an assertion for the sake of argument.[59] For example, in Mt. 12.27, Jesus asks, εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; ('if I cast out the demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out?'). The third-class conditional, with a subjunctive verb in the protasis, as well as the conditional with the future

58. This relation of the imperative and subjunctive perhaps accounts for the prohibition using the negated present imperative and the negated aorist subjunctive, with the present tense-form being the marked form of the imperative, and the subjunctive mood-form being the marked form of the aorist, both sufficient for negation. See 1 Tim. 5.1: πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, ἀλλὰ παρακάλει ('don't rebuke an elder, but exhort him').

59. The second-class conditional is, for the sake of this discussion, best seen as simply a form of first-class conditional.

form, is more tentative than the first-class conditional, and simply projects some action or event for hypothetical consideration. Matthew 6.14 and 15 has ἐὰν…ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις…ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις… ('if…you forgive people…but if you do not forgive people…'). The third-class conditional is more marked and hence foregrounded in relation to the first-class conditional. The fourth-class conditional, with the optative in the protasis, has the semantic feature of projection, with an element of doubt or contingency introduced. It is more marked, and frontgrounded in relation to the first-class and third-class conditionals.

The participle and infinitive grammaticalize the feature of whether or not a factive presupposition is being made when the form is used. Thus, the participle is foregrounded in relation to the infinitive, which provides background material, since it is a form that does not of itself grammaticalize person or number. See 2 Cor. 7.12, where Paul says that οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος, οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ('not on account of the one acting unjustly, nor on account of the one being treated unjustly, but on account of your desire on behalf of us being made known'), where Paul appears to presuppose, at least for the argument, one who acts unjustly and one wronged, while he merely refers to their manifested desire, not presupposing anything about it.[60] Participles and infinitives often appear in embedded constructions, illustrating rank-shifting (e.g. a participle phrase functions adverbially).

Thus the category of mood in Greek is a paradigmatic choice which extends to the level of the clause complex, since every verb must have a mood form.

3. *Verbal Voice*. Greek voice is a formal semantic category used to indicate causality, especially the role that the grammatical subject of a clause plays in relation to a process, not, as is traditionally thought, the role that an agent plays in a process.[61]

The active voice, by far the most frequent voice form in the Greek New Testament, is the least marked form, indicating that the agent or person or thing represented as causing an action is the subject of the verb.[62] It is the

60. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 390-91.

61. This theory of voice is being developed by Porter, based on preliminary work in *Idioms*, pp. 64-73, and is to appear in a forthcoming monograph, *Voice in the Greek of the New Testament*. It has already been applied in a rudimentary form in M.B. O'Donnell, 'Some New Testament Words for Resurrection and the Company They Keep', in S.E. Porter *et al.* (eds.), *Resurrection* (JSNTSup, 186; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 136-63 (147-61).

62. The Greek verb is monolectic, so the subject does not need to be grammaticalized explicitly.

background voice form, since it does nothing to alter the means by which an agent is presented as causing an action. The Greek passive voice verb is used to indicate passive causality, with the object or recipient of the action being foregrounded as the grammatical subject of the verb. Overt causality is not central to the use of the passive voice, although causality can be introduced in varying ways. In fact, in many if not most instances, the passive voice is used to indicate indirect causality. In those instances where explicit agency is introduced, Greek has a variety of means by which agency is specified.[63] For example, in Phil. 3.8, Paul says that τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην ('I was made to suffer loss with respect to all things'), where causality is emphasized, but specific agency is not. Explainable by this analysis are instances of verbs where the passive form is used, but only a general sense of causality is in evidence, such as Mt. 2.20 with ἐγερθείς ('be caused to get up'). The Greek middle voice is the most marked, grammaticalizing the concept of ergativity, that is, causality is inherent in the action. Thus, the Greek middle voice is used to frontground causality where the person or object acts on itself or causality is internal, as in Lk. 2.5: ἀπογράψασθαι ('registration occurred').

The Greek voice system functions at the level of clause.

4. *Cases*.[64] The Greek case system has four formally-based cases, with the vocative, often treated as a fifth case, being restricted to select instances in the singular, and probably best viewed as a sub-category of the nominative case. Recently, there has been much discussion of the Greek case system, with some arguing to retain the localist theory (that each case has a basic, literal, spatial sense), others attempting to define a syntactically based case theory (that defines each case on the basis of its syntagmatic relations), still others relying simply on functional differentiations or lists of uses (that have no overriding sense of what a case is), and, finally, a few arguing for semantic case theory, which attempts to define meaningful semantic relations between participants in events, focusing on the Greek cases. Each of these theories has difficulties in providing a suitable analysis of the Greek cases, due in large part because most of the theories do not analyze the cases in terms of their discourse functions.

The Greek cases function systemically, differentiated on the basis of their markedness (materially, implicationally and cognitively). A distinction can be made between the nominative and the non-nominative cases, that is,

63. Primary (ὑπό), secondary (διά) and tertiary (ἐν or the simple dative).

64. See Porter, 'Greek Language of the New Testament', pp. 119-24, developing work in *Idioms*, pp. 80-100 and 'The Case for Case', *Jian Dao* 6 (1996), pp. 13-28; cf. also J.P. Louw, 'Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System', *Acta classica* 9 (1966), pp. 73-88.

between the syntactically ungoverned and governed cases. The nominative case is the most restricted, and the genitive the most diverse in usage (the dative already shows signs of restriction, being under pressure from the other non-nominative cases). The nominative case simply denotes an entity, not a relation between an entity and a predicator, and can be used in isolation, as a subject or predicator, or appositionally, as well as independently. This case is the least marked, and hence provides background material. The non-nominative, or syntactically restricted, cases include, first, the accusative case, or the oblique nominal case, which can be used as the object of a verb, as a double accusative or appositionally. The accusative case is syntactically limited, with only loose semantic relations to the verb. Thus, the so-called accusative of respect is descriptive of its function: Eph. 4.15: αὐξήσωμεν…τὰ πάντα ('let us grow…with respect to all things'). It is marked in relation to the nominative case, and hence provides foreground material. The genitive case is the case of restriction, placing a limitation on the element in the genitive or restricting another item. The genitive case, with its more diffuse usage, is more marked than the accusative, and hence is a frontground case. The classic example of recent debate is Rom. 3.22: πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('faith of Jesus Christ').[65] The dative case, the case of relation, has already been restricted in its usage, often being confined to formulaic usage, such as the prescripts of letters (2 Tim. 1.2: Τιμοθέῳ ἀγαπητῷ τέκνῳ).

The case system of Greek functions at the group and clause levels.

5. *Person Reference*.[66] Verbs in Greek grammaticalize person, in which a given form of the verb indicates a grammatical relation between the subject and the participants in the action, traditionally labeled as first, second, and third person and impersonal verbs. These terms are not entirely satisfactory, since they do not make explicit that there are certain relations that exist between these categories.

Third person and impersonal verbs are treated together due to their semantic and formal characteristics. Impersonal verbs are often used when the simple occurrence of an action is being conveyed. For example, Mk 12.14: οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός ('it is not a concern to you concerning anyone'). The third person is used to create a discourse in which the speaker and hearer are not participants in the action. Thus, the third person is not marked, and is used when the writer or speaker intends merely to

65. On this, see S.E. Porter and A.W. Pitts, 'πίστις with a Preposition and Genitive Modifier: Lexical, Semantic and Syntactic Considerations in the πίστις χριστοῦ Discussion', in M.F. Bird and P.M. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Problems and Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, forthcoming).

66. See Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 76-78; Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, p. 116.

provide background information. Second and first persons enjoy a closer semantic relationship with each other than does third person. Second person is used by the speaker or writer to refer to the hearer or hearers, and it implies that the participants are present, if not in fact at least in conception. Thus the second person conveys marked features, and is used when the writer or speaker intends to provide foreground information. For example, in Rom. 2.21, Paul speaks of ὁ…διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκεις; ('do you, who teach another, not teach yourself?'), where the hypothetical discussion partner is introduced by means of his diatribe style. First person is used by the speaker or writer when the participant is included either actively or conceptually in the action. First person singular usually refers to the speaker, but first person plural is not necessarily more than one speaker, but may be used to refer to the speaker and those whom the speaker wishes to include in the sphere of discussion. This might even include those whom the speaker wishes to address. The way person is used undoubtedly contributes to the importance, and debate, over the use of the first person singular in Rom. 7.7-25. Thus the first person conveys marked features, and is used when the writer or speaker intends to provide frontground information, especially when reinforced by the use of a noun or pronoun.

Person reference functions at the level of the clause and clause complex.

b. *Syntagmatic Chain*

A syntagmatic chain emphasizes the linear relation of given linguistic items, and their structure. A series of paradigmatic choices creates a syntagmatic chain, which builds up units of structure from words into entire discourses. These individual chains, and their component parts, are linked with one another in meaningful ways that contribute to the grounding of the discourse, and hence indicate higher levels of prominence.

1. *Word Order*.[67] Greek has a number of features that distinguish it from word-order languages such as English (where the function of a word is indicated by its order in relation to other items), although certain elements of Greek word order are highly fixed, if not invariable.[68]

Certain patterns are worth noting. The first category is concerned with individual words that have a clause-level function, often as connecting

67. See S.E. Porter, 'Word Order and Clause Structure in New Testament Greek: An Unexplored Area of Greek Linguistics Using Philippians as a Test Case', *FN* 6 (1993), pp. 177-206; *Idioms*, pp. 286-97; using the statistical findings of M.E. Davison, 'New Testament Greek Word Order', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 4 (1989), pp. 19-28.

68. For example, if a substantive appears with its article, the article must be placed before the substantive.

words.[69] Other words, such as a number of coordinating words, relative pronouns, and some indeclinable words,[70] are not normally used to end a clause in the Greek of the New Testament. And a number of words tend to be placed near the beginning of a clause, such as interrogatives, clausal negatives, succession words,[71] and certain modifiers.[72] Where there is variation from these patterns, the element that is displaced foregrounds that element of the discourse, often in terms of its contribution to clausal connection, and hence can be prominent at the level of the clause. These elements are relatively few, however, compared to the patterns noted below, and thus should be noted when they occur.

The ordering of elements of the clause within groups is an area that has not been fully appreciated in terms of prominence in discourse, although it occurs more often than the kinds of patterns noted above. Several are worth noting for their significance. For example, within noun groups, an adjectival modifier follows its headterm approximately 75% of the time in the Gospel authors Luke and Mark, whether in so-called attributive or predicate structure. For example, Lk. 15.13: χώραν μακράν (‘distant land’) and Mk 4.41: φόβον μέγαν (‘great fear’). This adjectival modifier precedes its headterm approximately 65% of the time in Paul. For example, Rom. 1.13: ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν (‘among the remaining nations’). Thus, those instances in the Gospels where the adjectival modifier precedes its headterm in Luke and Mark foreground the qualifying word at the group level. For example, Mk 7.2 κοιναῖς χερσίν (‘common hands’) and Lk. 4.42 εἰς ἔρημον τόπον (‘to desert place’). In Paul, those instances where the adjectival modifier follows its headterm are marked, and are being used to foreground the qualifying word at the group level. For example, Rom. 1.2 ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις (‘in holy writings’).

Demonstrative adjectives as modifiers, throughout the Greek of the New Testament, follow their headterm, approximately 85% in Paul and 78% in Luke. For example, Rom. 5.2 τὴν χάριν ταύτην (‘this grace’) and Lk. 4.2 ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις (‘in those days’) follow the unmarked pattern. In a construction where the demonstrative adjective precedes the headterm of its group, the demonstrative functions at the level of the group, foregrounding the near or remote semantic features indicated by the form. For example, Rom. 9.8 ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ (‘these children of God’) and Luke 13.6 ταύτην τὴν παραβολήν (‘this parable’) have patterns that foreground the demonstrative adjective.

69. For example, postpositive words such as ἄν, γάρ, δέ, γέ, μέν, οὖν, enclitics and declined pronouns.

70. For example, ἀλλά, ἤ, καί, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε, εἴτε, μή, relative pronouns, and a number of indeclinable words, such as εἰ, ἐπεί, ἵνα, ὁ, and most prepositions.

71. πρῶτον, ἔπειτα, εἶτα, etc.

72. ἄλλος, ἕτερος, ἀμφότεροι, πολύς, πολλάκις.

The genitival modifier, including pronouns, follows its headterm in the Greek of the New Testament, approximately 96% in Paul and 99% in Luke. For example, Lk. 12.46 ὁ κύριος τοῦ δόυλου ἐκείνου ('the master of that servant') and 2 Cor. 13.13 ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ('the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit'). Thus, in a construction where the genitival modifier precedes the headterm of its group, the genitival form functions at the level of the group, foregrounding the semantic features of the genitive word. For example, Rom. 1.13 ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος ('apostle of the nations') and Luke 16.17 τοῦ νόμου μίαν κεραίαν ('one stroke of the law').

2. *Relationship of Clauses*. A clause complex consists of one or more clauses, linked together through primary, secondary and embedded constructions. Primary clauses have the same level of narrative or discursive prominence, dependent upon other such factors as verbal aspect, etc., to distinguish their relative prominence. Whereas such linguistic means as choice of verbal aspect serve the purpose of marking prominence of clauses, secondarization and embedding are means of indicating the logical relations and hence importance of a clause in relation to another.[73] There are various other features of prominence to consider with regard to the relative semantic weight of secondary or embedded constructions, but the essential discourse relative prominence is that they are to be seen as narratively or logically secondary, on the basis of their grammatically secondary or embedded structure, providing material that is narratively or logically secondary to the structure in which they are in support or in which they are embedded. All forms of verbs may be used in primary clauses, including finite forms of the indicative and non-indicative moods, infinitives and participles. All of these may be used as secondary clauses as well. An embedded construction often occurs when a clause is used within a larger clause structure, such as when a relative clause is used as a subject, or an infinitive clause is used as an adjunct, or a participle clause is used as an adjunct.

The secondary clause is formally connected to a primary (or other secondary) clause by structural means, with the secondary clause having a predicator with a finite verbal group. Above it is noted that the ordering of primary, secondary and embedded clauses can be altered to foreground a particular clause, and thereby create levels of prominence. The effect

73. I am attempting to define clausal relations here outside of the terminology of independent/dependent or coordinate/subordinate, and in terms of the categories used in the OpenText.org project. See G.N. Leech and M.H. Short, *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose* (London: Longman, 1981), pp. 220-22; cf. Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p. 22.

of this alteration of clausal order on the concept of secondarization is not to change the narrative or logical semantics of the secondary or embedded clause, but to foreground the ideational component of the secondary or embedded structure. Thus secondarization has a discourse function of narratively or logically ordering events or ideas in relation to each other, whereby clausal ordering has an ideational function. The ideational component may have prominence, even though its logical relation to the narrative or exposition is still subordinate. The most common form of secondary clause is probably the relative clause.

Infinitives and participles merit special attention here as embedded clauses, since they provide a range of usage that goes beyond that found in finite clauses. The infinitive is the least marked verbal form in Greek, grammaticalizing only aspect and voice, but not person or number. Therefore, the form itself resists formal connection with its co-text, as well as marking prominence apart from its grammaticalization of aspect and voice, and clausal order. The infinitive may be used simply as a single word comprising a verbal group, which may in certain constructions function as a subject (Phil. 1.21 τὸ ζῆν Χριστός 'to live is Christ'), predicator (Rom. 12.15 χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων 'rejoice with the rejoicers'), complement (Lk. 1.9 ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι 'he drew lots to offer sacrifices'), adjunct (Lk. 22.15 πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν 'before I suffer'), or even clause (Jas 1.1 χαίρειν 'greetings'). It may be articular (as in Lk. 1.9 above), or following connecting words such as prepositions or other connecting words (Mt. 6.1 πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς 'in order to be seen by them'). These examples illustrate that the infinitive may be a primary clause (Rom. 12.15; Jas 1.1), a secondary clause (e.g. Jn 3.16 with a ὥστε clause), or an embedded structure.

The participle is semantically closely related to the infinitive, in that it grammaticalizes aspect and voice, but also number. However, the participle does not grammaticalize person, and hence resists formal connection with its co-text through finitude. The participle grammaticalizes the feature of factive presupposition, that is, it presupposes the possible facticity of a process within its context of situation, as opposed to the infinitive, which presupposes no such facticity. The participle is able to function as an element of a noun group, both as its headterm and as a modifier (Lk. 7.14 οἱ βαστάζοντες 'those bearing'). It can also function as the verb of a verbal group, sometimes independently (e.g. genitive absolute: Lk. 7.24 ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων Ἰωάννου 'the messengers of John went away'), but often adjunctively (the so-called adverbial participle, an embedded clause). Its logical subordinate status as an adjunct is indicated by its positional relation to the verb of the verbal group of the predicator.[74]

74. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 380-85. If the participle precedes this verb, the participle grammaticalizes foundational, assumptive, presuppositional, or antecedent

Although the participle is marked in comparison with the infinitive, neither form is foregrounded unless other paradigmatic factors, such as verbal aspect, mark the forms. The participle clause is often embedded, as in the example in Lk. 7.14 above, or in the so-called adverbial use of the participle. The genitive absolute may be either primary or secondary.

3. *Clause Order*. Clause order of Greek must be discussed on two levels. One level concerns the ordering of elements of the clause, such as groups functioning as subjects, predicators, complements and adjuncts. The other concerns the ordering of primary, secondary and embedded clauses.

The ordering of elements of the clause is related to information flow, that is, topic and comment. The Greek clause may consist of simply a single group, whether noun or verb. Since Greek verbs are monolectic,[75] there is often no need for an explicit subject to be expressed. When this factor is considered, the results are quite different than some have previously thought. The most common Greek clause patterns are, consequently, predicator (P) and predicator–complement (PC) structures. The next most frequent seem to be complement–predicator (CP) and subject–predicator (SP). The use of the explicit subject is more common in narrative than in discursive or expository discourse, since it is more important to indicate the more frequent changes of participants in the process. Similarly, it appears that secondary clauses may grammaticalize the subject more often than do primary clauses, which would also be consistent with the secondary clause introducing subordinate information in support of the mainline of the discourse.

As a result, every clause has a prime, that is, a first group element, whether it is a noun or a verb group, plus the possibility of other subsequent groups. In most clauses the prime will consist of the predicator of the clause, and the subsequent, if featured, will be the complement, followed (in New Testament frequency) by a number of clauses that have the complement as prime and predicator as subsequent, and subject as prime and predicator as subsequent. This is at the level of the clausal elements. There are also levels of analysis due to the primary and secondary status of the clauses concerned.

processes, whereas if the participle follows this verb, it grammaticalizes co-ordinate, developmental, concurrent or even subsequent processes. An example that combines the aorist and present tense-forms is Mt. 5.2: ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων (‘having opened his mouth, he was teaching them, saying’). Examples of subsequent action include Acts 23.27: ἐξειλάμην, μαθὼν ὅτι ‘Ρωμαῖός ἐστιν (‘I rescued him, learning that he was a Roman’), where the Roman Lysias learned after he had grabbed Paul that he was a Roman.

75. That is, the one form contains information regarding the verbal process, aspect, mood, voice, as well as information about the subject of the process, person and number.

At the level of the clause complex, theme is only realized if the subject is grammaticalized explicitly. Thus a number of sentences will not have a theme, only a rheme. Using the four patterns above, many sentences, consisting of a predicator only, will consist of a prime and a rheme, those consisting of a predicator and complement (in whichever order) will still only have rhematic material. The introduction of the explicit subject will introduce thematic material by indicating the change of participants. If this is introduced as prime, the theme and prime combination, with rheme and subsequent following, is the position of greatest potential prominence at the level of clause complex, and can be considered to be frontgrounded. Often the explicit subject is reduced in force by use of a pronoun, reducing thematic prominence. However, if the pronoun is used to introduce explicit reference to the participant, it maintains its prominence. For example, the topic and comment of Lk. 7.11-50 are that 'Jesus speaks and is spoken of' and 'the words and actions of Jesus provoke response in his audience to speculate as to his standing as a prophet'. There are only a few clauses that have their explicit subjects as thematic and prime, and hence frontground their information.[76] Verse 29, introduced with the continuative καί, and hence not indicating a shift of topic, states that πᾶς ὁ λαὸς…καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ἐδικαίωσαν τὸν θεόν ('all the people and the tax collectors justified God'), being baptized with the baptism of John, and v. 30 states that οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτούς ('but the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves'), not being baptized by him. The two parts of the audience, those who responded positively and those who rejected him, are contrasted in these frontgrounded structures. The importance of noting such discourse features is seen when one compares the translation of the NASB, which renders v. 29 'And when all the people and the tax-gatherers heard this, they acknowledged God's justice', introducing a temporal clause that detracts from the force of the passage. Verse 37 introduces with the attention marker ἰδού the γυνή of the final sub-paragraph as thematic and prime, and as frontground material. Verse 19 has σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ('you are the coming one'), but this is in a secondary clause of direct speech.

If a change of subject is grammaticalized but placed in subsequent position, the theme and subsequent combination has prominence, though to a lesser degree than the theme and prime combination, decreasing as the explicit subject is moved further from the front of the clause. This prominence is at the level of the clause complex, and can be considered to be foregrounded, though to varying degrees depending upon positioning. For

76. Luke 7.14 has an articular participle in prime position, but this appears to be a circumlocution to avoid thematizing the prime. Even if it is analyzed as an explicit subject, it is not used to support the topic/comment of the paragraph.

example, in Lk. 7.11-50, such foregrounded prominence is found (to varying degrees) in vv. 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 39, 40, 43, 49, much of this necessitated by shifts in participants in the narrative, since it consists of several sub-paragraphs within the paragraph. Since every clause has potentially prime and subsequent material, it is only at the level of clause complex that group order patterns seem to take on significance as indicating prominence.

Secondary clauses and embedded clauses, and their ordering, are worth discussing here as well. As noted above, secondary clauses can be analyzed in terms of their clause and clause complex level functions, although this must also be seen in terms of the relation to the mainline discourse. The way that these clauses relate to their independent clauses indicates the importance of clausal ordering and its relationship to prominence. First, relative clauses are secondary clauses by means of a relative pronoun. By definition such clauses virtually always have a thematic expressed subject in the form of a pronoun, and it occurs in prime position; however, pronoun reduction of the noun reduces the thematic significance and hence the prominence of such a clause, since the subject has already been introduced and is known in the discourse (even if this is only inferable). For example, in Jn 12.1, ἦν Λάζαρος ὃν ἤγειρεν ('there was Lazarus, whom [Jesus] raised'), the relative clearly refers anaphorically to the proper noun. Even in non-referential uses of the relative clause, an explicit subject is avoided, if it is inferable that it stands for any person. For example, in Jas 2.10 ὅστις γὰρ ὅλον τὸν νόμον τηρήσῃ ('for whoever keeps the whole law'), the one who is keeping the law is inferable as a person, though not explicitly named. More important for the prominence of such a clause is the ordering of the clauses. In the Greek of the New Testament, relative clauses follow their referential group in the vast majority of instances, with the relative clause following its referent 93% in Paul and 96% in Luke. In those instances where the relative clause precedes its referential group, it is used to foreground the content of that particular clause. For example, Phil. 3.7 ἅτινα ἦν μοι κέρδη, ταῦτα ἥγημαι…ζημίαν ('whatever was gain for me, these things I consider…loss').

Secondly, conditional clauses in the vast majority of instances have the secondary (or 'if' clause, the protasis) precede the primary clause (or 'then' clause, the apodosis). Those that reverse the order foreground the conditional nature of the proposition and give prominence to the secondary clause. For example, 1 Thess. 3.8 νῦν ζῶμεν ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ ('now we live, if you stand in the Lord').

4. *Conclusion*

The concept of prominence is a highly complex one, in which a variety of both paradigmatic and syntagmatic factors must be weighted. The resultant calculus, in which it is attempted to assess prominence and place it on the

cline of levels of grounding, is one that defies rigid conceptualization, to say nothing of implementation. As noted above, it appears that of first importance is establishment of the mainline or storyline of the discourse, whether it be narrative or discursive material. Of the variety of paradigmatic choices that can result in prominence, such as verbal aspect, mood, voice, case and person, the only one that extends to the level of the paragraph is verbal aspect. This is clearly one of, if not the, most important semantic categories in the Greek language, and its function in discourse must not be minimized. However, the other paradigmatic choices have implications at other, lower levels of structure as well. Of the variety of syntagmatic choices that can result in levels of prominence, there are some that apply to the group and clause, and others that apply to the clause complex. Thematization of the subject is here the most important category for establishing prominence at the paragraph level. Relative semantic weighting of clauses on the basis of their ordering, although of less importance at the level of paragraph, has important interpretative consequences at the level of the clause complex.

Level	*Function*	*Realized Through*		*Definition*
Discourse and Paragraph	Topic	Semantic shift	Semantic Boundaries	Establishment of a new semantic environment for the discourse
	Comment	Semantic continuity		Support information for the current topic
Clause complex	Theme	Change of subject	Participant Involvement	The change of participant as actor of process chain
	Rheme	Additional verbal elements		Additional process information for current actor (extension of process chain)
Clause	Prime	First group element	Group Order	Who or what the clause is focused upon
	Subsequent	Remaining group elements		Development of the prime

A Method for the Analysis of Prominence in Hellenistic Greek

Cynthia Long Westfall

1. *Definition of Prominence*

Prominence refers to the use of devices that languages have which enable a speaker to highlight material and make some part of the text stand out in some way.[1] Authors highlight clauses or clause complexes as being 'main' or 'central'. An element that is prominent stands out as distinct from its context. It involves discontinuity in the text where an author highlights an element through linguistic choices that create a zone turbulence.

Though discourse production involves *linearization*, which is the sequential production and processing of text, looking at an author's use of prominence involves exploring the relations in the text vertically. It involves locating marked material and determining its prominence in relationship with its own unit and then with non-adjacent material. The parts of the discourse may then be 'hierarchically organized in different levels with different ranks'.[2] The rank or level of prominence of a given element will

1. J.T. Reed defines prominence as 'the means by which speakers/authors draw the listener/reader's attention to important topics and motifs of the discourse and support these topics with other less-prominent material' (J.T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], pp. 105-106). See also K. Callow, *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1974), pp. 49-68.

2. A. Georgakopoulou and D. Goutsos state: 'When narrative units are viewed as part of a hierarchy, the emphasis is on the ways in which they are integrated into hierarchical part-whole relations in order to establish and maintain the theme of the story… The parts are hierarchically organized in different levels with different ranks. The difference between them is one of prominence and salience. From an analytical point of view, this no longer involves looking at their relations horizontally; that is, as creating boundaries to the right and left in sequence. It rather involves exploring them vertically, on an implicit axis that establishes how non-adjacent units are mutually implicated to form the narrative whole. Our interest is in how the linear organization is manipulated to bring some items and events into greater prominence than others' (A. Georgakopoulou and D. Goutsos, *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997], p. 70).

correspond to its scope or domain of prominence: the paragraph, the section, the chapter, or the discourse.[3] An author combines the techniques of grouping and prominence in organizing discourse in a complementary way, so that shifts are created to some extent by the use of prominence, and the linear organization is manipulated to bring some material into greater prominence than other material.[4]

2. *Sorting out Terminology*

Terms that have been associated with prominence are focus, markedness and grounding (background, foreground, frontground). In some methodologies, these terms are virtually synonymous with prominence and are used interchangeably. However, this has bred a certain amount of confusion as to what is meant, for instance, when a feature in a grammatical system or element in a discourse is labelled 'prominent' or 'frontground'. Therefore, I will make some distinctions between these terms that will disambiguate emphatic relationships.

a. *Markedness*

Markedness is concerned with the hierarchical nature of lexical and grammatical categories. Markedness theory suggests that linguistic categories such as verbal categories can be ranked according to salience or prominence. However, rather than suggesting that prominence or frontground is a semantic property of marked grammatical choices, it is better to say that it is a pragmatic effect that is achieved, for example, by the use of the marked perfect tense in a specific context. In addition, marked features that occur together with other emphatic features create 'zones of turbulence' that characterize prominence.[5]

b. *Focus*

Focus will be used to refer to emphasis at the sentence level. It is the 'informationally more relevant (new part)' of a sentence that would tend to be accented if the sentence were read out loud.[6] The assumption is that, in the

3. For domain of prominence, see Callow, *Discourse Considerations*, pp. 50-51.

4. M. Larson states: 'It should be evident that the relationship between groupings, cohesion, and prominence is very close. Matters of prominence and cohesion are interrelated with the boundaries of units. On the other hand, for each unit, both the features of prominence and the features which add cohesion help define the unit. Many times these are very similar features' (M. Larson, *Meaning-based Translation: A Guide to Cross-language Equivalence* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984], p. 406).

5. 'Zones of turbulence' is a term utilized by R.E. Longacre (R.E. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse* [New York: Plenum Press, 2nd edn, 1996], p. 38).

6. C. Günter, C. Maienborn and A. Schopp, 'The Processing of Information Struc-

absence of other indicators such as possibly word order, the default focus of a sentence will be the finite verb clause or an element in the finite verb clause.[7] Every sentence will have a relatively emphatic focus, but not every sentence will be prominent. Therefore, focus will not be a concern in this paper.

c. *Prominence*

'Prominence' will be restricted to highlighting or emphasis at the discourse level—that is, above the sentence level. The discourse, like landscape or other subjects of art, can be described in terms of background, foreground and frontground. However, it is composed of intricate contours with relative prominence at various levels within the discourse serving various functions.[8] The level of prominence for marked clauses or clause complexes must be determined not only by the identification of emphatic indicators, but also by recognizing their scope. Their scope is the units which serve as their *domain of prominence* and their function is in those units.[9] The domain of a prominent sentence or entity may be determined in part by the cohesive ties and bonds that are formed with the surrounding co-text. Words, phrases or sentences can be prominent at the level of couplet, paragraph, section or discourse.[10]

ture', in P. Bosch and R. van der Sandt (eds.), *Focus: Linguistics, Cognitive & Computational Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 18-41 (19). Discussions on focus attempt to simultaneously handle the notions of given/new, topic/focus, theme/rheme and subject/predicate, as discussed in 'Introduction' in Bosch and van der Sandt, *Focus*, pp. i-xii (xii).

7. M.A.K. Halliday describes focus in English as operating at the level of the clause and states that the unmarked place of focus is at the end of the information unit (M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* [London: Arnold, 2nd edn, 1994], p. 336). This study proposes that in the inflected language of Hellenistic Greek, word order does not have the same function as it does in English, so that the finite verb clause would normally be the focus.

8. For 'relative prominence', see G. Brown and G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 134. See also M. Berry, 'What Is Theme?', in M. Berry, C. Butler, R. Fawcett and G. Huang (eds.), *Meaning and Form: Systemic Functional Interpretations: Meaning and Choice in Language: Studies for Michael Halliday* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1996), pp. 57-58. Berry speaks of degrees of prominence and positioning.

9. Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p. 101. Longacre states 'a discourse of any size and complexity is never a simple linear sequence of sentences. Sentences cluster and clump into units of various sizes.'

10. This is connected to the 'principle of local interpretation', which 'instructs the hearer not to construct a context any larger than he needs to arrive at an interpretation' (Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 59).

3. *Relevance of Prominence to Discourse Structure*

The central points or most important parts of a discourse are highlighted by the author. Main clauses are prominent in the discourse, and can be identified by locating clusters of marked lexical and grammatical constructions. The frontground sentences and entities will provide the most important criteria that determine the meaning of the discourse. That is, prominence is one of the primary elements that are used in building a mental representation of the text.

Variations or deviations in a pattern may be used by an author to create boundaries or shifts as well as to highlight important material. This involves *discontinuity* or the *division* of a discourse into units with the single or patterned use of open-ended choices from the grammatical system and/or the lexis. Sometimes the variation may form a break, boundary or shift in the discourse by a lack of continuity in some respect. Other times the variation may be one of prominence, where an author intentionally highlights or emphasizes a word, clause or group of clauses above the surrounding text, which may signal a shift. The use of variation forms a complementary function to repetition by interrupting a pattern and signalling some sort of change. Sometimes the variation signals a slight shift, sometimes it establishes a new pattern, and sometimes the markers which produce the variations are repeated in a pattern within a section or throughout the discourse, functioning something like the chorus from a song.

4. *Linguistic Choices that Create Zones of Turbulence*

Linguistic choices are used in combinations to create zones of turbulence in the text. I've listed many of those linguistic features here. They include:

Marked features (which will be described in greater detail)
Conjunctions
Markers of attention
Temporal, spatial and conceptual deixis
Interrogatives
The use of contrast or comparison
Elaboration or comment
Extra words
Concentration of participants
The function of summaries, conclusions or central sentences
Repetition or patterns
Discourse staging

Given the space constraint, I can only give a brief description of each of these features and a few examples.

a. *Markedness*

Markedness functions in a similar way to the colour red on an artist's palette. There may be touches of red in the background or foreground, but a large concentration of red will draw the eye and be prominent. However, according to the principle of markedness assimilation: 'Marked elements tend to occur in marked [prominent] contexts, while unmarked elements occur in unmarked [support] contexts'.[11]

According to the theory of markedness, some formal features are default and unmarked and some formal features are marked. Default features will tend to ground marked features. You may see a default form selected and used repeatedly in a span and then see a more marked form used once. While markedness is generally described in relationship to polarities, many selections from the grammatical system involve more than two choices, and those choices can be arranged on a cline from the least marked or unmarked choice to the marked choice. Markedness may be determined in the systems of verbs (aspect), mood (attitude), voice, case, person and number.

1. *Markedness and Aspect*. Aspect is 'concerned with how a speaker or writer chooses to conceptualize and present a process' through tense-forms.[12] The aorist tense-form has perfective aspect, the present and imperfect tense forms are imperfective, and the perfect and pluperfect are stative.[13] The relative markedness ranges from the aorist as the unmarked or default tense to the perfect and pluperfect as the most marked tenses.

Markedness and Aspect/Tense

aorist	unmarked	default tense
imperfect	↓	distant, indefinite action
present	↓	close, indefinite action
perfect	↓	definite, contoured
pluperfect	marked	rare, definite, contoured

Aorist is the tense that is expected in most contexts.[14] Narrative passages are grounded in the aorist so that it is sometimes called the backbone of the

11. E.L. Battistella, *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 4, 7.

12. S.E. Porter and M.B. O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis* (in preparation), ch. 4.

13. For an introduction to verbal aspect, see S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 83-97.

14. As Porter asserts, the perfective aspect (aorist) is the least heavily marked and the 'default' aspect (Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 90). As B. Comrie concludes, the aorist tense 'is felt to be in Greek more usual, more normal, less specific…' (B. Comrie, *Aspect: An*

narrative. The imperfect tense is more marked, and used for staging such as providing a setting, which is both appropriate for points of departure in narrative and its distant and undefined aspect. The present is also indefinite in the description of types of action,[15] but it is conceptually close, so that it constrains parts of the context as more relevant. The perfect and pluperfect are marked in terms of breadth of use and definite contoured aspect.

2. *Markedness and Mood*. The use of the indicative is most frequent and normative. It grounds the other moods.

Markedness and Mood

indicative	unmarked	default
imperative	↓	3rd , 2nd person pl.
subjunctive	↓	1st person pl. command
optative	marked	rare, emphatic

There would be a further distinction made between the occurrence of a third and a second person imperative with moods, because the use of the second person is a technique that creates involvement between the readers and the discourse as well as with the author.

In James, the direct address ἀδελφοί μου is utilized to group the discourse 10 times. Additionally, ἀδελφοί occurs alone 3 times. Out of the thirteen occurrences, ἀδελφοί occurs with an imperative ten times. It is an example of the slightly marked imperative collocating with marked forms in prominent clauses. The best example is the patterned use of the hortatory subjunctive in Hebrews.

3. *Markedness and Voice*. Voice in Hellenistic Greek is 'a formal semantic category used to indicate the role that the subject of the clause plays in relation to a process'.[16] The active voice indicates that the agent performing the action is the subject of the verb, and is the voice form that occurs most frequently. The passive voice keeps the focus on the recipient of the process, since the recipient is the formal subject of the verb and the agent is shifted to a prepositional phrase if mentioned at all. The middle voice is most marked and indicates 'more direct participation or specific involvement of

Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], p. 111).

15. The present can refer to 'punctiliar' or extended action (Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 225).

16. Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, ch. 4.

the subject performing an action'.[17] There are some verbs that only occur in the middle voice, which are the so-called deponent verbs. When there is no choice, there is no particular significance to the use of the form.

Markedness and Voice

active	unmarked	default
passive	↓	focus on recipient
middle	marked	stressed involvement

4. *Markedness and Case*. There are five formal cases:[18] nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and the vocative, which is a formal case in the masculine singular.[19] The nominative refers to an entity that can be used in isolation, as the subject, in the predicate, in apposition or independently. The accusative is used as the object of a verb, as a double accusative or appositionally. Although Porter and O'Donnell suggest that the nominative is the least marked case, the patterns of occurrence suggest that the accusative is the least marked.[20] The Greek verb is *monolectic*. It contains the verbal process, aspect, mood, voice and other information about the subject. An explicit subject is often not expressed in a finite verb clause, so that a common verb pattern is verb-object/complement, and the subject is understood from the context.[21] Therefore, the explicit reference to a subject with a noun, noun phrase or pronoun, or other use of the nominative is often new information, a signal of a change of topic, the signal of a change of agent for instance in a dialogue, or it adds some emphasis. The genitive places a restriction on the element in the genitive or on another item, and has a high frequency of occurrence. The dative specifies relationship. Both the dative and the genitive are used to expand information in the clause or phrase, and therefore contribute to focus within the sentence and prominence above the sentence. The vocative is used for direct address and is the most marked as well as emphatic because it places attention on the recipients of a written text or participants in a dialogue. Wallace writes, 'People tend to place

17. Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, ch. 4.

18. The information on the Greek case system is based on J.P. Louw, 'Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System', *Acta classica* 9 (1966), pp. 73-88.

19. The vocative case is used for direct address, but the nominative case is also used for direct address in most nouns in the third declension and in the plural form in any declension. Therefore, a distinction is made between the formal use of the vocative case and the use of the nominative for direct address.

20. However, the accusative will often function as the focus of the sentence together with the verb—these elements usually provide the new information.

21. This is assuming that the default sentence involves a transitive process. The nominative must be used in predicate nominative constructions.

themselves at the centre of attention'.[22] Therefore, use of the vocative and plural nominative of direct address to refer to the recipients in discourse is a common involvement strategy that an author uses to draw attention and highlight content.[23]

Markedness and Case

accusative	unmarked	object/with respect to
nominative	↓	subject
genitive	↓	restrictive
dative	↓	relation
vocative	marked	direct address

The formal use of the nominative for participant reference 'sheds light on the author's intentions as to the status of the participants'.[24] The introductory reference to the first participant of a story or episode will often include a full nominative noun phrase. Any expansion with more marked cases or participial and prepositional phrases increases the focus on the new participant. In other words, the appearance of marked constructions builds the prominence of the focus of the sentence; it does not signify that the marked elements are prominent. The introduction of Cornelius into the narrative in Acts in 10.1-2 is an excellent example of how a new participant is activated and a new topic is introduced. This is a highly marked noun phrase with a concentration of eight nominatives in the introductory phrase as well as a concentration of prepositional phrases, genitives and datives. The use of the more marked genitives and datives contribute to the prominence of the new participant.

An example of the repeated use of the plural nominative for direct address is James, which has been referred to above. The occurrence of the vocative with emphatic particles and expressions such as ὦ and ἄγε νῦν demonstrates the principle of markedness assimilation: marked elements tend to occur in prominent contexts.

5. *Markedness, Prominence and Person and Number.* The systems of person and number will be of particular interest in analysing the epistles in the New Testament, where the author and recipients are formal

22. S. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground: The Interrelationships of Linguistic Categories', in P. Hopper (ed.) *Tense–Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1982), p. 213.

23. The use of the moderately marked nominative plural for direct address is more a case of semantic markedness than grammatical prominence and is a pragmatic effect.

24. S.H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Informational Structure of New Testament Greek* (Dallas, TX: SIL International, 2nd edn, 2000), p. 134. See pp. 134-47 for his discussion on participant reference.

participants to a much greater degree than in the narratives of the Gospels and Acts, though the projections will display similar characteristics to the epistles.[25] In the study of person and number, the impersonal would be unmarked and the personal would be marked, and the singular would be unmarked and the plural would be marked.[26] When the third person is used, the author and readers are not present in the discourse as participants. As noted above, people are most interested in themselves. The use of the second person is more marked than the use of the first person, and, of course, of particular interest to the hearers/readers. The first person plural is most marked, and is of great interest to the author. The plural is commonly taken to be more marked than singular in studies of universals in language.[27]

Markedness and Person

third person sg.	unmarked	general, remote, inclusive
third person pl.	↓	general, remote
second person sg.	↓	present, other
second person pl.	↓	present, others
first person sg.	↓	self
first person pl.	marked	self and other(s) present

The use of the first person plural is the most marked use, where the writer and reader(s) are on the same footing and both are included in the sphere of discussion.[28] In the oblique cases, the first and second person pronouns of possession or their function as the beneficiaries of a process is meant to be of interest in discourse.

Note Paul's variation of the use of person in Eph. 4.1-17. Paul signals a shift to a new unit in 4.1, followed by a third person span. Paul speaks of grace given to each one 'of us', within the third person span which describes how Christ gave gifts to people when he ascended, and what gifts were

25. The analysis of the first and second person in projections in the Gospels will be similar to the direct communication, but still remote to the reader. The readers will not take the use of the second person plural used to address the Pharisees personally (Mt. 23.13-35), though it has more of an impact than a third person discussion about the Pharisees (Mt. 16.6-12).

26. See Battistella, *Markedness*, pp. 28-29, 86-89.

27. See Battistella, *Markedness*, pp. 84-86. See also R. Jakobson, *Russian and Slavic Grammar Studies 1931–1981* (ed. L.R. Waugh and M. Halle; Berlin: Mouton, 1984), p. 135; J. Greenberg, *Language Universals* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 31ff. However, Battistella suggests that there may be a reversal in the English personal pronoun system so that the plural is unmarked and the singular is marked.

28. See Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, ch. 4.

given in vv. 8-12. The focus is brought back to the readers in a discourse peak with the purpose clauses in vv. 13-16 with three first person plural subjunctives. The next unit is signalled with the use of the first and second person.

The use of third person spans and identity chains to ground the marked first or second person is a common way to signal the point of departure or the destination of a unit each of which will have a measure of prominence.

b. *Prominence and Grounding with Conjunctions and Particles*

1. *Prominence and Conjunctions.* A conjunction indicates the status that a joined element has in relationship to the rest of the discourse, both in a logico-semantic and a hierarchical sense. Conjunctions are often neglected in discussions of structure, but they provide some of the best formal indications of how the author intended the discourse to be processed. There is a much larger selection of conjunctions or intersentential particles in Hellenistic Greek than there is in English. The conjunctive system is composed of organic ties that signal the logical relationships in the language.

The chart below considers inter-sentential conjunctions and adverbial particles that function at the discourse level rather than conjunctions and particles that function only at the level of clause and phrase. It categorizes inter-sentential conjunctions according to emphasis, continuity and de-emphasis. The particles are categorized for markedness according to a combination of text frequency (the conjunctions with the highest number of occurrences are unmarked) and their formal marking (augmented or compound forms are marked).[29] It may be observed that there are more emphatic conjunctions and particles than there are conjunctions and particles that mark continuity and de-emphasis. However, the text frequency of the conjunctions and particles that mark continuity and de-emphasis is much higher.[30]

29. The weight is given to text frequency, but the categorizations must be tentative on two counts. The text sample only includes the New Testament and LXX, so that the determination of text distribution is based on a limited sample. Also, we are interested here in semantic markedness, and while there is a general correlation between semantic markedness and formal markedness, an association cannot be assumed in every case. See Battistella, *Markedness*, pp. 34-40, for a discussion on formal distribution and formal markedness. See S.L. Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: καί, τότε, γάρ, οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 282-331, for a treatment of how choices of conjunctions from the linguistic system signal continuity and discontinuity in Matthew's portrayal of narrative events.

30. There are over 70,000 occurrences of καί in the Old Testament and New Testament, but only approximately 750 occurrences of οὖν (which is less frequent in the Old Testament than it is in the New Testament).

Hierarchical Categorization of Intersentential Conjunctions

EMPHATIC	*Conjunction/ Particle*	*Gloss*	*Mkd*	*Un mkd*
Adversative/	δέ	'but', 'on the other hand'		√
Discontinuity	ἀλλά*	'but'	↓	
	πλήν	'but', 'yet', 'however'	↓	
	μὲν οὖν, μενοῦν	Contrary, 'rather'	↓	
	μέντοι	'but', 'nevertheless', 'however'	↓	
	τουναντίον	'on the contrary'	√	
Inferential/	οὕτω(ς)	'thus', 'so'		√
Summative	οὖν	'so', 'then', 'therefore'	↓	
	διὰ τοῦτο	'through this', 'therefore'	↓	
	ὥστε*	'so that' (theme)	↓	
	διό	'therefore'	↓	
	ὅθεν*	'and so', 'therefore'	↓	
	τοίνυν	'for that very reason then'	↓	
	τοιγαροῦν	'for that very reason then'	√	
Addition	πάλιν**	'again', 'once more'		√
	εἶτε	'and then'	↓	
	εὐθύς**	'immediately'	↓	
	εὐθέως**	'immediately'	√	
CONTINUITY				
Addition/pos	καί*	'and'		√
	asyndeton	no signal (inference)	↓	
	κἀγω	'and I'	√	
Addition/neg	οὐδέ*	'and not'		√
	μηδέ*	'and not'	√	
DE-EMPHATIC				
	γάρ	'for'		√
	μέν	'on the one hand'	√	

* Conjunctions that also occur within the sentence to join words, phrases or clauses
** Adverbs that occur in the prime position

Another issue the chart raises is the large variety of adversative and inferential conjunctions that seem to respectively signal similar relationships. While markedness and stylistic variation can partially account for the large selection, the system of Hellenistic conjunctions merits further

attention and study.[31] Nevertheless, the inter-sentential conjunction must be one of the primary factors in locating prominent material or identifying support material, prominence, continuity/grounding and background. However, it must be repeated that the hierarchical ordering of discourse involves a number of other factors including domain, patterns and semantic and formal marking. For example, in Phil. 4.1 (ὥστε ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι, χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου, οὕτως στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητοί) there are two emphatic inferential particles. The more marked particle ὥστε precedes οὕτως, and there is additional emphasis. There are two nominative plurals of direct address, which is of particular interest to the readers. There is also a use of the first person twice (μου), and a concentration of adjectives that describe the readers and add semantic emphasis. It is consistent with a conclusion and is followed by a discourse shift in 4.2, which begins with a reference to Euodia and Syntyche. It represents a zone of turbulence consistent with emphatic conjunctions that join central sentences.

2. *Prominence and Markers of Attention*. Markers of attention include words such as ἰδού, ἴδε and ἄγε.[32] Their main function is deictic, for they emphasize the focus of the sentence that they modify. In Mk 4.3, the parable of the sower begins with: ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων σπεῖραι. The imperative ἀκούετε is used to command attention, so that it pragmatically functions as a marker of attention. It is reinforced by ἰδού, so that the two words together are very emphatic, providing a prominent point of departure for a parable.

3. *Prominence and Temporal, Spatial and Conceptual Deixis*. Theories of semantic prominence indicate that people were most interested in themselves, but they are also more interested in what is immediate and near, as well as what is above or in front. In other words, people are interested in what lies in the closest proximity to them in time and space.[33] The deictic

31. Conjunction studies include J.D. Denniston, *Greek Particles* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 2nd edn, 1950), M.E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962), J. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1969), Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew*, and S.H. Levinsohn, *Textual Connections in Acts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). Also, affiliates of SIL have issued a number of articles on individual conjunctions. However, there is a need for an inclusive study on Hellenistic conjunctions and particles that incorporates the linguistic discussion on discourse markers, markedness and related issues.

32. See J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida, *Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 2nd edn, 1989), I, pp. 811-12, for markers of emphasis and attention. Their lists could be expanded.

33. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', p. 213.

centres of the discourse could include the time it is written, the time it is read, and the time that an episode took place in a story or narrative. Whatever the perspective, the temporal particles νῦν, νυνί and ἄρτι (now) are emphatic, such as the high priest's exclamation in Mt. 26.65: ἴδε νῦν ἠκούσατε τὴν βλασφημίαν (Look! You have now heard the blasphemy!). Νῦν also is used for conceptual emphasis rather than temporal emphasis. Similarly, words that indicate close proximity are emphatic, such as ὧδε and ἐνθάδε (here, in this place). The salience of things in close proximity is also related to the emphatic nature of the idiomatic phrases κατ' ὀφθαλμούς (before your eyes) and κατὰ πρόσωπον (in the sight of), as in Gal. 3.1 and Lk. 2.31. Temporal and spatial markers that are semantically close are particularly emphatic when contrasted with temporal or spatial markers that are semantically distant. However, when deictic markers that are semantically distant are used alone, they are emphatic.

4. *Prominence and Interrogatives.* The interrogatives τίς, τί and πῶς signal questions which are particularly emphatic in both narrative and non-narrative, and direct attention towards the answer. In non-narrative, questions are explicitly interactive and intend to create involvement with the text. They often appear with other markers of emphasis. The use of questions in Romans that are characterized by τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν are highly emphatic, because it combines a question with an emphatic inferential discourse marker and a verb of projection which draws attention to the following co-text. In 1 Jn 2.22, a question highlights the point that the antichrist denies the father and the son, which is central to the unit, even though it occurs in the middle of it:

> τίς ἐστιν ὁ ψεύστης εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀρνούμενος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀντίχριστος, ὁ ἀρνούμενος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.
>
> Who is the liar but the one who denies that Jesus is not the Christ? This is the antichrist: the one who denies the father and the son.

5. *Prominence in Contrast and Comparison.* Prominence above the sentence level in contrasts and comparisons is the same in principle as contrastive focus at the level of clause or phrase, where the speaker/writer raises a claim and then contradicts it or replaces it with a newer, more relevant claim, as in Mt. 5.17: οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι (I have not come to destroy but to fulfil). The 'not x but y' pattern is also common above the sentence level. A second sentence that contradicts the first or replaces it with a newer, more relevant claim is signalled with an adversative conjunction (δέ, ἀλλά, πλήν, μὲν…οὖν, μέντοι, τουναντίον), and is more prominent than the first sentence. Paul presents a series of claims replaced by more relevant claims in 1 Cor. 6.12-13. One of the contrasts will suffice for illustration:

πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος

Everything is permissible for me. However, I will not be mastered by anything

Contrasts and comparisons account for many but not all of the occurrences of the adversative conjunctions. However, their use in contrasts and comparisons demonstrates their emphatic function.

c. *Prominence with Semantic Emphasis*

Prominent elements, phrases and clauses have been described above in terms of frontground, foreground and background. The background is composed of unmarked grammatical and lexical patterning. It is more remote, less specific and has less intense colour. In comparison to the well-defined figure/frontground, it is 'diffuse, boundless [and] unlocalized'. It 'grounds' the emphatic element. Longacre describes the same phenomena more abstractly by making a distinction between the mainline development in a discourse and support material.[34] The semantic signals that indicate prominence include elaboration/comment, extra words, a concentration of participants (a crowded stage), and the function as a conclusion or summary.

1. *Prominent Material Supported by Elaboration/Comment.* The concept of support material can be narrowly applied to a more specific definition of subordinate support and expansion. A sentence that includes a large complex of modifiers including participial phrases, prepositional phrases, ἵνα clauses and/or other dependent clauses will be more prominent than a clause that has the same formal features without similar expansion.

A sentence that is expanded by its following co-text will also be prominent. When an independent sentence expands the preceding co-text, it may be signalled by explanatory particles such as γάρ ('for', 'in explanation'), τοῦτ' ἐστιν ('in other words'), and μᾶλλον ('more', 'at least'). Semantic relationships of expansion may also exist between clauses joined by καί, which formally indicates continuity when the semantic relationship might be inferred from the cohesive ties and relationships between the sentences (see Rom. 5.15-16).

2. *Prominence and Extra Words*. In addition to participial and prepositional phrases, ἵνα clauses and other dependent sentences, other extra words build prominence such as adverbs, adjectives, genitive phrases, compound noun groups, unnecessary pronouns, names and demonstratives. As Longacre

34. Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, pp. 21-23.

observes, 'The narrator does not want you to miss the important point of the story, so he employs extra words at that point'.[35]

The use of pronouns in the nominative often is not necessary. When a pronoun is not needed to disambiguate the participants, it is emphatic. All uses of ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς, σύ and ὑμεῖς, when they occur with a verb, are emphatic, since the verb is monolectic, signalling person and number. The use of third person pronouns is often more necessary to disambiguate. However, the use of αὐτός as an intensive pronoun, and the unnecessary use of the third person pronoun are also emphatic. Similarly, if a personal name is used for a participant or object that is not new, if it is not necessary to eliminate ambiguity, it is emphatic. In Eph. 4.1, Paul writes: παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος (therefore I, the prisoner of the Lord, urge you). The conjunction οὖν, the use of the pronoun, the expansion/description of the pronoun, and the verb παρακαλῶ are all emphatic, creating a zone of turbulence. The clause in 2 Cor. 10.1 is even more emphatic: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς (but I, myself, Paul, urge you). Every word but ὑμᾶς is emphatic. Ὑμᾶς is not emphatic as the object of the verb—it provides necessary information, designating who Paul is urging. The Johannine formulaic use of ἐγώ εἰμι, which occurs more than thirty times, is also emphatic in form and through repetition. Its occurrences often draw attention to metaphors such as 'I am the bread of life' (Jn 6.35), but they also include emphatic identification (4.26; 6.20).

The addition of extra words adds the colour and vividness that is not demanded by the grammar, but that characterizes the prominent figure/frontground.

3. *Prominence with the Concentration of Participants.* As Longacre observes, 'One hallmark of peak…is the *crowded stage*'.[36] Common in narrative, at the point of a peak or the climax of the story, everyone but the subsidiary characters may be present. On the other hand, the participants may be reduced or concentrated to one figure at the climax, such as in Shakespeare's play *Hamlet*. Luke uses both of these techniques in the book of Acts. In Acts 2 and 15, all of the major participants are gathered. Chapter 2 describes the coming of and baptism by the Holy Spirit, which occurred with all the believers present (1.12-14; 2.1). Chapter 15 describes the Council of Jerusalem, which is crucial in the expansion of Paul's mission to the Gentiles. All of the major participants come together to determine the stance of the apostles and elders of the Jerusalem church towards accepting Gentiles into the church. However, at the close of Acts (28.30-31), Paul is depicted as standing alone on the stage.

35. Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p. 39.
36. Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p. 40.

Though the crowded stage would seem to be more appropriate for narrative, the writers of the epistles may also utilize a crowded stage at a peak or the close of an epistle. Paul clearly did this in Romans 16, where he greets over twenty-five individuals in the Roman church by name with descriptive expansion, and refers to many others. His technique would have had a significant interpersonal impact on the recipients. Though he had not visited Rome and presumably had not met many of them, Paul assured the recipients that he had a personal relationship with them.

4. *Prominence with Summaries, Conclusions and Central Sentences*. Summaries, conclusions and central sentences tend to offer the 'meaningful cumulative thrust' of expository and hortatory discourse.[37] Often such sentences occur with inferential particles and in some way account for the rest of the text in their unit. As Levinsohn observes, 'By their nature, summary statements unite together the information they summarize'.[38] Summaries and conclusions may occur at the beginning, middle or end of a unit.

A summary of the discourse can be obtained by deleting the marginal sentences and compiling the central sentences in one summary.

In addition, it is important to identify a unit's points of departure and destination, to note whether any sentences are marked as summaries/conclusions and whether a sentence forms cohesive bonds with a unit or section. In 1 Thess. 4.1-8, there is a clearly marked point of departure, conclusion and connection between verses.

> 1 λοιπὸν οὖν, ἀδελφοί (finally, therefore brothers and sisters) ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ (we ask and urge you in the Lord Jesus)
> 2 οἴδατε γὰρ τίνας παραγγελίας ἐδώκαμεν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (For you know what instructions we gave you through the Lord Jesus)
> 3 ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς (to keep yourselves)
> 4 εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν (for each of you to know)
> 6 τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν (to not sin against or take advantage)
> 8 τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν [καὶ] διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς (Therefore, the one who rejects this does not reject a human but rejects God who gave his Holy Spirit to you)

After v. 8, the discourse shifts to love, which the author claims the recipients do not need him to write about. In this case, the semantic content indicates that the point of departure in v. 1 provides the central sentence and the conclusion emphatically reinforces it.

37. Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p. 48.
38. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, p. 198.

5. *Prominence with Choice of Lexis and Representation.* Prominence always implies a contrast with the background, so that the more salient features will stand out in comparison with relatively less salient features. [39]

Salience in Semantic Categories

More Salient	*Less Salient*
human	non-human
animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
thing-like, solid, discrete	unformed, diffuse, shapeless, unbroken
well-defined, tightly organized	less definite, unstructured, loosely organized
contoured, surrounded, bounded, enclosed	boundless
localized	unlocalized
with distinguishable parts	without distinguishable parts
near	far
above, in front	below, behind
greater contrast	lesser contrast
stable	unstable
symmetric	irregular

Semantic prominence may be extended to include individuals and concepts that are of particular interest to the author or recipients, and any words or concepts that represent the more salient semantic categories.

d. *Prominence with Patterns and Repetition*

Along with markedness, conjunctions and semantic emphasis, prominence is created by the use of repetition. Repetition of a phrase, word or feature at the level of the unit will indicate at least part of a unit's topic (as in a participant chain) or central token. Repetition of words, phrases or features at intervals in a discourse indicates and builds prominence. The repetition of features throughout the discourse has a multiple function. It indicates discourse boundaries/shifts, topics, or motifs/figures or a combination of the three. Repetition of an entity or feature across unit shifts will indicate that the element's domain of prominence is beyond the unit level.

Some examples of the repetition of words and phrases across unit shifts are found in the Gospel of John in the sequencing of miracles as signs, the thematic 'I am' statements and the related motif of light. The structuring of miracles and signs is expressed with repetition and numerical sequencing

39. The chart is from Reed, *Philippians*, p. 113, which is adapted from Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', pp. 212, 214.

at the end of two episodes (the wedding at Cana and the healing of the official's son) as a part of a conclusion:

> 2.11. ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων (this was the first sign he performed)
> 4.54. τοῦτο [δὲ] πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον (but this was the second sign)

However, these two phrases are part of a larger pattern that reflects a discourse theme—related phrases appear not only in the narrative, but in projections by Jesus, Nicodemus, the crowds and the Pharisees.

Discourse Repetition in the Gospel of John

2.11	ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων
2.18	τί σημεῖον δεικνύεις ἡμῖν ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς;
2.23	τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει
3.2	τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν
4.48	ἐὰν μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἴδητε, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε
4.54	τοῦτο [δὲ] πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον
6.2	τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει
6.14	ὃ ἐποίησεν σημεῖον
6.26	ζητεῖτέ με οὐχ ὅτι εἴδετε σημεῖα
6.30	τί οὖν ποιεῖς σὺ σημεῖον ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμέν σοι;
9.16	τοιαῦτα σημεῖα ποιεῖν;
10.41	Ἰωάννης μὲν σημεῖον ἐποίησεν οὐδέν
11.47	ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ ποιεῖ σημεῖα
12.18	τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι τὸ σημεῖον
12.37	τοσαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ σημεῖα πεποιηκότος

The word σημεῖον appears with complex repetition in the singular and plural and collocates with the complex repetition of τοῦτο, ποιέω, ὁράω and/or πιστεύω in the near context. After ch. 12, the discourse shifts from Jesus' ministry to farewell teachings and the passion which have no references to signs, but in Jn 20.30-31, John interprets the pattern of signs and miracles in such a way that explicitly indicates that they are a conscious discourse topic:

> 30 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν [αὐτοῦ], ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· 31 ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύ[σ]ητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.
>
> 30 Therefore, Jesus did many other signs in front of his disciples that are not written in this book. 31 But these are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the son of God, and so that by believing you may have life in his name.

Note the compound marking with conjunctions (μὲν οὖν καί) that indicates high prominence. The purpose statement in v. 31 is a clear example of a

particular sort of discourse staging, where the author steps outside of the structure, and draws attention to its organization and theme.[40]

3. *Putting it Together: Combining Linearization, Grouping and Prominence*

Linearization, grouping and prominence are interrelated. The linear organization constrains meaning, it is chunked to form groups, and it is manipulated to bring some items and events into greater prominence than others. Primary keys to interpretation lie in the staging techniques that the author utilizes, which tend to lie either in the points of departure and the destination or terminal points of the discourse, sections and units. If nothing else, the points of departure provide a context and constrain the interpretation of what follows in the co-text. As the discourse is read (or heard), the signals of continuity followed by variation are the primary indicators of discourse shifts as well as prominence. Authors will stage the sections of a discourse also. They tend to begin with points of agreement and common ground before introducing new information or confrontation, and they tend to build the discourse to a climax or peak.[41]

Grouping in the discourse sets the possible parameters of the domains of prominence. Not only do whole units determine domains of prominence, they also determine relative prominence. Whole units are related to each other—they can shift to a higher level of prominence, have an additive relationship of equal status, or shift from prominence to support material. The conjunction and discourse staging at the unit's point of departure signals the unit's relationship to the preceding co-text. Therefore, a unit that is signalled as support material will often have emphatic features such as a conclusion that is signalled with an inferential conjunction, but the prominence will be relative to the unit in which it appears—it will not be prominent at the discourse level simply because it is joined with an inferential conjunction or it has marked features. There must be a confluence of indicators that indicate discourse motifs, topics and themes, and if it supports a more prominent topic or theme, it is still background.

Once the units and their topics and central sentences are processed and identified, the central sentences and staging devices that the author has

40. For a discussion of staging, see Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 134-40. S.C. Levinson calls staging 'discourse deixis' (S.C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983], p. 85).

41. That is not to say that there are not exceptions to these tendencies. Newspaper reporters place their most prominent information at the point of departure and their important points are made early in the discourse. They place the detailed development at the end of the article, based on the assumption that only motivated readers will complete the article.

utilized must be analysed for signals the author gives, perhaps for processing the discourse in sections, but certainly for the common grammatical and lexical patterns and semantic themes that allow the reader to develop a mental representation of the discourse. Since the author's choices for organization at this level are unlimited, this stage of interpretation is guided more by the given features in the discourse rather than general steps or procedures. The sequencing and hierarchical organization of the central sentences of the discourse should be the basis for legitimate headings for sections, chapters and paragraphs in translations. These are powerful staging devices and will skew the interpretation of a discourse if they do not reflect the topics and central sentences. The sequencing and hierarchical organization must also be the basis of any outline made of the discourse. Interpretation must be a part of every model of analysis, but an interpretation that best reflects the author's intentions must be anchored in the formal and semantic features in the text. Trust the text.

Prominence in the Pauline Epistles

Randall K.J. Tan

Prominence in the Pauline Epistles?

When confronted with new terminology and new ideas, a sense of curiosity and skepticism typically arises simultaneously in many readers. What is meant by prominence in the Pauline Epistles? How can this concept be applied to the interpretation of Paul? Does this application represent a new path to discovery or a road to nowhere? Will it involve restating the obvious using unnecessarily arcane terminology? Will it yield only vague, general ideas? Will it involve special pleading with unsubstantiated arguments?

While many may not be familiar with the linguistic concept of prominence, most will have either encountered claims that certain grammatical constructions in the Greek New Testament are 'emphatic'. The most frequent type of claim probably concerns word order. For instance, the author of an intermediate Greek grammar states: 'Generally, any element placed before the verb signals prominence'.[1] Two classic reference grammars claim that '[a]ny emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element to be moved forward' and that '[e]mphasis consists in removing a word from its usual position to an unusual one' respectively.[2] In a rudimentary sense, prominence is a way of talking about emphasis.[3]

More specifically, the concept of prominence has to do with how language users mark various items to differentiate their *relative importance*

1. Richard A. Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), p. 263.

2. BDF §472(2) and A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek of the New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), p. 417.

3. Prominence has also been referred to as emphasis, grounding, relevance, or salience. See Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* (JSNTSup, 136; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), p. 105. Reed (pp. 107-10) discusses prominence in terms of background, theme, and focus. Stanley Porter posits three planes of discourse—background, foreground, and frontground. See his *Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament: With Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG, 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 92-93; and *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (BLG, 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2nd edn, 1994), p. 23.

in the discourse and to guide the audience in the best way to 'read' their communication.[4] In essence, important themes and participants (i.e., characters who do or receive actions) are placed in the foreground and supporting material is put in the background. How does knowing this concept help in the task of interpreting Paul's writings? If we know which linguistic resources are used to indicate what level of prominence, we will be better able to discern both what is emphasized (or not), how it is emphasized, and how the various themes and participants interact with one another in Paul's letters.

Distributional Statistics for Determining Prominence?

How then does one determine which linguistic resources indicate what level of prominence? The concept of markedness comes in as an intermediate step.[5] A basic premise is that when selection from two or more options in linguistic expression is possible, a choice in meaning expression is implied. The most commonly used option would be considered default or less marked and the less commonly used options more marked.[6] For instance, in Greek the Indicative mood is the most commonly used option to indicate the language user's perspective on the relation of the verbal action to reality. From a distributional standpoint, the Indicative would thus be considered default or less marked. The non-Indicative moods would be considered more marked.[7]

4. Cf. Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, p. 106.

5. Markedness was first developed by the Prague School of Linguists to describe the presence or absence of phonetic features. For the evolution of the theory, see E. Andrews, *Markedness Theory: The Union of Asymmetry and Semiosis in Language* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990).

6. Nevertheless, a clear predominance of one member is needed for it to count as the default. In this study, a ratio of 0.7/0.3 will be considered the threshold for a statistically significant marked–unmarked contrast.

7. Distributional markedness is only one of several ways of determining markedness. Cross-linguistic distributional analysis was pioneered by Greenberg and developed by others. See J.H. Greenberg, *Language Universals: With Special Reference to Feature Hierarchies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966); B. Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 111-22; A.M. Zwicky, 'On Markedness in Morphology', *Die Sprache* 24 (1978), pp. 129-43; T. Givón, 'Markedness in Grammar: Distributional, Communicative and Cognitive Correlates of Syntactic Structure', *Studies in Language* 15 (1991), pp. 335-70; and *Functionalism and Grammar* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), pp. 25-69. Markedness can also be determined in terms of morphological bulk (material markedness), the nature and kind of irregularities found in a set of related forms (implicational markedness), the preciseness of semantic features (semantic markedness), and the position of an element in a linguistic unit (positional markedness). For example, the genitive

At this point, the reader may ask, 'How do we know that the assumptions of the concepts of markedness and prominence are valid, let alone the use of distributional statistics?' To answer this question, three questions need to be addressed. First, how does language convey meaning? The view espoused here is that language is composed of interrelated sets of options for making meaning. For example, the semantic choices of singular and plural form a two member system in Greek. When a noun is singular, it is singular as a choice against (or instead of) plural. When a noun is plural, it is plural as a choice against (or instead of) singular.[8] The language user is not always consciously aware of making such choices. Native speakers often make use of the resources of their language without conscious thought. However, the system of language requires that those choices be made to express meaning through language. Thus every expression of meaning through words or grammar implies choice.[9]

case form of a noun or adjective has more morphological bulk (e.g., lengthened vowel, uncontracted ending, or consonant stem) than the nominative form, its paradigm has fewer irregularities than the nominative and accusative forms, and it marks more precise meaning distinctions than the nominative or accusative forms (which typically fill the subject and object slots). Also, since the genitive form typically comes after the noun form it modifies, a genitive that precedes the noun it modifies would be marked in terms of position.

8. Philip Graber, 'Context in Text: A Systemic Functional Analysis of the Parable of the Sower' (PhD, Emory University, 2001), pp. 4-5, notes, 'System represents the potential of the language, the possibilities for what speakers can say. This potential is defined by paradigmatic relationships, relationships between signs in the system. For example, in Standard English, there are two choices for first person pronouns in the subject position: "I" and "we". In the sentence, "x went to work", a speaker referring to…himself can say "I went to work", or, if others are included, "We went to work". The significance of the choice of terms in this case is determined by the fact that there are only two terms for this purpose in the system, one singular and one plural. If, however, there were also a choice of a dual term, then the significance of "we" as a plural would be different, because choosing it would exclude the dual meaning. Furthermore, if there were an additional term for inclusive plural ("we including you") and "we" were used for exclusive plural ("we but not you"), the significance of the term "we" would once more be changed because its relationship to other terms in the system would be different.'

9. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 9 on conscious and unconscious choices. Non-native speakers who learned a language as adults may be more aware of such choices. It seems that through the history of interpretation most readers have assumed choice in expressions of meaning in the text interpreted. Much of historical-grammatical exegesis involves determining and explaining the choice of words and of grammatical constructions in the text. Lexicons provide ranges of meanings available for individual words and grammars detail usage options for different sets of grammatical features. This essay thus builds on a rich history of interpretive endeavor.

Secondly, what is the relationship between grammar and meaning? More specifically, what is the relationship between language as a potential system for conveying meaning and language as used in conveying meaning? This essay assumes that there should be no artificial barrier between actual language use and theoretical linguistics.[10] In practice, analysis of how language is used in the text of Paul's writings gives us direct insight into the Greek language Paul used. Given that there are no native speakers of Koiné Greek, our understanding of it necessarily comes primarily through the extant witnesses of Greek usage in the writings of Paul and other Hellenistic writers.[11] The relationship between language as system and actual language use may be compared with the relationship between climate (weather viewed as a system over a period of time) and day to day weather patterns (weather viewed as an instance): 'There is only one set of phenomena here: the meteorological processes of precipitation, movement of air masses and the like, which we observe in close-up, as text, or else in depth, as system'.[12]

Thirdly, how do we bridge the gap between language as system and language as instance? Analysis of the statistical distribution of various linguistic phenomena is a foundational building block.[13] Such statistical studies

10. Mainstream twentieth-century linguistics has largely put a dividing wall between language as a system and actual language use, originating from Saussure's distinction between *langue* (i.e., language as system shared by a community of speakers) and *parole* (i.e., the concrete act of speaking in actual situations by an individual). See Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye; trans. W. Baskin; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 9-15. This divide became a chasm when Chomsky restated the distinction as linguistic competence (i.e., the ideal speaker's knowledge of the language) and linguistic performance (i.e., the flawed specific utterances by the speakers). Indeed, Chomsky believed that grammar—especially syntactic structure—is autonomous and independent of meaning. See Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (Janua linguarum, series minor, 4; The Hague: Mouton, 1957), p. 17. This preoccupation with language as abstract system has come under increasing criticism. See Michael Stubbs, *Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-Assisted Studies of Language and Culture* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 44-45; J.K. Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 25-33; Givón, *Functionalism and Grammar*, p. 176; and Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, rev. and exp. edn, 1994), pp. 114-15.

11. In the history of interpretation, there has been routine appeal to parallel texts in determining the meaning of words or grammatical constructions. Such appeals assume that examination of actual usage patterns reveals meaning.

12. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Language as System and Language as Instance: The Corpus as a Theoretical Construct', in Jan Svartvik (ed.), *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 65; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), p. 66.

13. Grammarians and lexicographers have been in the business of differentiating between common usages and less common usages on the basis of the frequency of

yield insight into the network of choices involved in making meaning. In this study, the resultant theories will be tested on Galatians to see how well they account for the data in specific instances of text.

What Are the Distributional Statistics in Paul?

The first stage of this study involved building a suitable database for doing statistical analysis on various linguistics features.[14] To this end, this author undertook to tag (i.e., annotate) the Greek texts of Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians for the OpenText.org project with different levels of information. Claims about prominence in the Pauline Epistles in this essay are thus properly restricted to this more limited corpus. Nevertheless, the data should be representative of Paul's writings.[15]

Statistics on Clause Constituent Patterns

A brief explanation of the OpenText.org annotation model here will help the reader better appreciate the statistics on the patterns of what components make up a clause (termed clause constituent patterns here). The model tries to account for how we construe our experience through language in a simple scheme. In principle, the grammar of the clause consists of three components: (1) the process itself; (2) participants in the process; and (3) circumstances associated with the process.[16] The level under the clause consists of groupings of words that make up the components of the clause. The level above the clause involves the relationship between clauses. Table 1 summarizes the basic configuration of these levels of annotation. The vertical axis of the table delineates the four basic clause level function slots. The horizontal axis of the table gives the three clause levels. Word groups fit inside the clause function slots.

occurrence for millennia. While the sorting of usual and unusual, emphatic and non-emphatic usages, was not infrequently done on an ad hoc basis on incomplete data, this study may claim a long lineage of historical precedence.

14. For the morphological data, existing computer software databases would have yielded similar data. For the syntactical information on clause components and word order, this new annotated text provided previously unavailable data.

15. The corpus was chosen to be non-controversial and manageable in size. It has no bearing on this author's views on Pauline authorship of the thirteen letters.

16. M.A.K. Halliday and Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Arnold, 3rd edn, 2004), p. 175. Halliday and Matthiessen go on to state that the concepts of process, participant, and circumstance are 'semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of our experience of the real world are construed as linguistic structures' (p. 178).

Table 1. *Clause and Word Group Annotations*

Clause Level	*Subject (S)*	*Predicator (P)*	*Complement (C)*	*Adjunct (A)*
Primary	Head Term-Modifiers	Verbal Form	Head Term-Modifiers	Head Term-Modifiers
Secondary	Head Term-Modifiers	Verbal Form	Head Term-Modifiers	Head Term-Modifiers
Embedded	Head Term-Modifiers	Verbal Form	Head Term-Modifiers	Head Term-Modifiers

At the word group level, all words are basically either head terms or modifiers. The head term usually refers to the nominal that all the other words in the word group modify. Modifiers include adjectives, genitives, datives, and prepositional phrases. At the clause level, there are only four function slots (excluding conjunctions). They are subject (S), predicator (P), complement (C), or adjunct (A). The tag subject (S) is used on word groups of which something is predicated. All verbal forms are tagged as predicators (P). Complement (C) refers to word groups that 'complete' their predicator by being the direct, indirect object, or beneficiary of the process indicated by the predicator. Word groups that modify the predicator by providing an indication of the circumstances associated with the process (e.g., prepositional and adverbial word groups) are tagged as adjuncts (A). The subjects and complements correspond to the participants in a process; the predicators to the processes; and the adjuncts to the circumstances associated with the process.[17] The distinction between primary and secondary clause level has to do with two types of logical relation, dependence (hypotaxis) or equality (parataxis).[18] An embedded clause is a clause that fills one of the function slots of another clause—it is 'embedded' as a component of that clause. For this study, the statistical analysis does not distinguish between primary and secondary clauses and does not include embedded clauses.

The data in table A1 in the accompanying appendix presents many intriguing questions and possibilities for further research. In terms of markedness and prominence, the proportion of explicit subjects is of special interest since the subject is frequently not obligatory in the Greek clause. It is a good possibility that the presence of an explicit subject is marked and its absence unmarked. At first sight, the high percentage of explicit subject (ranging from 37 percent in 2 Corinthians to 51 percent in 1 Corinthians) appears

17. Participants that are peripheral (i.e., not obligatory) to the meaning expressed by the clause also occur as adjuncts.

18. The majority of primary clauses consist of clauses with a finite verb. Secondary clauses are typically distinguished by means of a subordinating conjunction.

to discredit this thesis. The percentages need to be adjusted to account for vocatives and verbless clauses (where the subject is obligatory except in cases of ellipsis).[19] Thus, the percentage of explicit subjects in clauses not requiring a subject actually ranges from 21 percent in Philippians to 37 percent in 1 Corinthians.[20] An additional consideration is the sizable number of explicit subjects that are required on discourse considerations (but that are not accounted for in the machine-generated count here). For instance, when a new participant is introduced or when there is a switch in participants in a discourse, an explicit subject is needed. Taking into account all these considerations, the ratio of absence versus presence of an explicit subject in non-obligatory situations is approximately 0.7/0.3, a ratio of contrast that has been found to be statistically significant in a study by Porter and O'Donnell.[21] A marked–unmarked contrast between the presence and absence of an explicit subject in non-obligatory contexts is thus confirmed as likely.

Statistics on Constituent Order Patterns

The data in table A2 in the accompanying appendix likewise presents many intriguing questions and possibilities for further research. As a starting point, this author set out to test Robertson's claim that '[e]mphasis consists in removing a word from its usual position to an unusual one'.[22] With four components in principle at the clause level and the different components being non-obligatory in different contexts, it was initially difficult to decide on how to test constituent order patterns. When the components were put

19. Vocatives were still tagged as S in their own separate primary clauses as of this writing. A separate tag has been utilized in a revision of the annotation.

20. The rest of the figures are 36 percent in Romans; 26 percent in 2 Corinthians; 35 percent in Galatians; and 34 percent in 1 Thessalonians.

21. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, 'The Greek Verbal Network Viewed from a Probabilistic Standpoint: An Exercise in Hallidayan Linguistics', *FN* 14 (2001), pp. 3-41. The theoretical framework originates from Halliday, who posits that different sets of options in language either have no marked–unmarked contrast, in which case the members of the set are about equally likely to occur (termed 'equiprobable'), or have a marked–unmarked contrast, in which case the members of the set occur in heavily skewed ratios. See Halliday, 'Language as System and Language as Instance'; 'Corpus Studies and Probabilistic Grammar', in K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg (eds.), *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honor of Jan Svartvik* (London: Longman, 1991), pp. 30-43; 'Quantitative Studies and Probabilities in Grammar', in M. Hoey (ed.), *Data, Description, Discourse: Papers on the English Language in Honour of John McH. Sinclair* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 1-25; and 'Towards Probabilistic Interpretations', in E. Ventola (ed.), *Functional and Systemic Linguistics: Approaches and Uses* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 55; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 39-61.

22. Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 417.

into pairs of contrast, clear patterns emerged. First, clauses with a predicator and verbless clauses have significantly different ratios in their constituent order patterns of S C and C S—S C predominates in clauses with a predicator, but S C and C S are almost equally probable for verbless clauses. Secondly, in clauses with a predicator, the S P order predominates over P S order.[23] Thirdly, P C and C P patterns are almost equally probable. While the results are preliminary and discourse factors may account for the almost equally probable ratios for some oppositions, the statistical distributions favor seeing a marked–unmarked contrast only in clauses with a predicator where the subject is removed from its usual position preceding the predicator or the complement, i.e., P S instead of S P order, C S (with P) instead of S C (with P) order.

Statistics on Aspect

As the predicator is the most commonly obligatory component of a clause, different permutations of the verbal form are one of the most likely sources of marked–unmarked contrast.[24] Aspectual contrast in particular has recently been proposed as a means of portraying different levels of prominence.[25]

From the data in table A3 in the accompanying appendix, several likely candidates for marked–unmarked contrast emerge. First, the pluperfect is so rare that it does not appear to be a fully viable option, at least for Paul. Secondly, the Perfect, Imperfect, and Future tense forms appear on the short end of ratio oppositions greater than 0.7/0.3 no matter which other tense forms you contrast them with.[26] Thirdly, there is a sizable discrepancy in the

23. The results for P A and A P patterns are inconclusive and require further research. C A and A C patterns were not tested because (1) they are the two least obligatory components; (2) except in rare cases of ellipsis, these patterns cannot constitute a clause on their own; and (3) many clauses have multiple complements and adjuncts which may alternately precede or follow each other in the same clause. On clause constituent order, see also Stanley E. Porter, 'Word Order and Clause Structure in New Testament Greek', *FN* 6 (1993), pp. 177-206, and Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (Dallas: SIL International, 2nd edn, 2000), pp. 1-67.

24. On the importance of the verb in Greek clause structure, see further Porter, *Idioms*, p. 295.

25. Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 22-23. See Gustavo Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles: A Functional-Grammatical Approach to the Lukan Perspective* (JSNTSup, 202; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) for an initial evaluation of this proposal.

26. A more specific scheme of contrasts is proposed in Porter and O'Donnell, 'Greek Verbal Network'. Statistics on the grammatical features of the verb can also be obtained through existing computer databases like GRAMCORD, Bibleworks, and Logos. There may be slight discrepancies in the actual counts. In fact, it has been noted that there are discrepancies even in different versions of the same database or with the same version

proportion of Imperfect tense forms in Galatians in relation to the other five letters (3.6 percent vs. 1 percent), the significance of which will be explored later in this essay.

Voice, Mood, Person, and Number

In a previously unpublished study, this author determined that the data on possible indicators of prominence through voice, mood, person, and number are largely inconclusive at this stage of research.[27] There is a skewed ratio of about 0.7/0.3 between the active and non-active forms throughout the Pauline epistles. The lack of dependable disambiguation of Middle/Passive forms and uncertainty over the meaning of the Middle voice precludes further statements. With regard to mood, the Optative form appears to occur only in certain set forms in the Pauline Epistles.[28] The Indicative form does form a clearly skewed opposition to non-Indicative forms (see Table A4).

With regard to person and number, the distribution varies very widely across the Pauline Epistles (see Table A5). This huge discrepancy variation suggests that different tenor—i.e., different roles and interaction between the author(s) and the audience—determines the relative proportion of the forms realizing different person and number in each letter. At this stage of research, this author would suggest that the data on voice, mood, person, and number be used comparatively—comparing one letter to another and comparing one portion of text with another portion in the same letter. On the higher discourse level, unusual ratios in one or more of these grammatical features will help to identify special features in one of Paul's letters as opposed to the others or in one portion of a letter as opposed to the rest of that letter.

when the searches are specified in a slightly different way. See H. Hahne, 'Avoiding the Pitfalls of Computer-Assisted New Testament Grammatical Analysis', in F.R. Poswick (ed.), *Bible and Computers: Desk and Discipline. The Impact of Computers on Biblical Studies: Proceedings of Association Internationale Bible et Informatique* (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1995), pp. 223-36. For our purposes, what is important is the distributional ratio, which is not significantly affected by slight differences in raw counts.

27. Randall K.J. Tan, 'Fulfilling the Law Apart from the Law: A Discourse Approach to Paul and the Law in Romans' (PhD dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004), pp. 231-43.

28. In Romans, 10 out of 12 occurrences come in the emphatic denials, μὴ γένοιτο, 'May it never be!' (3.4, 6, 31; 6.2, 15; 7.7, 13; 9.14; 11.1, 11). The other two occur in the prayers in Rom. 15.5 and 15.13. In 1 Corinthians, there is one instance of μὴ γένοιτο (6.15) and two instances of εἰ τύχοι, 'probably' (an idiom indicating a degree of probability; 14.10; and 15.37). In Galatians, all three occurrences involve μὴ γένοιτο (2.17; 3.21; 6.14). The five occurrences in 1 Thessalonians are all prayers (3.11, 12 [2×]; and 5.23 [2×]).

How Do We Use Prominence for Text Analysis?

Having examined a whole series of linguistic elements that may be marked, the time has come to test the various theses on the text of Galatians. As previously noted, the ratio of Imperfect tense forms in Galatians is highly irregular when compared with the other letters. The higher proportion in Galatians can be attributed to the extended 'autobiography' in Galatians 1–2 (9 out of 13 occurrences in Galatians). Exactly how does emphasis come into play here? In a context where Paul grounds his assertion that 'the gospel preached by me is not according to the norm of human beings' in remote events, the Imperfect tense form seems to highlight processes with greater semantic weight in opposition to the background processes conveyed by the Aorist tense form.[29] For instance, in Gal. 1.12-24 for instance, the Aorist tense form is used primarily for denoting linear movement. Paul seems to takes his readers on a journey to the past where he portrays his travels in snapshots and recounts his pre-Christian activities against the church as if immersed in them (as a good story teller would to get to and dwell on the 'juicy' parts). In terms of interpretive insight, appreciation of Paul's use of aspectual contrast brings into clearer view Paul's emphasis on the divine origin of his gospel and also precludes subjective suggestions on the significance of the Imperfect forms in this passage.[30]

By comparing the statistical ratios on voice, mood, person, and number among the chapters in Galatians, the data on person stands out (see Table A6). The autobiographical nature of chs. 1 and 2 is corroborated by the ratio of 2 to 1 of first person versus third person in ch. 1 and about equal proportions in ch. 2. Galatians 3 has the highest proportion of third person (approximately 0.7/0.3 for first and second person combined), which is consistent with it being the core expositional section of the letter. In ch. 4 a shift towards more (personal and direct) exhortation begins (the proportion of first and second person forms doubles and third person forms fall to a forty percent share) and comes to its climax in ch. 5 (third person forms fall below a forty percent share). Galatians 6 does not shift from exhortation mode, but the use of the third person shifts the focus to address contingent situations. After Paul has addressed the issues of immediate concern, he has

29. Cf. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, p. 22.

30. The explanation above attributes the higher incidence of Imperfect forms to the discourse opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect set in a remote context of a narrative of past life. This seems preferable to alternatives suggested by commentators: (1) They denote the continuance of the persecuting activity; or (2) they denote conative action, 'tried to'. On these suggestions, see Ernest D.W. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 45; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC, 41; Dallas: Word, 1990), p. 27; and Hans D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), p. 67.

now turned to less pressing generic situations.[31] By tracing the opposition of person throughout the discourse (and thus tracing the relative prominence of persons in different sections of text), instead of narrowly focusing on the micro-details of each instance only, the nature and development of the larger picture of Paul's interaction with his readers comes into plain view.

The reader may say, 'Anyone who has read Galatians and knows it well probably already has a similar impression of this general portrait. Are you not just restating the obvious?' The key word here is *impression*. One advantage that a computer-assisted linguistic method has is that the reasons for that impression are identified and readily furnished to support one's claims. Moreover, there is the possibility of discovering large-scale patterns that may be interpretively significant that may have been missed before.[32]

From the distribution data on person and number in Table A5, it is also possible to develop a tentative and partial typology of Paul's letters. On a cline of degree of personal interaction between Paul and his audience, the letters range from Romans on the low end to 1 Corinthians, Galatians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and finally 1 Thessalonians on the high end. The high degree of personal interaction in 1 Thessalonians is not surprising, given that, as one commentator notes, '[h]alf of 1 Thessalonians is devoted to Paul's relationship with the church (chaps. 1–3)'.[33] The comparatively high ratio of imperatives (see Table 5A), and likely the comparatively strong exhortatory nature of this letter, consolidates this picture—only Philippians has a higher proportion of imperatives. The unusually low ratio of imperatives in 2 Corinthians is attributable largely to chs. 1–6 being dominated by Paul's defense of his apostleship.[34] (Note also the unusually high 3 to 1 ratio of first person versus second person.) The higher degree of impersonal exposition in Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Galatians would account for their higher proportion of third person (esp. singular) usage. The phenomenon of diatribe accounts for the significantly higher proportion of second person singulars in Romans while plural authorship explains the disproportionately high ratio of first person plural forms in 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians. A

31. Introduced, for instance, by 'if' (Gal. 6.1, 3), 'whatever' (6.7), and generic 'the one who' (6.8) constructions.

32. This possibility is raised with an important caveat, however. As Porter ('Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies: An Introductory Survey', in S.E. Porter and D.A. Carson [eds.], *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek* [JSNTSup, 113; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], p. 30) aptly notes, 'At this stage in New Testament research…it might plausibly be asked whether there are many new conclusions to be found…or whether any interpretive model is more likely only to support or defend theories, although perhaps on different and more substantial theoretical grounds'.

33. John B. Polhill, *Paul and his Letters* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), p. 183.

34. See, e.g., Polhill, *Paul and his Letters*, pp. 263-70.

higher degree of inclusion of the audience appears responsible for the higher proportion of second person plurals in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians.

While the exercise of pulling together and explaining the larger patterns revealed by the prominence of different features in different letters cannot take the place of careful exegesis of the details of the text of Paul, it can serve at least two interpretive functions. First, it provides a convenient skeleton to build a summary of comparative information among the letters. Secondly, it provides a larger framework with which to compare and fit in the interpretive results of smaller portions of the picture.

In Galatians 1, an explicit subject is present 10 times. Only 1 out of 10 appears to be non-obligatory (ἐγώ, 'I', in 1.12).[35] This fact appears to have been overlooked by modern commentators consulted by this author. Perhaps they wanted to avoid the mistake of older commentators who frequently appealed to minor grammatical details that supported their claims tenuously at best. Nevertheless, given the rarity of a non-obligatory subject, Burton's suggestion that Paul is comparing himself with others by his use of ἐγώ deserves serious consideration.[36] Simultaneously (or alternatively, if Burton's suggestion is ultimately rejected), ἐγώ pairs up with ἐμήν, 'mine', in 1.13 to emphatically introduce Paul's narrative on his past personal life.

In Galatians 1, only 1.15 has an instance of likely prominent clause constituent order—a P S order with εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός.[37] Because the subject is obligatory here (it introduces the participant responsible for being pleased to reveal his son in Paul), one may argue either that moving the subject to this unusual (and marked) position makes the subject more prominent or that the verb is moved forward to make it more prominent.[38] Another factor that needs to be considered is that the subject is sandwiched between the main verb and the infinitival clause that completes the predication. Could the intervening of the subject between the main verb and the complementary

35. The three occurrences in 1.1, 3, and 5 are obligatory in their verbless clauses. The occurrence in 1.7a is obligatory by virtue of being a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause. The five occurrences in 1.7b, 8, 9, 15, and 23 are all arguably obligatory, introducing either a specific or generic participant.

36. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 39. In this author's opinion, Burton's claim that Paul is comparing himself to the Twelve is mistaken, however. The Twelve received the gospel and were taught by Jesus himself during his earthly ministry, so any comparison would have to be made with people who received their gospel and were taught by mere human beings. The likely comparison is to the false teachers who were opposing Paul and misleading the Galatians.

37. The words ὁ θεός are textually suspect. But even if they are removed from the text, the participial clause 'the one who separated me from my mother's womb and called me through his grace' would still occupy the S slot.

38. The first argument is in line with Robertson's (*Grammar*, p. 417) thesis. The second is in line with BDF §472(2).

infinitive be making the infinitival clause more prominent instead? Another possible factor is that this clause is a secondary 'when' clause, not a primary clause. There are too many unresolved questions at this point to offer a definitive solution. A possible solution is to take into account the dependent nature of this clause. A preliminary survey of ὅτε clauses with explicit subjects coming after the verb in the New Testament (because there were too few examples in Paul) indicates that the moving back of the subject in the ὅτε usually corresponds to the primary clause having a different subject (the exceptions being Mt. 7.28; 13.53; and 19.1, all with καὶ ἐγένετο preceding the ὅτε). With ὅτε clauses at least, the predicator preceding the subject seems to indicate a less prominent subject that is different from the subject of the primary clause to which the ὅτε clause is dependent.

Conclusion

What is prominence in the Pauline Epistles? And what use is that concept to the task of interpreting Paul? We have seen that the concept of prominence has to do with how language users mark various items to differentiate their *relative importance* in the discourse and to guide the audience in the best way to read their communication. Along the way, through studies of statistical distribution we can discover marked–unmarked pairs throughout different sets of grammatical features. In terms of clause constituents, it was found that non-obligatory explicit subjects are marked. In terms of the order of constituents in a clause, P S instead of S P order, C S (with P) instead of S C (with P) order were found to be marked. Imperfect, Perfect, and Future tense forms are also likely marked when used in aspectual opposition with the other tense forms. With voice, mood, person, and number, no consistent marked or unmarked items could be determined at this stage of research. Nevertheless, it was suggested that comparing these features across letters or between different sections of text within a letter (for preliminary analysis, chapter divisions were used in this study) would uncover a number of prominent features.

Specifically in Galatians, the Imperfect tense form was found to highlight processes with greater semantic weight in opposition to the background processes conveyed by the Aorist tense form. A significant opposition of person throughout the discourse of Galatians was shown, specifically with chs. 1 and 2 standing out as 'autobiographical', ch. 3 as more impersonally expositional, chs. 4–5 as shifting towards more personal and direct address, and ch. 6 remaining exhortatory but becoming more indirect and contingent in its exhortations. By comparing just the person and number and mood data, a partial and tentative typology of Paul's letter was sketched: Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians formed a cline of increasing levels of personal interaction. The ἐγώ in Gal. 1.12 is a rare

instance of a non-obligatory explicit subject that has at least two promising explanations of how it is emphasized. In Gal. 1.15, the predicator preceding the subject may indicate a less prominent subject that is different from the subject of the primary clause to which the ὅτε clause is dependent.

Is the concept of prominence and its investigation a new path to discovery or a road to nowhere? This essay does not claim to be exhaustive or to have answered all the questions. Far from it. It hoped that the reader has been able to successfully navigate the long road from being introduced to the concepts of prominence and markedness, applying computer-assisted distributional study of marked–unmarked oppositions in the Pauline corpus, and gleaning some interpretational fruit from investigating prominence in the Pauline Epistles. Perhaps some will take up the challenge of exploring further the potential avenues of investigation.

Appendix

Table A1. *Constituents of Greek Clauses in Paul*

Pattern	*Rom.*	*%*	*1 Cor*	*%*	*2 Cor.*	*%*	*Gal.*	*%*	*Phil.*	*%*	*1 Thess.*	*%*
All	838		1029		546		285		165		154	
Contain S	407	49	529	51	204	37	127	45	66	40	71	46
Contain P	619	74	784	76	389	71	224	79	123	75	119	77
Contain C	508	61	594	58	268	49	149	52	102	62	80	52
Has S (no P)	132	16	197	19	80	15	42	15	34	21	32	21
S & C only	37	4	58	6	21	4	9	3	12	7	7	5
S & A only	41	5	58	6	25	5	17	6	8	5	7	5
S only	28	3	48	5	20	4	14	5	10	6	14	9
Has P (no S)	344	41	452	44	265	49	139	49	91	55	80	52
P & C only	97	12	120	12	50	9	29	10	28	17	19	12
P & A only	89	11	161	16	97	18	47	16	31	19	30	19
P only	50	6	55	5	35	6	21	7	10	6	8	5
C & A only	17	2	18	2	12	2	5	2	3	2	2	1
C only	31	4	19	2	22	4	5	2	5	3	0	0
A only	39	5	11	1	43	8	9	3	0	0	1	1

Table A2. *Ordering of Clause Constituents in Paul*

Pattern	*Rom.*	*%*	*1 Cor.*	*%*	*2 Cor.*	*%*	*Gal.*	*%*	*Phil.*	*%*	*1 Thess.*	*%*
S P Order	195	71	244	73	88	71	56	66	26	81	28	72
P S Order	80	29	88	27	36	29	29	34	6	19	11	28
S C Order	151	72	187	69	57	70	47	76	27	77	21	66
C S Order	58	28	83	31	24	30	15	24	8	23	11	34
S C (no P)	38	60	53	58	21	60	7	64	14	88	9	82

C S (no P)	25	40	38	42	14	40	4	36	2	12	2	18
S A Order	129	55	131	50	59	52	47	60	25	71	21	49
A S Order	106	45	131	50	55	48	31	40	10	29	22	51
S A (no P)	36	54	46	51	18	46	14	74	10	83	5	45
A S (no P)	31	46	45	49	21	54	5	26	2	17	6	55
P C Order	197	56	189	46	106	59	60	49	40	58	41	65
C P Order	154	44	226	54	73	41	62	51	29	42	22	35
P A Order	110	32	110	25	60	32	40	31	30	41	28	44
A P Order	232	68	326	75	129	68	90	69	44	59	36	56

Table A3. *Tense Form Distribution in Paul*

Tense	*Rom.*	*%*	*1 Cor.*	*%*	*2 Cor.*	*%*	*Gal.*	*%*	*Phil.*	*%*	*1 Thess*	*%*
Aor	365	35	313	27	246	35	139	38	68	28	79	34
Impf	10	1	12	1	8	1.1	12	3.3	3	1.3	2	0.9
Pres	499	48	650	57	346	49	165	45	133	56	127	55
Pf	78	7.5	96	8.3	67	9.6	28	7.7	20	8.4	18	7.8
Plpf	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fut	91	8.7	78	6.8	33	4.7	20	5.5	15	6.3	5	2.2
Total	1044		1149		700		364		239		231	

Table A4. *Distribution of Mood in Paul*

Mood	*Rom.*	*%*	*1 Cor.*	*%*	*2 Cor.*	*%*	*Gal.*	*%*	*Phil.*	*%*	*1 Thess.*	*%*
Ind	652	81	769	75	402	81	244	81.3	117	73.1	96	68.6
Impv	60	7.5	98	9.6	22	4.4	21	7	25	15.6	20	14.3
Subj	77	9.6	154	15	71	14.3	32	10.7	18	11.3	19	13.6
Opt	12	1.5	3	0.3	0	0	3	1	0	0	5	3.6
Total	801		1024		495		300		160		140	

Table A5. *Distribution of Person and Number in Paul*

	Rom.	*%*	*1 Cor.*	*%*	*2 Cor.*	*%*	*Gal.*	*%*	*Phil.*	*%*	*1 Thess.*	*%*
1st Sg	113	14	191	19	145	29.3	68	22.7	65	40.6	2	1.4
1st Pl	78	9.8	71	6.9	93	18.8	24	8	4	2.5	47	33.6
All 1st	*191*	*24*	*262*	*26*	*238*	*48*	*92*	*30.7*	*69*	*43.1*	*49*	*35*
2nd Sg	65	8.1	23	2.2	0	0	9	3	1	0.6	0	0
2nd Pl	73	9.1	155	15	68	13.7	54	18	45	28.1	52	37.1
All 2nd	*138*	*17*	*178*	*17*	*68*	*13.7*	*63*	*21*	*46*	*28.7*	*52*	*37.1*
3rd Sg	376	47	487	48	169	34.1	115	38.3	38	23.8	32	22.9
3rd Pl	93	12	96	9.4	20	4	30	10	7	4.4	7	5
All 3rd	*469*	*59*	*583*	*57*	*189*	*38*	*145*	*48.3*	*45*	*28.2*	*39*	*27.9*
Total	798		1023		495		300		160		140	

Table A6. *Distribution of Person Reference in Galatians*

Chapter	*First person*	*Second person*	*Third person*
1	26	3	13
2	27	2	24
3	7	10	41
4	14	21	25
5	12	21	19
6	6	6	23

Part III
Discourse Analysis

The Use of Discourse Analysis in Character Studies: Nicodemus and the Samaritan Woman (John 3–4)

Steven Gunderson

1. *Introduction*

It was supposedly St Augustine who said that the Gospel of John was 'shallow enough for a child to wade through and deep enough for an elephant to swim in' (a quotation given in a sermon without a reference). To many John is a deceptive pool where at least on the edges it looks shallow enough. When, however, you get past the first few feet of shallow water, you can find yourself suddenly plunged into the inky blackness where not only can you not touch the bottom but the currents and swirling tides make it hard to keep your head above water. There are so many deep currents of interpretive and textual complexities that it becomes difficult to know how to keep your head above the water, much less swim. Think of a few examples: Who wrote this Gospel, for instance? Here you get into source theory. Is John the work of one author or of several? Is John a composition of different sources stitched together at the end of the first century by a final redactor or by a Johannine school? Bultmann saw at least three sources including a passion narrative, a miracle-source, and a narrative source, these three or more disparate sources being collected and assembled by a final editor or redactor to form the present text of John.[1] Raymond Brown, on the other hand, sees John as having been put together in five stages over a period of many years, being the product of traditional material, additional preaching and teaching elements from a Johannine perspective, along with several editings.[2] Thomas Brodie in his *The Gospel according to John* argues John is deliberately uneven and disjointed not because of various sources but because the original author sought to use the seeming contradictions and rough edges to spur or to shock the reader into a higher plane of thinking.[3] The theories concerning the composition of this Gospel still seem to be in a

1. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), pp. 6-7.
2. R. Brown, *The Gospel according to John* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1966), pp. xxxiv-xxxix.
3. T. Brodie, *The Gospel according to John* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 18-19.

state of flux. Helge Nielson, for example, writing in the book *New Readings in John,* states not only that are there differences over the sources, but also that there is not a complete consensus regarding the criteria to be employed to determine such sources.[4]

Another complex issue in John is that of the addressees. To whom was this Gospel written and why? R.A. Culpepper sees John as being addressed to a Christian or a community in crisis. In his introductory commentary, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, Culpepper sees several problems eliciting this Gospel, including the division between Jews and Jewish Christians. Jewish Christians in a post-temple era are being forced out of the synagogues for believing that Jesus is the Messiah. There is also a problem of secret Jewish believers whose fear of Jewish leaders keeps them from openly following Jesus. There are also Samaritans and other non-Jewish peoples coming into the church: how do they fit in and should they belong? There are also possible differences over leadership in the church. Peter is given a lesser role in John than in some of the other Gospels and the Beloved Disciple is equally a leader and, in some cases, seems closer to Jesus than Peter does. Could this be indicative of two traditions in early Christianity, the Petrine and the Johannine, or perhaps the Petrine and the Pauline?[5] For some scholars like Köstenberger, John is a book written as an evangelistic tract addressed to Jews in the diaspora who are struggling to come to grips with the destruction of the temple, and to Gentiles who have been attracted by the Jewish faith.[6] At a meaning of the British New Testament conference in Manchester a paper was given arguing that John served mainly as a warning to secret Jewish believers, that the time had come to take a decisive stand as disciples and followers of Jesus. Here again, as with the nature of the composition of this Gospel, the question of the target audience seems to be in a similar state of flux and continues to add to the complex puzzle that makes up John.

More germane to this paper is the question of the characters in John. It would be right to say that, along with the lengthy teaching narratives, it is the intriguing cast of characters that makes this Gospel unique. Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman, Mary and Martha, the man born blind, and Mary Magdalene, along with others, are figures that give life to John. Culpepper is correct in his *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* to state that Jesus himself is really a static character who embodies a single idea or quality.

4. J. Nissen and S. Pederson (eds.), *New Readings in John* (JSNTSup, 182; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1999), p. 17.

5. R. Culpepper, *The Gospel and Letters of John* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), pp. 42-48.

6. A. Köstenberger, *Encountering John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), pp. 25-28.

His emotions 'tend to run on a rather flat plane.[7] Jesus almost seems lifeless in John except for occasional glimpses of feeling or passion such as at the tomb of Lazarus when he weeps over the death of his friend. Many of the other characters in John are 'round' figures in that they display a certain amount of complexity and change. They are 'real' figures with good and bad qualities, weaknesses and strengths that make them easy for the reader to identify with. Nicodemus struggles understandably to come to grips with what Jesus is saying in ch. 3. He evidently believes, yet he wavers and finds it hard to be decisive in coming out of the closet for Jesus. Mary and Martha openly believe in Jesus, yet there seems to be a sense of exasperation in ch. 11 that he couldn't keep their brother from dying. It is these human qualities of the various characters that give John an added dimension of reality and life. Again, however, these characters add to the complex nature of this Gospel in the sense that there is much division over their purpose and inclusion. The question is: what are these characters doing or representing in John?

2. *Theories*

Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman, the royal official, the lame man at Bethzatha, the man born blind, Mary and Martha, Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene, Peter and the Beloved Disciple make up the main individual characters in John. There is no question but that these people act as foils for Jesus. Each person, in a unique way, gives Jesus an opportunity to display his person and power, and to impart his teaching. These characters, however, are not 'flat' characters, but rather display varying personalities and emotions and responses to Jesus. This would seem to indicate that they serve more than just as foils or backdrops for the teaching and actions of Jesus. So what else are they doing? One theory, which has much to commend itself, is that the characters represent a spiritual truth or example. Sandra Schneiders in her book *Written That You May Believe* sees the Samaritan woman in ch. 4 as an illustration of this idea. For Schneiders the Samaritan woman acts as a rebuff against a male dominated culture that is still active even within the Johannine community. The disciples are shocked to find Jesus conversing with a woman but he completely ignores their sentiments. The disciples receive a lecture about the importance of getting about the business of proclaiming the Gospel and reaping a spiritual harvest, while the Samaritan woman is already in her village inviting people to hear Jesus. Schneiders sees the woman as an example of a female apostle, in that she leaves her water jar behind to proclaim the words of Jesus. The disciples

7. R. Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), p. 111.

or apostles similarly abandon their fishing boats to follow Jesus.[8] Whether one accepts this theory or not, it is clear to Schneiders that the Samaritan woman represents the equality and freedom of women within the Christian church. Another example of the representative idea is the man born blind in ch. 9. D. Moody Smith notes the setting of this miracle in his commentary and reflects on the fear of the man's parents. There is some division over whether or not the man is indeed the one born blind. His parents, therefore, are called in by the Jewish leaders to identify their son and to explain his restoration of sight. John reports that the parents refuse to get involved into how the man sees, because, as it says in v. 22, they are afraid of the leaders' decision to exclude anyone from the synagogue who claimed that Jesus is the Messiah. Smith observes the man's truthful and courageous response to what Jesus had done for him. His boldness and honesty are representative of how one should confess Jesus in the midst of threats from fellow Jews and possible exclusion from the synagogue in the period after the fall of the temple in 70 CE.[9] John seems to indicate that there are some who hold a secret belief in Jesus. Nicodemus, in particular, is a representative of this type of believer. John is quite derogatory towards those who believe and yet will not openly confess their allegiance to Jesus. John 11.42-43 states that many people did believe in him, even among those in authority. They would not, however, confess their belief 'because they loved human glory more than the glory that comes from God'.

Many other examples of the representative idea could be illustrated and it would to be a valid way of understanding the various characters in John. There is, however, a certain amount of uncertainty in trying to determine what the characters represent. Is the blind man in ch. 9 a representative or example of what it means to make a true confession for Jesus? Or is he a symbolic example of what it means to be converted? Does his receiving of physical sight reflect or illustrate the receiving of spiritual sight? Or does the blind man represent several of these ideas? Should the Samaritan woman be taken as an example for modem feminism? Should Nicodemus be vilified or excused for his understandable puzzlement over the words of Jesus in ch. 3? What does he really represent, if any thing at all?

3. *Clues from Discourse Analysis*

It is, of course, impossible to determine unequivocally the purpose of each of these characters. It is possible, however, to determine a reasonable purpose, and one way to do that is through the use of discourse analysis. In using this

8. S. Schneiders, *Written That You May Believe* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1999), pp. 101-104.

9. D. Smith, *John* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), p. 201.

term I recognize discourse analysis is a very broad description that is being used by several schools of linguistic interpretation and thought. To limit this I will, for the most part, use the definitions of discourse analysis associated with M.A.K. Halliday with modifications by Stanley Porter and Matthew O'Donnell in their yet to be published book *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament.* This study will involve essentially the important investigation of topics and themes and their use for understanding the author's intention.

One of the more neglected areas of New Testament study has to do with what is called topics or themes.[10] A lot of past biblical study has been concerned with understanding the text on a sentence or verse level. This has probably come about because of a tradition where pastors and teachers have tended to expound books on a verse-by-verse basis. This sometimes is seen or presented as the most thorough way of understanding biblical books. The format of many commentaries has also added to this feature because much of the interpretive process has focused on the verse structure emphasizing the semantic aspects, definitions of words, and the declining and parsing of nouns and verbs. This method is, of course, important, but it misses a noteworthy point of discourse analysis that is as Jeffrey Reed states: 'Words or sentences are rarely used in isolation, but typically as part of an extended discourse of sequenced sentences (especially in the case of written texts)'.[11] Most interpreters or scholars would agree with Reed's statement, but the term 'extended discourse' might prove troublesome, particularly when considered above the paragraph level. This becomes evident when one thinks about the idea of context. One of the key features advocated by many interpreters is the importance of context for understanding the text. But what exactly is context and how is it determined? Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to do an in-depth study of Hallidayan systemic functional analysis, one important aspect of this is the division between context and co-text. Context is seen as the extra-linguistic factors that influence discourse production and processing. This is divided into two further categories: the context of situation, which is the immediate historical situation in which a discourse occurs, and the context of culture, which is the cultural worldview in which the discourse occurs. Co-text refers to the linguistic units that are a part of a discourse or the linguistic units that surround a particular point in a discourse. When interpretation centres on the context it is said to be exophoric. When interpretation comes from within

10. A succinct definition of topic and theme is given by Porter and O'Donnell. The intuitive notion of theme or topic is captured in the informal definition, 'what the discourse is about' (*Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament,* p. 55).

11. J. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), p. 27.

the co-text it is said to be endophoric.[12] This study of Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman will centre on the co-text and will therefore be an endophoric study.

Although Halliday's differentiation between context and co-text is helpful, there are still several factors that need to be considered when doing an endophoric study. There is the question of boundaries. In other words, where does a piece of discourse begin and end? There is also the problem of determining topics or themes within a discourse, and also that of emphasis. How can the reader know which parts, or words, or ideas are the most important'? For my study of Nicodemus and the Samaritan I will depend primarily on what are called deictic indicators, semantic domains, and the means of prominence and grounding in discourse.

'Deixis' is a word from the Greek which roughly means a 'pointing'. J. Lyons in his book on semantics defines deixis as, 'The location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes, and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal text created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee'. [13]Porter states that the four most pertinent deictic categories are those of person, time, discourse and sociality.[14] An example of discourse deixis would be the use of connective words like 'for', 'therefore', 'and' or 'but'. Semantic domains have to do with words being related to a particular topic. The well-known example is the Louw and Nida English Lexicon printed by the United Bible Societies. Section 25 of this work concerns the domain of Attitudes and Emotions. Under this domain heading there are subdomains such as section A, 'Desire, Want, Wish'; section B, 'to desire strongly'; and section C, 'Love, Affection, Compassion'. Under the subdomain of 'Desire, Want, Wish' there are eleven words related to the subdomain, words such as θέλω, θέλησι, θέλημα, βούλομαι, and so forth.[15] The importance of words from related semantic fields or domains is that they act as indicators of the topic or theme within a given text. Prominence and grounding (or 'markedness' as it is sometimes called) has to do with the author's means of marking or highlighting important words or aspects of the text. Halliday calls this 'the phenomenon of linguistic highlighting, whereby some feature of the language of a text stands out in some way'.[16] Prominence and grounding can be done

12. Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament*, p. 31.
13. J. Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 637.
14. Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament.*
15. J. Louw and E. Nida, *Greek–English Lexicon* (Vol. 1; New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), p. 289.
16. M. Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), p. 113.

in several ways within a text. Word order and clause order can be used to highlight prominent features or ideas. Verbal aspect, and the theory that tense forms in Greek do not grammaticalize temporal relations, but rather serve to indicate various levels of prominence or grounding, is also a means of highlighting important concepts within a discourse. Person reference is another way of highlighting prominence, with the third person generally being used to provide information and the first person being used to convey marked prominence. Using this rather broad description of certain aspects of discourse analysis, particularly in regard to co-textual studies, I want to now apply these to a short study of Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman.

4. *Application: Nicodemus and the Samaritan Woman*

Is it possible that there is a connection between Nicodemus in John 3 and the Samaritan woman in John 4? A cursory reading of these chapters might at first indicate that they are different characters whom Jesus meets as he travels through the book. They are certainly dissimilar characters, in many ways complete opposites. Nicodemus is Jewish, a Pharisee, a member of the ruling council, and a teacher. The woman is a Samaritan (a member of a despised race practicing false religion), one who has had *5* husbands and lives with number 6 (therefore perhaps seen as having a dubious moral character). It is easy to centre on their individualization as J. Ramsey Michaels does in his commentary on John. The Samaritan woman, for Michaels, acts as a representative of oppressed groups in which Jesus in the Gospels shows a marked interest, these groups being tax collectors, prostitutes and outcasts of Jewish society.[17] D.A. Carson in his commentary on John does see a connection in that they both are in need of the saving work of Jesus. Whether one is highly religious or morally suspect makes no difference; both are made right through their belief in Jesus.[18]

This is a valid conclusion but in a certain sense this is what links almost all of the individual characters in John. Jesus has come, according to John, to give anyone believing in him the right to become children God. God has sent his unique son so that whoever believes in him might be saved and not perish. So certainly this is a link between Nicodemus and the woman. Are there any other factors that link the two together beside their need of Jesus? On a discourse or co-textual level there does seem to be a problem in that the two stories are interrupted by a speech by John the Baptist in 3.22-36, but never-the-less there is evidence that 3.1-21 is connected to 4.1-42 and that 3.22-36 acts as a hinge rather than an interruption.

17. J. Michaels; *John* (NIBC; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), p. 69.

18. D. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), p. 216.

It can be argued that the story of Nicodemus does not begin in ch. 3 but that it rather begins in 2.23. Both 2.23 and 3.1 begin with the conjunction δέ. This word can function in either a connective or adversative way. Recently several studies have been done on the use of δέ in John and some tentative conclusions would seem to indicate that δέ has both a transitional and connective dimension. Levinson has argued that sometimes δέ indicates a shift or a change of initiative used when the story is developed through the actions of a different participant.[19] One example he gives is Jn 2.9 where at the wedding in Cana the water turned to wine is given to the chief steward to taste. The story of the miraculous changing of water into wine continues to 2.11, but v. 9 brings in a new character, the chief steward introduced by δέ. It would seem that δέ in 2.23 is being used this way as well. The story of Jesus at the Passover of the Jews in Jerusalem continues on from 2.13, but with a different set of characters. Chapter 3 introduces Nicodemus (also with δέ), but it would seem that the story continues from 2.25. Many in Jerusalem believe in Jesus because of his signs, but Jesus does not entrust himself to them because he knows what is in 'man'. In ch. 3 a 'man' comes forward named Nicodemus who also has a belief in Jesus, and again it is because of the signs, but Jesus does not entrust himself to Nicodemus either. The belief of both, the many in Jerusalem and Nicodemus, is somehow insufficient. What is ironic is the fact that the many are in Jerusalem at Passover where one would expect Jesus to warmly welcome their belief. After all, Jerusalem is the centre of Jewish worship and Passover is the most Jewish of feasts. Nicodemus is a Pharisee, a member of the ruling council, an elder and teacher of Israel. His credentials would seem to be impeccable. One would expect his confession of belief to be welcomed by Jesus but it is not. This ironic rejection by Jesus of both the 'believers' in Jerusalem and Nicodemus along with the discourse deixis connective δέ would seem to link the two sections together.

Another connection is the use of words for 'knowing', both οἶδα and γινώσκω. Jesus is the one with the superior knowledge in both sections. Jesus 'knows' (γινώσκειν, present active infinitive) all men in 2.24. He 'knew' (ἐγίνωσκεν, imperfect) what is in humanity in 2.25. He does not need anyone to testify (μαρτυπήσῃ) or give him knowledge about men in 2.25. Nicodemus comes to Jesus claiming some knowledge. 'We know' (οἴδαμεν, perfect tense), he says, 'that you are a teacher sent from God' in 3.2. The reason for tying 2.23 and 3.1-21 together is because of its similarity to the story of the Samaritan woman in 4.1-30 and the ending in vv. 39-42. Here we have another group that believe in Jesus, the Samaritans in the village of Sychar. The subject of these verses is once again knowledge

19. S. Levinson, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek* (Dallas: SIL International, 2nd edn, 2000), p. 86.

and belief. Jesus, however, does not distance himself from those who are acknowledging him, and he remains with the Samaritans for two days. In v. 42 the Samaritans say that they have heard (ἀκηκόαμεν, perfect tense) and know (οἴδαμεν, again perfect tense) that Jesus is truly the Saviour of the world. Just as in ch. 3 where Nicodemus claims to have some knowledge of Jesus ('we know that you are a teacher sent from God'), so also in ch. 4 the Samaritan woman claims to have some knowledge. She says in v. 29, 'Come see a man who told me everything that I have ever done! He cannot be the Messiah, can he?' The use of the negative μήτι would seem to indicate her suspicion that he is.[20] This is also perhaps reinforced in v. 39 where because of the testimony many Samaritans believe. What they must believe is that Jesus is the Messiah.

There is a kind of pattern in that 2.23 begins with the crowd in Jerusalem believing in Jesus, then Nicodemus comes on the scene as a representative of the crowd. In ch. 4 the woman comes on first acting as a representative of those who believe at the end of the section, the Samaritans in the city of Sychar. The Jewish 'believers' in Jerusalem believe because they have seen the signs of Jesus, as does Nicodemus. The woman at the well believes because of the words of Jesus, as do the Samaritans in Sychar. Throughout both narratives there are prominent words related to the same semantic field. Words such as οἶδα or γινώσκω are used in 2.24-25; 3.2, 8,10-11; 4.22, 25, 42. Six of these are in the perfect tense, which according to modern aspect theory would indicate a high degree of prominence.[21]

Similar words for knowing are also used such as 'to testify' in the sense of understanding (μαρτυρέω, 2.25, 3.11), 'to see' (ἰδεῖν, aorist tense in 3.3), and 'to hear' (ἀκηκόαμεν, perfect tense in 4.42). Although the word for belief or believing (πιστεύω) is not as numerous as the words for knowing, nevertheless it is used six times, three times in the Nicodemus section (3.12 twice; 3.15), and three times in the Samaritan woman section (4.21, 41-42).

Another important theme that would also seem to tie the two sections together is the use of religious and ethnic terms. In no other place in John's Gospel is there more use of words to describe the background and heritage of John's characters than in 2.23–4.42. The author of John wants there to be no doubt in the mind of the reader who these characters are. In 2.23-25 the many who believe in Jesus because of his signs are in Jerusalem for the Passover. In other words, it can be assumed that these are pious Jews who

20. Beasley-Murray suggests that μήτι need not imply a negative answer but 'puts a suggestion in the most tentative and hesitating way'. G. Beasley-Murray, *John* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1999), p. 58.

21. Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament,* pp. 87-90.

have come to celebrate Judaism's most sacred holiday. It is an opportune time for Jesus to respond to their belief, especially since these are fellow Jews, but amazingly Jesus does not entrust himself to them in v. 24. With Nicodemus in 3.1-10 there is again the use of religious and ethnic terms leaving the reader no doubt as to who he is. He is a 'Pharisee' and a 'leader of Jews' in v. 1. As a Pharisee he is one who intimately knows the Hebrew Scriptures and seeks to implement its commands and precepts to his life. It is significant that in John's Gospel it is the Pharisees who are leaders with the priests in Israel. In 1.24 it is the Pharisees who send priests and Levites to inquire of John the Baptist. In 7.32-45 it is the Pharisees who, along with the chief priests, send temple guards to arrest Jesus. After the resurrection of Lazarus in 11.47 it is the chief priests and the Pharisees who meet to determine Jesus' fate. As a Pharisee in John, Nicodemus commands considerable respect and has prestige. He is also a leader of Jews, which may have meant that he was a member of the Sanhedrin. If so, as Brown states, he would have belonged to 'the highest governing body of the Jewish people composed of priests (Sadducees), scribes (Pharisees), and lay elders of the aristocracy…presided over by the high priest'. Nicodemus is also, according to Jesus, 'a teacher in Israel (v. 10) or perhaps even *the* teacher in Israel since this phrase contains the article (σὺ εἶ ὁ διδάσκαλος...;). What John wants the reader to understand is that this is a *Jewish* man of considerable religious and ethnic importance.

With the Samaritan woman in 4.7-26 it is the same in that John wants us to thoroughly understand who she is. She is nameless, in contradistinction to Nicodemus, implying a lesser status. The author John repeats who she is—a *Samaritan* woman coming to draw water (v. 7)—a *Samaritan* woman asking Jesus, 'how is it that you a Jew, ask a drink of me, a woman of *Samaria*?' (v. 9). The author enforces the ethnic emphasis: 'Jews do not share things in common with *Samaritans*' (v. 9). There is no doubt concerning her heritage. There is also the religious emphasis connected with her nationality. Jesus meets her at a well in Sychar near Mt Gerizim where the Samaritan temple was placed ('our ancestors worshipped on this mountain', v. 20). It is a well where, according to the woman, her (the Samaritan's) ancestor Jacob built this well. What is striking in this ethnic and religious wording is the heretical emphasis (at least to Jews) that is implied. Samaritans, at this particular time, were heretics. Jacob was Israel's great ancestor, not Samarias'. The true temple was in Jerusalem, not Mt Gerizim. Even Jesus acknowledges the error of their ways when he states in v. 22, '*You* (ὑμεῖς—plural, implying all Samaritans) worship what you do not know'. Concerning the social status of the woman the fact that Jesus points out her many relationships, 'for you have had five husbands, and the one you now have is not your husband' (v. 18), would seem to indicate some suspicion (at least) of a dubious moral reputation. It is though Jesus is saying that she

has a host of men, including number six, and she still hasn't gotten it right. There is also a possible hint of her reputation in that she comes to the well at the hottest part of the day ('It was about noon', v. 6) alone without other woman from the village. Is it possible that she came alone because she is a dubious character?

As noted earlier, there are no other characters in John in which the reader is given so much ethnic and religious information, and this is a unique feature that ties the Nicodemus and Samaritan woman stories together. This information is given, not only to tie the two stories together, but also to make a point, and that is, with the coming of Jesus there is a now a new spiritual state of affairs. This has been suggested from the very beginning of John with its new creation motif in 1.1-5; the replacement of the law given through Moses with grace and truth coming through Jesus; and the climatic passage in 1.11-13 that states that being a child of God is no longer a matter of bloodlines or ethnic heritage, but is now a matter of belief in Jesus. What the many in Jerusalem at Passover, Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman, and her village illustrate is this new spiritual state of affairs. The harsh reaction of Jesus to both the many in Jerusalem and to Nicodemus is the author's way of enforcing this new state of affairs. Nicodemus is left speechless and outside the kingdom of God (v. 3) precisely because of his ethnic and religious status. His credentials would seem to be impeccable, and his status as a child of God and a member of the kingdom of God is (to many in that day) beyond doubt. The Samaritan woman is a hopeless figure, considered by many to be heretical in her beliefs, a nameless woman with a possible dubious moral history. It would seem, however, that this is precisely why Jesus continues to 'woo' her. (The marital symbolism is hard to dismiss. Meeting a wife at a well happens several times in the Old Testament—Isaac [through Abraham's servant] and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachael, and Moses and Zipporah. Jesus also interestingly brings up the subject of marriage with the Samaritan woman in 4.16—'Go, call your husband, and come back'.) The point that the author of John makes with the Samaritan woman and her village is that it is now belief in Jesus that matters, regardless of one's social, ethnic, or religious status

In attempting to unite 2.23–3.21 and 4.1-43 there is the problem of the speech of John the Baptist in 3.22-36. This seems to be an interruption in the pattern of Jesus meeting with many in 2.23-25, and then an individual (Nicodemus), and then another individual (the woman), and then the many in her village. It could be argued, however, that John acts as a kind of hinge to connect the two sections. Most of his speech is really a repeat of what has been said in 3.16-21. Whoever believes in God's Son has eternal life, whoever does not believe in or who disobeys the Son must endure God's wrath. It is as though John the Baptist acts as a reinforcement of what has been said in ch. 3, so that the reader will have no doubt of the importance

of what has been said. John also makes an interesting statement concerning himself in 3.29 when he declares himself to be the friend of the bridegroom (the bridegroom is obviously Jesus). What this does is to signal to the reader that Jesus is seeking a bride, and that is the setting for 4.7-26 as has already been suggested.

There are two other important discourse features that seem to tie the two sections together. One involves the theories of H.P. Grice or what is sometimes called speech-act theories. At the heart of Grice's theory is his belief that speech or talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks. Grice formulates what he calls the Cooperative Principle concerning conversation. This principle states that one should 'make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged'.[22] Grice distinguishes four maxims that support the Cooperative Principle. For my purpose I want to centre on the fourth maxim that concerns the manner of a talk or speech. Under this maxim Grice states that the manner of the talk or speech should be perspicuous. In other words, it should avoid obscurity of expression, it should avoid ambiguity, it should be brief, and it should be orderly. It is obvious that these submaxims are necessary for any kind of comprehensible flow of communication. There can be, of course, several reasons why one would break one of these submaxims, such as lying or seeking to deceive. There can also be another reason, and that is to startle or to get attention. In the Nicodemus account Jesus completely ignores the introductions and observations that Nicodemus makes concerning him. Jesus' reply is brusque, without pleasantries and seems to stop any mutual flow of normal communication. F. Cotterell in his article, 'The Nicodemus Conversation' in the *Expository Times,* indicates that normal social conventions were being disrupted by Jesus. There is no exchange of acknowledgments or greetings, and as Cotterell suggests Jesus rejects Nicodemus's initiative and brings into question the assumed authority of Nicodemus. By first century Jewish standards it could be said that Jesus is being rude and dismissive.[23] There is a similar phenomenon with the Samaritan woman. The accepted social norms of the day would suggest that Jesus' approach to a Samaritan, and a woman who was alone without a chaperone or a husband, would be startling and highly unusual. This is acknowledged when it says in 4.9 that the woman questions Jesus about talking to her with the writer's explanation in v. 10 that Jews have no dealings with Samaritans. Later in v. 27, John states that even the disciples are amazed to see Jesus speaking with a woman. J. Eugene Botha in his

22. Quoted in Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament,* p. 36.

23. F. Cotterell, 'The Nicodemus Conversation', *ExpTim* 96/8 (1985), p. 240.

book *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman: A Speech Act Reading of John* states that, 'The felicity conditions for the conversation are so problematized by the social context that the conversation is an impossibility'.[24] So both sections, Nicodemus and the woman, begin with either startling unconventional social norms or conversational abnormalities. The purpose of this is to gain the reader's attention to the story that follows these unconventional features.

The final aspect that would seem to unify both sections is the use of metaphor. Metaphor is a linguistic feature that is common throughout the Gospel of John. What is also interesting about the use of metaphors in John 3 and 4 is the use of natural elements or events to describe spiritual states or conditions, specifically the receiving or entrance into spiritual life. Wind and water are used in the Nicodemus account to explain the phenomenon of being born anew or being born from above. Water is used in John 4 to explain the obtaining of spiritual life as well. The introductory use of metaphors in both sections to gain attention is very similar. Jesus introduces his discourse with metaphors and both Nicodemus and the woman respond by taking his words literally. Nicodemus ponders how one can re-enter into a mother's womb a second time when Jesus speaks of being born anew. The Samaritan woman is perplexed about Jesus not having a bucket and his ignorance of the depth of the well. They are both mystified by what Jesus is saying and totally miss the meaning of his words. Jesus' use of these metaphors gets their attention and the reader's as well.

5. *Some Conclusions*

Through the use of discourse analysis there does seem to be an argument for linking the story of Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman together. The co-textual features that are similar are too numerous to be coincidental. The Nicodemus section begins with the many in Jerusalem who believe in Jesus, but to whom Jesus does not entrust himself. The woman at the well section closes with many in the Samaritan village who hear the woman's testimony, but in this case Jesus commits himself to them with the result that they believe that Jesus is the saviour of the world. Both Nicodemus and the woman act as representatives of their respective group. Nicodemus believes because of the signs that form the basis for the belief of many in Jerusalem. Jesus does not entrust himself to to Nicodemus either. The Samaritan woman also believes (her use of μήτι in 4.29 probably indicating that she expects a 'yes' to her question of Jesus being the Messiah). Her belief opens the door for the belief of the Samaritans in Sychar. The

24. J. Botha, *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman: A Speech-Act Reading of John 4.1-24* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 115.

subject of both sections is the person and authority of Jesus and the gaining of spiritual life and genuine knowledge of God. Amazement, confusion and wonder mark both sections with the use of metaphors and in the disruption of socially conventional expectations. Nicodemus the Pharisee, ruler, and teacher is outside the kingdom of God. The Samaritan woman with all of her social and possible moral liabilities is given spiritual understanding (along with her village). These two sections are illustrations of what John has led us to expect in ch. 1. Things have been turned upside down. Though the world was made through Jesus, the world does not recognize him. Even his own, which has traditionally been understood to be the Jewish nation, do not receive him. Even though they think that they are the true believers and the true children of God, they are not. According to John becoming and being children of God is not a matter of nationality, heritage, or race. It is about confessing Jesus. Nicodemus and the woman are personal illustrations of this truth.

A Discourse Analysis of 3 John

Matthew Brook O'Donnell and Catherine Smith

1. *Introduction*

It has become customary to begin studies applying discourse analysis to a New Testament document with a series of caveats: First, to explain the newness of the approach, secondly, to provide an apology for the introduction of new terminology and categories, and finally to establish a disclaimer that the results should be understood as tentative and exploratory and may not add any new conclusions to the traditional exegetical discussion of the text. A considerable number of studies (both in article and monograph form) have now applied discourse analysis to the New Testament documents. In addition, discourse analysis can also be found listed as a method in a number of grammars and exegetical handbooks. So it no longer seems either necessary or accurate to describe discourse analysis as a 'new' approach.

It cannot be denied that linguistic models come with their own brand of exotic terminology. One linguist's 'thingy' is another one's 'wotsit'. But equally, to an outsider the methods and nomenclature of biblical studies can seem equally complex and impenetrable. The more important point, however, is that linguistics in general and discourse analysis specifically adopts a wholly descriptive stance to its object of investigation, namely language. In order to do the work of description, then, a meta-language is necessary and thus, 'alien' terminology cannot be avoided. Although there are clearly differences between the various models of discourse analysis, there are common basic principles or tenets that are shared. The primary goal in the analysis of a discourse is to discover its function in a specific context. This is done through a systematic investigation of how the building blocks of language are combined into semantic units in order to achieve this function. An analysis may proceed from the *top down*—working from the discourse as a whole and then discovering smaller and smaller units within—or from the *bottom up*—beginning with the smallest semantic units and working up level by level. Although certain models favor one direction and one approach may be more suited to a particular kind of discourse, most tend to use a combination. A fundamental concept is that of *levels of*

discourse, which recognizes that while a discourse functions as a conceptual whole and is of a linear nature, there are units of meaning created by the combinations of words into phrases, phrases into clauses, clauses into paragraphs and the paragraphs into the discourse. In this study, we make use of a functional discourse model based upon the work of Halliday (2004), which has been effectively applied to the New Testament by Reed (1992, 1993, 1997), Porter (2000a, b), Martín-Asensio (1999, 2000), Westfall (1999, this volume), Black (1999, 2002) and a number of others. The direction of analysis is from the bottom up, using the annotation model from the OpenText.org project (see O'Donnell, Porter and Reed 2003 and O'Donnell 2005). This provides a mechanism to capture analysis in electronic form producing a searchable text with a number of display options. The first section of this paper will provide a brief overview of this model through an explanation of the diagrams used in the rest of the paper.

In the second section, we address the third caveat mentioned above—that the results of a discourse analysis as they relate to the general exegetical discussion should be viewed as tentative and exploratory and may not offer any 'new' insights. Such disclaimers give rise to what could be termed the 'so what?' factor, that is, the criticism that a lot of new work has been done in the analysis but what new interpretive insights have been gained? In order to avoid this situation, we have identified two issues debated in the commentary and discussion of 3 John. The first is the question of where the divisions or paragraph breaks should fall within the letter and the second relates to the roles and relationships between the key participants mentioned. These two issues come together in the consideration of which two individuals the author presents as examples of 'good' and 'evil' respectively, tied to the main imperative of the letter in v. 11 (clauses 39 through 43 on our chart), 'do not imitate bad but good'. All agree that Diotrephes is presented as an example of the evil to be avoided, but there is disagreement over whether the good example is Gaius, the specified recipient of the letter, or the briefly mentioned Demetrius (introduced in v. 12). An example of the latter position can be seen in the divisions placed into the letter in the NRSV. The committee uses four headings:

1. Salutation—v. 1
2. Gaius Commended for his Hospitality—vv. 2-8
3. Diotrephes and Demetrius—vv. 9-12
4. Final Greetings—vv. 13-15

The implication of these divisions and the grouping of participants in the headings seems to be that Diotrephes and Demetrius are related as opposites, one 'the bad' and one 'the good'. Our analysis will show that the discourse structure and function strongly supports the alternate position that it is Gaius who is put forth as the example of 'good' and not Demetrius.

2. *Explanation of the Discourse Model Used for Analysis*

The linguistic model used in this paper is taken from the work of Michael Halliday and the Systemic-Functional School of linguistics. As referenced above, the model has already been adapted for use with the Greek of the New Testament and the results have proved to be a useful foundation for discourse analysis. The model will not be described in full detail here as it is been documented elsewhere.[1] The following description will instead focus on the elements that form the basis of this study. It begins by describing the structural elements of clauses, the primary level of analysis, and then describes briefly two other levels of analysis, those of the word group and the paragraph.

The primary level of analysis used in this paper is that of the clause. Each clause can be made up of a number of structural elements. Usually a clause contains one Predicator which is the verbal element of the clause. This, however, is not a defining feature as the Predicator can be elided or, in some clauses such as the opening clause of 3 John, is not required:

c1 ||S ὁ πρεσβύτερος |C Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ||[2]

As well as the Predicator each clause can also have a number of other elements, these are the Subject, the Complement and the Adjunct. The Subject element identifies the grammatical subject of the clause, the Complement contains word groups that function to 'complete' or complement the action of the verb in some way (frequently the object of the clause, whether indirect or direct) and the Adjunct identifies any further elements which modify the Predicator (usually describing circumstances associated with the process). In addition to these main elements vocatives such as ἀγαπητέ in 3 John are included in the clauses as an Addressee element. In addition to standing on their own, clauses can also be embedded as elements in other clauses. An example of this can be seen in clause 3 of 3 John:

1. Reed (1997) provides the basis for the model, through a comprehensive application of the model in Halliday's *Functional Grammar* to the Greek of the New Testament. Additional development, considering the key components in the field of discourse analysis, was carried out in Porter and O'Donnell (forthcoming). O'Donnell (2005) outlines the model and the technicalities involved in its computational implementation. Smith (forthcoming) provides an overview of the model and offers some refinements drawing upon a detailed analysis of past and present discussion in SFL.

2. In the clause diagrams used below each element is represented by the first letter of the element name with the exception of the addressee which is represented by 'add'. So the first clause of 3 John consists of a Subject ('the Elder') and a Complement ('to Beloved Gaius'). Clause boundaries are marked with double bars (||) and the boundaries of the components within a clause with single bars (|).

c3 ||add ἀγαπητέ |A περὶ πάντων |P εὔχομαί |C
[S σε |P εὐοδοῦσθαι] [cj καὶ |P ὑγιαίνειν] ||[3]

Embedded clauses usually have an infinitive or a participle as the Predicator.

At the level below the clause language is also organized into word groups. Each element of the clause is represented by one word group (in some cases this is a single word but it is still technically referred to as a word group). Consider the word group σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ from 3 John 6:

head term: w69 ἀγάπῃ			
specifier	*definer*	*qualifier*	*relator*
w68 τῇ		w67 σου	

Each word group contains one head term (ἀγάπῃ), which can then be modified by a range of other words such as articles and adjectives. There are four possible types of modification: (i) *specification* (articles and prepositions), (ii) *definition* (words that further define or attribute qualities to the word they modify; frequently adjectives and appositional words and phrases), (iii) *qualification* (words which restrict the scope or reference of the word they modify; usually genitives and negatives) and (iv) *relation* (prepositional phrases modifying nouns). In discourse terms, the head term is seen as contributing greater weight to the unit compared to the other words in the group.[4]

At the level above the clause language is organized into paragraphs. The boundaries of paragraphs are harder to determine than the boundaries of units at the lower levels and they must be established using a number of different features.[5] These features include those that unify a particular section and create a division between two sections. Stretches of text that use words drawn from the same semantic domain, or make reference to the same participants can serve to indicate the boundaries of a paragraph unit. This is

3. The boundaries of embedded clauses are marked with square brackets. In this example, the Complement of the Predicator εὔχομαι consists of two infinitival clauses, 'you to be well' and 'to be healthy'. Conjunctions which function to join a clause to a preceding clause are given their own clause component slot and marked with 'cj'.

4. See O'Donnell (2005: 172-84) for further discussion and examples of the word group analysis.

5. The status of the paragraph within linguistic theory and appropriate methods for its analysis are unclear. Most models of discourse analysis make room for the paragraph as the next level above the sentence, but there is difference regarding how the unit should be analyzed (see Longacre 1968, 1979; Hatim 1997; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Hoey 1991, 2005: 133-51). Porter (1994: 301-302) presents some useful features that serve as initial criteria for identifying paragraph boundaries in Greek (see also O'Donnell 2005: 190-96 for features annotated at the paragraph level in the OpenText.org model).

especially the case when there is a shift in semantic domains and/or participant references at the same point to mark the start of another paragraph. Discourse markers, such as the vocative ἀγαπητέ in 3 John, can also serve to indicate the beginning of a new paragraph. Changes in style such as a sudden switch to shorter clauses, might also serve to mark the beginning of a new paragraph. Section 3a discusses the eight paragraphs we have identified in 3 John and the features that determine their boundaries.

Once the boundaries of each paragraph unit have been established, summaries of the linguistic features from the lower levels (clause, word group and word) can be assembled. Appendix A contains numerical summaries of the features found in each paragraph. One feature used in the paragraph summaries that is not based purely on frequency is the participant scores. These are based on calculations that take into account the status of the particular participant in clauses and word groups.[6]

3. *Exegetical Issues in 3 John and How Discourse Analysis Can Address Them*

a. *Paragraph Divisions*

The section divisions used in this paper are based on the discourse features highlighted in the previous section. In many cases they agree with the paragraph divisions found in the commentaries on 3 John but in some places there are differences which will be highlighted in the text below. The clause analysis for each section will be given in the main body of the text and the paragraph summary charts are given in the Appendix A.

1. *Paragraph 1 (3 John 1; c1-2)*[7]

c1 ||S ὁ πρεσβύτερος |C Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ||
c2 ||C ὃν |S ἐγὼ |P ἀγαπῶ |A ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ||

6. O'Donnell (2005: 446-61) provides the background and method for calculating these 'participant scores'. The formula used takes into consideration the component of a clause in which a participant reference occurs (S, P, C or A), the type and level of the clause (i.e. primary, secondary or embedded) and the location within a word group, as well as the form use to realize the reference itself, whether grammaticalized (ὁ πρεσβύτερος), reduced (ἐγώ) or implied (ἀγαπῶ). So a grammaticalized reference to a participant that is the head term of the subject of a primary clause will be receive a much higher score than a reduced reference (i.e. pronoun) to the same participant that occurs as a modifier of a modifier in the adjunct of an embedded clause.

7. For each paragraph both the verse references and the clause numbers are given, followed by an analysis of each clause. Indentation of a clause indicates that it is secondary and dependent on the preceding clause (unless it is indicated that it depends on the following clause).

The first section consists of two clauses, which introduce the two main participants, the elder and Gaius, as the sender and receiver of the letter. The clauses are a fairly typical example of the opening section of a Hellenistic letter. 3 John uses the conventional order of sender followed by recipient, which is sometimes reversed if the recipient is considered to have a higher status than the sender. The expansion of the recipient's identity by use of the relative clause is again a feature found in Greco-Roman letters although it is usually an expansion of the reference to the sender rather than the receiver (see Reed 1997: 181-83).[8]

2. *Paragraph 2 (3 John 2–4; c3-13)*

c3 ||add ἀγαπητέ |A περὶ πάντων |P εὔχομαί |C
[S σε |P εὐοδοῦσθαι] [cj καὶ |P ὑγιαίνειν] ||
c6 ||cj καθὼς |P εὐοδοῦταί |S σου ἡ ψυχή ||
c7 ||P ἐχάρην |cj γὰρ |A λίαν ||
c8 ||P ἐρχομένων |S ἀδελφῶν ||
c9 ||cj καὶ |P μαρτυρούντων |C σου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ||
c10 ||cj καθὼς |S σὺ |A ἐν ἀληθείᾳ |P περιπατεῖς ||
c11 ||A μειζοτέραν τούτων |A οὐκ |P ἔχω |C χαράν ||
c12 ||cj ἵνα |P ἀκούω |C τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα
[A ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ |P περιπατοῦντα] ||

The first division occurs at clause 3 (v. 2) with the first instance of the vocative ἀγαπητέ—a prominent discourse feature in 3 John which always seems to signal a change in direction. Here there is also a more emphatic introduction of the first person singular verb that occurred in the first section only in a secondary clause. Some commentaries (see for example Brown 1982: 702; Lieu 1986: 101-102) have an additional break at clause 7 (v. 3) but there is no distinct change in participant involvement or semantics at this point which might indicate a change of section here. The Elder and Gaius continue to be the main active participants with the brothers being introduced only in an embedded clause, clause 8 (v. 3). There is also an important chain of words from domain 72 'True/False' in this case ἀληθείᾳ ('truth') being the only word used. This domain is introduced in

8. One standard feature of the Hellenistic letter form, which is missing here, is a greeting. This is usually χαίρειν ('greetings') in the Hellenistic examples, an example of which can also be found in Acts 23.26. In the Pauline letters this greeting is typically expanded to something like 'Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (Rom. 1.7b). The presence of a similar greeting in 2 John 'Grace, mercy, and peace will be with us from God the Father and from Jesus Christ, the Father's Son, in truth and love' (2 John 3) shows that the author does not omit such a greeting on principle, but presumably felt that it was not necessary here, possibly because of the presence of the health wish which introduces the thanksgiving element. He does however include a similar style of greeting in the closing of the letter.

the second clause and is used throughout this section and also extends into the next section in clause 23.

The motivation behind having a new section beginning at clause 7 (v. 3) seems to be concerned with seeing the function of the section as a body-opening and not part of the health wish. There is no dispute that clauses 3-6 (v. 2) are an example of a health wish, a standard feature of the Hellenistic letter despite this being our only example in the New Testament. The unity described between clauses 7-12 and 3-6 however makes it unlikely that clause 7 onwards represents the beginning of a new major section within the letter. Others have suggested that these verses represent the thanks-giving section of the letter and, despite the fact that the verb χαίρειν ('to rejoice') is used here rather than the usual εὐχαριστεῖν ('to give thanks'), this seems the more likely option. The health wish and the thanksgiving sections are both part of the opening section of the letter and function to establish the relationship between sender and receiver and also perhaps, as some suggest (Funk 1967: 429), introduce the background to the purpose of the letter.

3. *Paragraph 3 (3 John 5–8; c14-24)*

c14 ||add ἀγαπητέ |A πιστὸν |P ποιεῖς ||
c15 ||C ὃ |cj ἐὰν |P ἐργάσῃ |A εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ||
c16 ||cj καὶ |A τοῦτο |C ξένους ||
c17 ||S οἳ |P ἐμαρτύρησάν |C σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ |A ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας ||
c18 ||C οὓς |A καλῶς |P ποιήσεις |A
[P προπέμψας |A ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ] ||
c20 ||A ὑπὲρ (cj γὰρ) τοῦ ὀνόματος |P ἐξῆλθον |A
[C μηδὲν |P λαμβάνοντες |A ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνικῶν] ||
c22 ||S ἡμεῖς |cj οὖν |P ὀφείλομεν|C [P ὑπολαμβάνειν |C τοὺς τοιούτους] ||
c24 ||cj ἵνα |C συνεργοὶ |P γινώμεθα |A τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ||

The opening of this paragraph is again marked with ἀγαπητέ. There is also a change in participants with Gaius and the brothers becoming the active participants and references to the Elder dropping out completely. There is also the beginning of a new semantic chain at this point with a high occurrence of words from domain 42 'perform, do' and an increase in density of domain 33 'communication'.

4. *Paragraph 4 (3 John 9–10; c25-36)*

c25 ||P ἔγραψά |C τι |C τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ||
c26 ||cj ἀλλ' |S [P ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων |C αὐτῶν] Διοτρέφης
|A οὐκ |P ἐπιδέχεται |C ἡμᾶς||
c28 ||A διὰ τοῦτο |cj ἐὰν |P ἔλθω ||
c29 ||P ὑπομνήσω |C αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ||
c30 ||C ἃ |P ποιεῖ |A [A λόγοις πονηροῖς |P φλυαρῶν |C ἡμᾶς] ||

c32 ||cj καὶ |A [A μὴ |P ἀρκούμενος |A ἐπὶ τούτοις]
|A οὔτε |S αὐτὸς |P ἐπιδέχεται |C τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ||
c34 ||cj καὶ |C [P τοὺς βουλομένους] |P κωλύει ||
c36 ||cj καὶ |A ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας |P ἐκβάλλει ||

At clause 25 (v. 9) there is another change in participant involvement, as the Elder is re-introduced as a main participant and Diotrephes is introduced for the first time. There are semantic links with the previous section as there is a continuation of the semantic chain from domains 42 and 33 but the dramatic change in participant involvement does suggest a further break here. The way that Diotrephes is introduced in this section is unusual and will be discussed further in section b below which focuses on the participants in the letter.

5. *Paragraph 5 (3 John 11; c37-41)*

c37 ||add ἀγαπητέ |C μὴ (P μιμοῦ) τὸ κακὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθόν ||[9]
c38 ||S [P ὁ ἀγαθοποιῶν] |A ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ |P ἐστιν ||
c40 ||S [P ὁ κακοποιῶν] |A οὐχ |P ἑώρακεν | C τὸν θεόν ||

The section beginning at clause 37 (v. 11) is marked with ἀγαπητέ and a shift of mood into the imperative. Gaius is also re-introduced into the text here after not being present in the previous section and in this section is the only participant involved. There is a localized semantic chain involving domain 88 'Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behaviour' which highlights the unity of this section. This section has raised questions in the literature about the examples of the good and the bad provided in the letter. This will be the focus of further discussion in the following section of the paper which addresses participant involvement. For now it is enough to say that the divisions suggested by the text and the shared semantic domain of 42 'do/work' suggest that the contrast is drawn between the actions of Gaius and those of Diotrephes, a contrast which is then summarized in paragraph 5 (v. 11, clauses 37-41).

6. *Paragraph 6 (3 John 12; c42-46)*

c42 ||S Δημητρίῳ |P μεμαρτύρηται |A ὑπὸ πάντων ||
c43 ||cj καὶ |A ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας· ||
c44 ||cj καὶ |S ἡμεῖς |cj δὲ |P μαρτυροῦμεν ||
c45 ||cj καὶ |P οἶδας ||
c46 ||cj ὅτι |S ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν |C ἀληθής |P ἐστιν ||

9. A clause element appearing in parentheses such as μιμοῦ in this clause indicates that the element is embedded within another element of the clause. Here the Predicator of the clause is embedded within the Complement although both are components of clause 37.

The division of the text at this point is not widely supported in the literature. It has been made here because of the introduction of Demetrius and because of the integral unity of the previous section. There is also a recurrence of words from domain 33 'communication' at this point which, although a significant domain earlier in the letter, has not appeared in the previous 8 primary clauses. Its reappearance here may signify a move from the main body of the letter towards the closing. Domain 72 (true/false) also reappears in this section.

7. *Paragraph 7 (3 John 13–14; c47-53)*

c47 ||C πολλὰ (P εἶχον) [P γράψαι |C σοι] ||
c49 ||cj ἀλλ' |A οὐ |P θέλω |C
[A διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου |C σοι |P γράφειν] ||
c51 ||P ἐλπίζω |cj δὲ |A εὐθέως |C [C σε |P ἰδεῖν] ||
c53 ||cj καὶ |A στόμα πρὸς στόμα |P λαλήσομεν ||

In this section there is a shift in participants with references to Demetrius dropping out and the Elder and Gaius becoming the main participants. In addition the Elder is the subject of all four finite verbs in this section. This unit (vv. 13-14) displays some of the features that function to bring the body to a close. White highlights three features of the closing section of the body found in the papyri and the Pauline letters (see White 1972: 25-30, 59-68 and 97-99), two of which can be seen in 3 John. The most obvious is the proposal of further contact (v. 14). This is preceded by a statement which draws attention to the act of writing, and the fact that the writer has much more to say but would rather not communicate it by letter (v. 13). It therefore performs a similar function to many statements in Paul's letters which describe the motivation for his writing (see Brown 1982: 793).

8. *Paragraph 8 (3 John 15; c54-56)*

c54 ||S εἰρήνη |C σοι ||
c55 ||P ἀσπάζονταί |C σε |S οἱ φίλοι ||
c56 ||P ἀσπάζου |C τοὺς φίλους |A κατ' ὄνομα ||

The final break at clause 54 is supported by a change in style. We have three short clauses with no conjunctions that are easily identified as the closing section by the standard greeting phrases which are paralleled in both New Testament and Greco-Roman examples, and are based around the verb ἀσπάζεσθαι ('to greet'). The closing of 3 John however does not begin with the standard greeting but rather with the expression εἰρήνη σοι ('Peace to you'). The positioning of the greeting in 3 John is interesting, as this is the type of greeting expected to occur at the beginning. 2 John does

not have a greeting like this at the end of the letter but concludes simply with a third person greeting; it does however have the standard introductory greeting at the beginning. The functions of the opening, including the thanksgiving, and closing sections of a letter are essentially the same, that is to maintain or establish interpersonal relationships (Reed 1997: 290). Based on this function, then, it is not important whether the peace wish from the author to the recipient is placed in the opening or closing of the letter. In 2 John it is placed at the beginning, and in 3 John at the end. In much of the Pauline corpus the phrase is used twice, once at the beginning and once at the end, although the use of the expression at the end in Paul's writing seems to have taken on a new function similar to that played by ῥώννυμι ('farewell'), from which Reed thinks Paul developed the phrase, as a final closing in Hellenistic letters (Reed 1997: 286). The main participant in this section is Gaius and the section also introduces the friends for the first time.

b. *Analysis of Participants in the Discourse*

One of the frequently discussed and most interesting aspects of 3 John is the relationships between the named characters and their roles within the letter itself. The analysis of participant references shows that, perhaps unsurprisingly, the two most consistently referred to participants are Gaius and the Elder. The Elder has a higher average profile which indicates he is a more prominent and discourse-active participant in the letter. When the average profile scores are split into paragraphs it can be seen that, while the Elder maintains a fairly consistent score (ranging from 8.4 to 12.3), Gaius has much more variation (ranging from 2.7 to 14.7). This shows that Gaius has a much more varied role in the letter than that of the Elder (see O'Donnell 2005: 452-55). The two most interesting participants in this letter however are the characters of Diotrephes and Demetrius.

The one paragraph in which there is no reference to Gaius is the one which involves Diotrephes. There is a lot of speculation in the literature concerning the relationship between these two participants or at least how much knowledge Gaius had of the situation in Diotrephes' church. The amount of information provided about Diotrephes' actions has led commentators to suggest that Gaius was not aware of his behaviour at all while others have speculated that Gaius was one of the people Diotrephes had expelled from the church (see Brown 1982: 728-39 for summary).

The diagram in Appendix B tries to diagram the participant relations throughout the book. It shows that within the letter there is no direct connection between Diotrephes and Gaius or vice versa. This perhaps suggests that they were not part of the same church and perhaps did not have frequent contact with each other.

The way that Diotrephes is first introduced to us is also interesting. It is not unusual to find a character introduced with a proper name and a further descriptive element. In v. 1 (clause 1), Gaius was introduced with this combination of elements with the proper name first. It is unusual to have the proper name coming after the descriptive element as it does here. This makes φιλοπρωτεύων rather than the actual name the head term of the word group. This word order is not pointed out in the commentaries which at this point tend to focus on the nature of the conflict between the Elder and Diotrephes and the nature of Diotrephes' role within the Church. The word order here suggests that the emphasis is being placed on the role of Diotrephes rather than on him personally.

The role played by Demetrius in the letter is one of the points that is not agreed on by commentators. The two main suggestions are as follows: Either Demetrius appears as a contrast to Diotrephes and is the good example which Gaius is being encouraged to follow (Smalley 1984: 360-62; Brooke 1912: 192) or he is one of the travelling brothers whom Gaius is being encouraged to welcome (Brown 1982: 722; Dodd 1946: 166; Funk 1967: 428). The latter theory is often accompanied by the idea that Demetrius was also the bearer of the letter although this is also sometimes incorporated into the first theory (Smalley 1984: 361). The reasons why Demetrius needed many testimonies is also a debated question. For those who see Demetrius as the good example this is usually explained as the Elder endorsing this as the kind of life which Gaius should be imitating. Those who see this as a letter of recommendation for Demetrius usually explain this as the Elder's way of persuading Gaius that despite the actions of Diotrephes he would be right to welcome Demetrius as he has been so well supported by the elder's circle.

The divisions suggested by this analysis would support the idea that Demetrius is not the good example which Gaius is being instructed to follow as the references to him fall outside of the main body of the letter. There are examples of letters which, despite being largely concerned with other matters, end with a similar recommendation (P.Oxy. IV 743; Polycarp, *Phil* 14.1; see Funk 1967: 428).

c. *Summary of Analysis*

The methods of discourse analysis have been used in the two previous sections to identify the main sections within the discourse in terms of paragraph boundaries and to isolate the key participants within the discourse. Appendix A contains a paragraph by paragraph analysis of the other components of the discourse model. Combining these three elements, we can arrive at the following summary of how each paragraph functions within the discourse.

Paragraph	*Function*	*Themes*
1	Affectionate greeting	Love, Truth
2	Wish health and bestow status of 'child'	Love/Joy, Truth
3	Praise good works towards brothers—an example of good	Work (+ve), brothers
4	Judgment of opposition whose works oppose the brothers—an example of bad	Work (-ve)
5	Command to follow the good as a child of God	Good, Evil
6	Commendation of truthful messenger	Truth, Witness
7	Promise of visit	
8	Greetings	

An alternative presentation of this information is a short discursive statement, which we have labeled a 'functional summary':

> *Functional Summary of 3 John*
> The Elder confirms his affectionate positive regard for Gaius grounded in truth and that trustworthy reports of Gaius's relation to the truth result in strong positive emotions. Gaius is thereby identified as a child of the Elder and one of the brothers. His good actions confirm this status and provide an example of good to the brothers. In contrast, Diotrephes demonstrates that he does not belong with the brothers and rejects those who do. By this it is clear that he does not know God and his evil example is not to be followed. Demetrius belongs to the brothers as is confirmed by truth itself. He will represent 'the good' and the truth of the brothers, until the elder can be with Gaius in person.

4. *Conclusion*

In this paper, we have attempted to demonstrate that the systematic application of discourse analysis, and particularly the model developed in the OpenText.org project, can contribute to the discussion of the exegetical debate of one of the New Testament documents. While much of the resulting analysis agrees with previous discussion from a more traditional methodological perspective (and this in itself should be seen as conformation of the value of discourse analysis), our analysis of the participants in the discourse leads to a more novel conclusion that it is Gaius, and not Demetrius, who is put forth as the example of 'good' in the letter.

Appendix A
Paragraph Summaries and Exegetical Notes for 3 John

a. *Paragraph 1 (3 John 1; c1-2)—Affectionate greeting*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 9-*body, body parts/products* (1) 93-*names of persons/places* (1) 25-*attitudes and emotions* (1) 72-*true/false* (1)	Participants: 1: The Elder 3 [8.4] 25.3 2: Gaius 3 [5.7] 17.1	Clauses: 2 Primary 1 Secondary 1 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 0
Actors: p1 Patients: p2 Agents: 0 Circumstances: 0 Processes: *Loving* Aspect: *Imperfective* 1 (Sec) Causality: *Direct* 1 (Sec)	Attitude: *Assert* 1 (Sec)	Word groups: 6 Average Modification: 0.6

b. *Paragraph 2 (3 John 2–4; c3-13)—Wish health and bestow status of 'child'*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 25-*attitudes and emotions* (3) 72-*true/false* (3) 33-*communication* (2) 22-*trouble/hardship/relief* (2) 78-*degree* (2) 10-*kinship terms* (2) 41-*behaviour/ related states* (2)	Participants: 1: The Elder 5 [10.8] 53.9 2: Gaius 6 [10.2] 61.1 5: The Brothers 2 [4.2] 8.3	Clauses: 11 Primary 2 Secondary 8 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 5
Actors: p1, p2, p5 Patients: p2 Agents: 0 Circumstances: *How* [×3] *Where* [×2] Processes: *praying, prospering, rejoicing, walking (in truth), coming, bearing witness, hearing*	Attitude: *assert* 5 (Pri) *project* 1 (Pri)	Word groups: 31 Average Modification: 0.3

Aspect: *Perfective* 1 (Pri) *Imperfective* 5 (Pri) 5 (Sec) Causality: *Direct* 3 (Pri) 3 (Sec) *Internal* 1 (Pri) 1 (Sec) *External* 1 (Pri) 2 (Sec)		

c. *Paragraph 3 (3 John 5–8; c14-24)—Praise good works towards brothers—an example of good*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 42-*perform/do* (4) 11-*groups/classes of persons* (3) 25-*attitudes and emotions* (2) 33-*communication* (2) 15-*linear movement* (2) 57-*possess/transfer* (2) 10-*kinship terms* (2)	Participants: 2: Gaius 5 [7.5] 37.6 5: The Brothers 5 [5.3] 26.3	Clauses: 11 Primary 2 Secondary 9 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 4
Actors: P2, P5, we Patients: P5 Agents: The name Circumstances: *How* [×4] *Where* [×2] Processes: Doing, working, coming, becoming Aspect: *Perfective* 0 (Pri) 4 (Sec) *Imperfective* 2 (Pri) 3 (Sec) Causality: *Direct* 2 (Pri) 6 (Sec) *Internal* 0 (Pri) 2 (Sec)	Attitude: *Assert* 2 (Pri) 3 (Sec) *Project* 0 (Pri) 2 (Sec) *Expect* 1 (Sec)	Word groups: 32 Average Modification: 0.5

d. *Paragraph 4 (3 John 9–10; c25-36)—Judgment of opposition whose works oppose the brothers—an example of bad*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 33-*communication* (3) 11-*groups/classes of per*sons (2) 25-*attitudes and emotions* (2) 69-*affirmation/negation* (2) 34-*association* (2) 15-*linear movement* (2) 42-*perform/do* (2)	Participants: 1: The Elder 3 [12.3] 36.9 3: Diotrephes 9 [9.2] 83.3 5: The Brothers 1 [9.3] 9.3 6: Us/we 2 [5.7] 11.4	Clauses: 12 Primary 6 Secondary 6 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 5

Actors: P1, P3 Patients: P3, us, those welcoming Agents: 0 Circumstances: *Why* [×2] *How* [×1] *Where* [×1] Processes: Welcoming, Coming, Reminding, Doing, Preventing, Casting out Aspect: *Perfective* 1 (Pri) 1 (Sec) *Imperfective* 4 (Pri) 4 (Sec) Causality: *Direct* 4 (Pri) 3 (Sec) *Internal* 2 (Pri) 1 (Sec) *External* 1 (Sec)	Attitude: *Assert* 5 (Pri) 1 (Sec) *Project* 1 (Pri) *Expect* 1 (Pri)	Word groups: 34 Average Modification: 0.3

e. *Paragraph 5 (3 John 11; c37-41)—Command to follow the good as a child of God*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 88-*moral/ethical qualities/ behaviour* (4) 69-*affirmation/negation* (2) 12-*supernatural beings/powers* (2)	Participants: 2: Gaius 2 [14.7] 29.3	Clauses: 5 Primary 3 Secondary 2 Paragraph level Conjunctions:
Actors: P2 Patients: Good, bad, God Agents: 0 Circumstances: *Where* [×1] Processes: *Imitating, Being, Seeing* Aspect: *Imperfective* 1 (Pri) 2 (Sec) *Stative* 1 (Pri) Causality: *Direct* 1 (Pri) 2 (Sec) *Internal* 1 (Pri)	Attitude: *Assert* 2 (Pri) *Direct* 1 (Pri)	Word groups: 12 Average Modification: 0.6

f. *Paragraph 6 (3 John 12; c42-46)—Commendation of truthful messenger*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 33-*communication* (3) 72-*true/false* (2)	Participants: 2: Gaius 1 [12.3] 12.3 4: Demetrius 2 [14.7] 29.3 6: Us/we 3 [12.6] 37.7	Clauses: 5 Primary 5 Secondary 0 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 4
Actors: P4, P6, P2, Our Testimony Patients: Agents: 'The truth','Everybody' Circumstances: *When* [×1] *How* [×1] Processes: *Bearing Witness, Knowing, Being* Aspect: *Imperfective* 1 (Pri) *Stative* 2 (Pri) Causality: *Direct* 2 (Pri) *External* 1 (Pri)	Attitude: *Assert* 3 (Pri) 1 (Sec)	Word groups: 15 Average Modification: 0.4

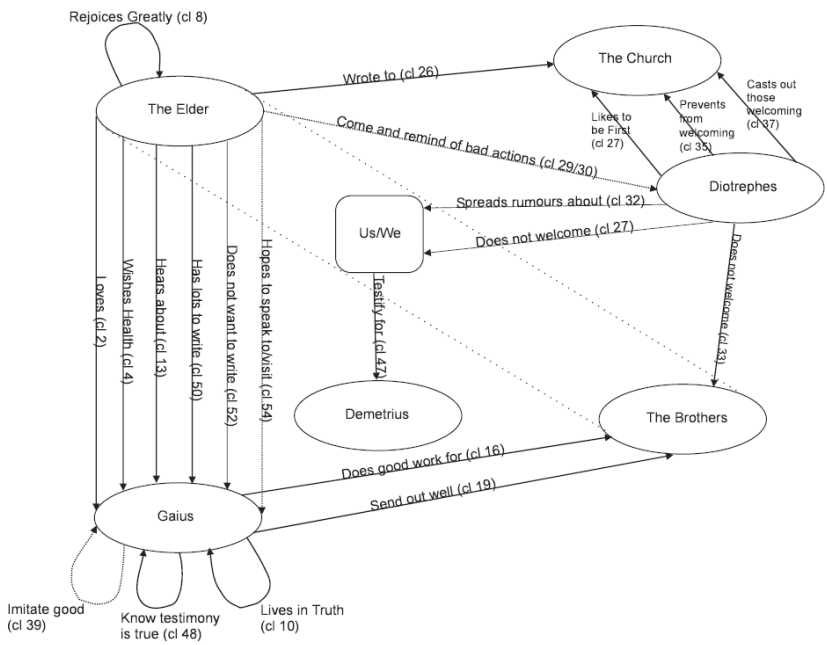
g. *Paragraph 7 (3 John 13–14; c47-53)—Promise of visit*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 33-communication (5)	Participants: 1: The Elder 4 [12.3] 49.2 2: Gaius 3 [2.7] 8.1	Clauses: 7 Primary 4 Secondary 3 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 3
Actors: P1, P2 Patients: P2 Agents: Ink and Pen Circumstances: *How* [×1] *When* [×1] Processes: Having, Wishing, Hoping, Speaking Aspect: *Perfective* 2 (Sec) *Imperfective* 3 (Pri) 1 (Sec) Causality: *Direct* 4 (Pri) 3 (Sec)	Attitude: *Assert* 3 (Pri) *Expect* 1 (Pri)	Word groups: 18 Average Modification: 0.6

h. *Paragraph 8 (3 John 15; c54-56)—Greetings*

Field	*Tenor*	*Mode*
Domains: 33-*communication* (3) 34-*association* (2) 22-*trouble/hardship/relief*	Participants: 2: Gaius 3 [9.9] 29.7	Clauses: 3 Primary 3 Secondary 0 Paragraph level Conjunctions: 0
Actors: Peace, The Friends, P2 Patients: P2, The Friends Agents: 0 Circumstances: *How* [×1] Processes: *Greeting* Aspect: *Imperfective* 2 (Pri) Causality: *Internal* 2 (Pri)	Attitude: *Assert* 1 (Pri) *Direct* 1 (Pri)	Word groups: 8 Average Modification: 0.4

Appendix B
Main Participants and Their Interactions in 3 John



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A Discourse Analysis of Romans 7.7-25: The Pauline Autobiography?

Cynthia Long Westfall

1. *Introduction*

Romans 7.7-25 has been a subject of extensive dialogue. The discussion centers on the identity of the referent of the first person singular that characterizes the passage and differentiates it from the surrounding co-text. At least five suggestions have been made for the referent of ἐγώ in 7.7-13:

1. Paul[1]
2. The typical Jewish person[2]
3. Israel when the law was given[3]
4. Adam at the time of the Fall[4]
5. The general unregenerate human predicament.[5]

1. Those who are associated with identifying 'I' with Paul's personal history and experience include R. Gundry, 'The Moral Frustration of Paul before his Conversion: Sexual Lust in Romans 7:7-25', in D.A. Hagner and M.J. Harris (eds.), *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to Professor Bruce on his 70th Birthday* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 228-45; T. Schreiner, *Romans* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), pp. 363-65; A. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 226-27; G. Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (trans. P. Galvin; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

2. B.W. Longenecker offers a variation suggesting that the 'I' represents the unbelieving Jewish community (*Eschatology and the Covenant: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1–11* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], p. 228). Longenecker states: 'The Mosaic law was contained within the single commandment given to Adam. Paul sees in this identification of the Mosaic law and the Adamic commandment a corresponding identification of the ethnocentric Jew and Adam who sins unto death' (p. 238).

3. Though D. Moo states that ἐγώ refers to Paul himself, he writes: 'I suggest that Paul in vv. 7-11 is describing his own involvement, as a member of the people of Israel, with the giving of the law to his people at Sinai' (*The Epistle to the Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996], p. 431). See also R. Sloan, 'Paul and the Law: Why the Law Cannot Save', *NovT* 33 (1991), pp. 55-56.

4. This position is proposed by E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (trans. and ed. G.W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 196: 'There is nothing in the passage which does not fit Adam, and everything fits Adam alone'.

5. This position was first articulated in W.G. Kümmel, *Römer 7 und die Bekehrung*

The suggestions change somewhat for the referent of ἐγώ in vv. 14-25, primarily because of the perceived significance of the author's shift to the all but exclusive use of the present tense. All of the suggestions center on designating the referent as either a Christian or a pre-Christian. The suggested referents are:

1. Paul before his conversion[6]
2. Paul in his present experience as a Christian/the general experience of a Christian[7]
3. The typical Jewish person[8]
4. The Christian who is living a defeated life[9]
5. The general unregenerate human predicament.[10]

While the primary question is 'Who is the referent of ἐγώ?', the answer involves determining the meaning other terms in the passage such as 'law', 'sin', 'alive' and 'death', as well as the meaning of the use of tense in the passage. It also involves the topic of the passage and the function of the passage in the discourse.

des Paulus (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929). C.E.B. Cranfield holds a similar view: 'We may recognize Paul's use of the first person singular here as an example of the general use of the first person singular, but at the same time we shall probably be right to assume that his choice of this form of speech is, in the present case, due not merely to a desire for rhetorical vividness but also to his deep sense of personal involvement, his consciousness that in drawing out the general truth he is disclosing truth about himself' (*The Epistle to the Romans* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975], I, p. 343-44). Fitzmyer suggests 'It is more likely a device that Paul uses to describe humanity under the domination of the Mosaic law' (*Romans* [New York: Doubleday, 1993], p. 463).

6. Gundry consistently claims that the referent is Paul and the struggle concerned his lust before his conversion ('The Moral Frustration of Paul', pp. 228-45).

7. Those who are associated with identifying 'I' with the Christian struggling against sin include C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (London: A. & C. Black, 1957); Cranfield, *Romans*, I, pp. 341-42; J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans* (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), pp. 404-12; and A. Nygren, *Commentary on Romans* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1949).

8. Though Moo maintains an autobiographical element, he sees ἐγώ primarily as an unregenerate Jew and states: 'Paul is looking back, from his Christian understanding, to the situation of himself, and other Jews like him, living under the law of Moses' (*Romans*, p. 448). Longenecker suggests, 'Paul here is a ventriloquist, projecting his voice into the mouth of his "dummy", "the Jew" of Romans 2–3… The "we" in 7.1-6 has become a single representative , just as "the Jew" of Romans 2–3 represented the whole of the unbelieving Jewish community' (*Eschatology*, p. 234).

9. Moo characterizes this view as better represented in popular than in scholarly literature (*Romans*, p. 447).

10. Kümmel consistently holds the view that the use of ἐγώ is rhetorical (*Römer 7*). Fitzmyer similarly states that the condition is 'that of unregenerate humanity faced with the Mosaic law—but seen as a Christian' (*Romans*, p. 465).

2. *Methodology*

This paper primarily addresses the use of ἐγώ in Rom. 7.7-25 together with the meaning of the key lexis and grammar in the light of the concerns of discourse analysis. My methodology is based on the systemic-functional model of discourse analysis, which is heavily influenced by the work of M.A.K. Halliday.[11] I stress the role of register in the production of the discourse as well as the role of the constraint of the co-text in assigning meaning to words and phrases. I will first focus on the possibilities of what ἐγώ can or cannot mean, addressing issues such as cohesion, ἐγώ in the Hellenistic and Pauline corpus, the semantic and formal features of autobiography and confession, and the role of the emotion expressed in 7.24. The primary grammatical issue addressed is the use of the present tense in 7.14-25, which contrasts the treatment of the present tense verbs in terms of temporal categories with the treatment of the verbs as the speaker's choice of verbal aspect. The meanings of key words and phrases are assigned through a study of their function in the passage and the constraint of the co-text. Finally, I will briefly address the relationship of the passage to the surrounding co-text.

3. *Register and Constraint of Co-text*

The register of the discourse and the constraint of the co-text on meaning are two important linguistic concepts that permeate this paper. Register is a way of describing the relationship of the field, tenor and mode of a discourse.[12] The field is the experiential function of the text as expressed in its vocabulary, and the naming of the referents and processes encoded in the grammar. The tenor of Romans is the interpersonal function in the discourse that reflects the relationship between Paul and the Roman church. The mode is the textual function in the discourse and refers to the written form of the epistle and the context.[13] The relationship between Paul and the Roman church is key to understanding the interpersonal patterns related to ἐγώ as it interacts with the information structure in 7.7-25. Paul was a Jew from Tarsus with a Palestinian orientation. He was communicating through a letter to a church that was ethnically and culturally diverse. He had not met most of the recipients, and he had never visited Rome. The register is distinct from the other Pauline

11. See for example M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985); M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Geelong, Australia: Deakin University, 1985).

12. Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context and Text*, p. 37.

13. For the meaning of tenor, mode and field, see Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context and Text*, p. 21.

epistles with the exception of Colossians. It significantly affects the information structure because the author cannot place reliance on a large amount of shared information and inference as he would in a message to a close friend or a church that he had planted and discipled. Rather, in order to be successful, Paul's communication must be specific and direct.

The primary constraint on the meaning of the lexis in a given discourse is the surrounding co-text of the discourse. The linearization process is important in determining how co-text constrains meaning. Texts are produced and processed in a linear manner, and as Brown and Yule assert, 'Text creates its own context'.[14] The way that given words and phrases are used in the preceding co-text constrains meaning in the passage far more than material in other parts of the Pauline corpus. Furthermore, the co-text that follows the discourse will often clarify or develop the words and phrases in the passage, which can be a crucial determinant of meaning.

4. *The Meaning of* ἐγώ

As a point of departure, it is necessary to determine what ἐγώ can and can not mean in the passage. The first issue involves whether the referent of ἐγώ could shift between vv. 7-13 and 14-25. Next, it is helpful to have some insight into the use of ἐγώ in Hellenistic literature as well as the Pauline corpus. Then, after defining the nature of autobiography and/or confession, it will be helpful to evaluate as to whether the occurrence of ἐγώ with the information in 7.7-13 would be perceived as an autobiography by the readers. Finally, the statement and question in vv. 24-25 will be analyzed to determine whether ἐγώ occurs with a level of pathos that necessitates a designation of the passage as autobiography.

Note that the lists of suggested referents for ἐγώ in vv. 7-13 and 14-25 differ significantly. Some scholars imply some kind of a shift in referent after v. 13. For example, Thomas Schreiner takes the view that ἐγώ is autobiographical in 7.7-13, and then depersonalizes ἐγώ in his discussion of 7.14-25, referring to 'the "I"' and 'the ἐγώ' repeatedly rather than describing them as explicitly referring to Paul.[15] In the absence of a clear signal of a shift, ἐγώ should be treated consistently, maintaining the same referent in 7.7-13 as 7.14-25. If, for example, ἐγώ is taken as autobiographical and confessional, interpretation and comment should reflect Paul's personal experience. The material in the passage is identifiable as a unit because of its patterned use of the first person. The repetition of ἐγώ and other occurrences of the first person singular is the primary feature that creates

14. G. Brown and G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 50.

15. Schreiner, *Romans*, pp. 372-79.

cohesion in the passage and distinguishes vv. 7-25 from its surrounding co-text.[16] However, if ἐγώ is treated consistently, the possibility that either Adam or Israel is the referent is virtually eliminated.

While it has long been acknowledged that the use of ἐγώ in Hellenistic Greek could be autobiographical or representative, it was not generally accepted that it could be rhetorical. However, in 1924, Kümmel's work made a convincing argument for the rhetorical use of ἐγώ in Hellenistic literature. Since then, much of the discussion has centered on whether Paul's linguistic patterns support the rhetorical use of ἐγώ. Most of my comments will focus on the rhetorical and the personal or autobiographical uses.

Paul uses ἐγώ extensively in contrast with the other writers of the epistles:

Occurrences of emphatic ἐγώ (nominative) in the NT Epistles

	Author	*Quotation*	*Other*
Romans	13	5	1
1 Corinthians	22	6	-
2 Corinthians	17	1	-
Galatians	9	-	-
Ephesians	4	-	-
Philippians	6	-	-
Colossians	2	-	-
1 Thessalonians	2	-	-
2 Thessalonians	-	-	-
1 Timothy	3	-	-
2 Timothy	2	-	-
Titus	2	-	-
Philemon	4	-	-
Hebrews	-	7	-
James	-	2	-
1 Peter	-	1	-
2 Peter	-	1	-
1 John	-	-	-
2 John	2	-	-
3 John	1	-	-
Jude	-	-	-

16. M. Hoey describes how lexical repetition organizes text in M. Hoey, *Patterns of Lexis in Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). D. Tannen expands on the use of repetition in cohesion, including rhythmic patterns, visual representation and 'sense' repetition (*Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue and Imagery in Conversational Discourse* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989]).

No other writer in the New Testament exhibits similar patterns of ἐγώ outside of narrative and quotation, and Paul uses ἐγώ both personally and rhetorically. The personal use of ἐγώ far outweighs the rhetorical use. However, there are significant clear cases of rhetorical use in Romans and 1 Corinthians and Galatians (Rom. 3.5-8; 1 Cor. 6.12, 15; 10.29a-30; 11.31-32; 13.1-3, 11-12; 14.11, 15; Gal. 2.18). While Paul's rhetorical use of ἐγώ tends to collocate with conditional statements and the interrogative, it is not limited by that collocation.[17] Clearly within the Hellenistic and Pauline corpus, ἐγώ in Romans 7 can either be personal or rhetorical.

It is important to determine the nature of autobiography and confession. In an autobiography or confession, one would expect a correlation with a high degree of specificity and a correlation with a low degree of general or gnomic material that would be universally applicable. In 1 Cor. 13.11, Paul relates, 'When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me.' This kind of statement constitutes neither an autobiography nor a confession. It does represent Paul's experience, but it is universally applicable. The general nature of the information is in contrast with the higher level of specificity in 1 Tim. 1.13 that is autobiographical and confessional: 'Even though I was once a blasphemer and a persecutor and a violent man, I was shown mercy because I acted in ignorance and unbelief'.[18] Paul's statement in Rom. 7.7b is also generally applicable to anyone who had contact with the law: 'Indeed, I would never have known what coveting really was if the law had not said "Do not covet". But sin, seizing the opportunity afforded by the commandment produced in me every kind of covetous desire'. Because the statement is low in specificity and general in application, it is neither autobiographical nor confessional. However, Gundry states, 'Surely Paul puts forward his experience as typical—otherwise it would fail to carry the argument—but it remains *his*'.[19] This is a fuzzy and circular definition of autobiography. Labeling this typical experience as 'autobiographical', then

17. Moo writes: 'But this use of *egō* is not frequent in Paul and almost always occurs in conditional or hypothetical statements—a far cry from the sustained narrative and descriptive use in 7.7-25' (*Romans*, p. 427). However, given the unusual register combined with the length of the letter, the sustained use of the rhetorical ἐγώ is hardly out of the realm of possibility. Furthermore, the rhetorical use of ἐγώ is concentrated in Romans and 1 Corinthians. With the exception of Gal. 2.18, it does not occur in the other epistles. This kind of inconsistent usage prevents an argument of frequency of use and the small size of the sample does not justify ruling out a more extended use of the rhetorical ἐγώ.

18. This information is not as specific as the autobiographical speeches recorded by Luke in Acts 26.4-23, but the lower level of specificity is appropriate for the register of 1 Timothy, where the single recipient and the author share a high level of information.

19. Gundry, 'The Moral Frustration of Paul', p. 229.

treating it as making a semantic contribution to the discourse argument that is not autobiographical, contributes to confusion rather than the solution of exegetical problems.

Scholars who take the ἐγώ as autobiographical strongly claim that v. 24 is too emotional, confessional and frustrated to be taken as anything but Paul's personal dilemma. It is rendered in English by various translations as very emphatic with an exclamation point, following the King James: 'O wretched man that I am!' Schreiner asserts, 'The emotion expressed here…would be melodramatic, artificial, and incredibly theatrical if Paul were not describing his own experience'.[20] However, the translation appears to be more emphatic than the Greek text. There is no question that the use of ἐγώ is emphatic, but it appears six other times in the passage without meriting an exclamation point in diverse translations. Furthermore, the KJV, NKJV and NLT add an emphatic 'O' into the text, which contributes significantly to the perception of emphasis. On the other hand, in Rom. 3.16, Paul quotes Isa. 59.7: σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν (ruin and misery mark their ways). Paul cites this phrase to describe the condition of Jews and Gentiles as all being equally under sin. The noun ταλαιπωρία is a cognate of the adjective ταλαίπωρος in 7.24. It is possible that there is a cohesive tie between the quotation in 3.16 and 7.25 so that Paul is alluding to the general misery of people under sin with the proposition: 'I am a wretched person'. Also, this statement, which is considered to be too emotional to be rhetorical, is followed directly by a rhetorical question: 'Who will rescue me from this body of death?' Clearly, the rhetorical use of ἐγώ in 7.24 is not inconsistent with the co-text and is most consistent with the general nature of the information.

5. *Use of Tense*

In vv. 7-13, Paul uses two imperfect indicative tense forms and eight aorist indicative tense forms. In vv. 14-25, Paul uses twenty-six present indicative tense forms. The scholars who hold an autobiographical view of this passage generally believe that verbal tense is primarily temporally based. Therefore they conclude that vv. 7-13 recount Paul's past experiences before he became a Christian, and vv. 14-25 must recount his current experience expressed by the present tense. While it is recognized that the present can be used to vividly express past events, they conclude with Cranfield that the present tense 'is here sustained too consistently and for too long and

20. Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 363. Gundry states that the phrase in 7.24 ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος (I am a wretched human) is stated with 'poignant anguish and pathetic frustration' ('The Moral Frustration of Paul', p. 229). Segal similarly states, 'Rom. 7.22-24 makes an impersonal reading of Rom. 7 virtually impossible' (*Paul the Convert*, p. 225).

contrasts too strongly with the past tenses characteristic of vv. 7-13 to be at all plausibly explained as an example of the present used for the sake of vividness in describing past events which are vividly remembered'.[21] However, Paul's supposed descriptions of himself as 'sold as a slave to sin' (v. 14), 'a prisoner of the law of sin' (v. 23) and 'in the sinful nature a slave to the law of sin' (v. 25) directly contradict the surrounding co-text where Paul explicitly tells the readers that as Christians they have been set free from sin and become slaves of righteousness (6.18, 20-22; 7.4-6). It is insupportable that Paul would represent the readers as set free from sin, but then describe himself as still in slavery.

Verbal aspect theory suggests that the present tense describes action in progress and that it highlights or exposits a set of actions or events.[22] Therefore, in vv. 14-25, the action in progress depicts the condition or state of the person who is a slave to sin but says nothing about whether it is in the past or present.[23] Temporal deixis in the preceding co-text places the condition or state of being a slave to sin in the past and being free from the law and slaves to God in the present. The particle ὅτε ('when' indicating past time) is used in contrast with νυνί ('now' indicating present time) in both 6.20-23 and 7.5-6. Therefore, as Longenecker observes, Paul establishes a 'then'—'now' structure that constrains the temporal location of the information in 7.7-25 and places the slavery to sin as 'then' or past time.[24] The following

21. Cranfield, *Romans*, I, pp. 344-45.

22. As Stanley Porter suggests, the present may be used 'at those places where the author wishes to draw attention to an event or series of events' (*Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood* [New York: Peter Lang, 1989], p. 196). B.M. Fanning gives one of the characteristics of the present as 'usage to emphasize important events and appeal to the feeling or fantasies of the readers, in order to give a more lively novelistic style to the narrative' (*Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990], pp. 237-38).

23. Schreiner, *Romans*, pp. 386-87. See also M. Seifrid, *Justification by Faith: The Origin and Development of a Central Pauline Theme* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), p. 234. Kümmel suggests that the present tense was used for vividness (Kümmel, *Römer 7*, p. 110). Fitzmyer agrees: 'The description in the present tense in vv. 14-25 is undoubtedly so composed for the sake of vividness; past events are vividly recalled' (Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 463). Porter focuses on the use of the past-referring present as 'rendering the description of a given event more vivid' (Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 196). The use of the 'historic' present is 'universally attested in Greek literature as a marked use of the imperfective aspect in narration' (p. 134).

24. Longenecker, *Eschatology*, p. 230. As Gundry observes, Paul unquestionably uses the present to describe personal past history in Phil. 3.3-6 ('The Moral Frustration of Paul', pp. 228-29). As against what Gundry relates, 'It has become quite popular to use the overlapping of the present age and the age to come as a means of making the contrasts between 7.14-25 and 6.1–7.6; 8.1-39 compatible with a Christian referent in 7.14-25. Living in both ages at the same time, Christians are simultaneously sinners and saints.'

co-text in ch. 8 is the corresponding present of life in the Spirit, signaled by the νῦν in 8.1. The extended use of the present in vv. 14-25 is certainly marked and emphatic, which is reinforced by the repeated use of ἐγώ, but it leads to a climax in 8.1-2, where the readers resume being the primary participants.

This passage is an excellent example of where interpreting a tense as temporal has placed a veil over the reading of a passage. It caused contradictions between words and phrases and led to convoluted solutions of how Paul could describe himself in such a state of defeat. On the other hand, verbal aspect theory allows an interpretation that is semantically and temporally cohesive and coherent with the co-text.

6. *Meaning of Lexis*

Along with tense, analyses of this passage have tended to involve certain problems in assigning meaning to key terms in the passage that are too specific or too broad.[25] For instance, Gundry applies a too narrow restriction of the semantic field of ἐπιθυμήσεις in v. 7. It occurs in the command that is usually translated 'Do not covet'. He suggests that the command refers to a prohibition against sexual lust and that the commandment 'came' in some sense at his bar mitzvah at the point where he began to be troubled by sexual lust.[26] However, this suggestion is problematic in view of the intertextual connection with the Decalogue, which cannot be confined to sexual lust.[27] Given that the recipients knew the law (7.1), they would have needed more information such as the occurrence of a feminine accusative (γυναῖκα, αὐτήν) for them to assign a specific meaning of sexual lust to ἐπιθυμήσεις.[28] They did not have enough shared information otherwise to render the more specific interpretation.

However, most of the word fallacies occur with the meanings assigned to 'law', 'sin', 'alive', and 'death'. Longenecker adopted an expanded semantic field for the word 'law' that is too broad for what the immediate context allows and actually contradicts the given information. He describes the law negatively as 'a symbol of Jewish security and superiority, the law as a

25. For a description of word fallacies, see D.A. Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984), pp. 25-66.

26. Gundry states, '*Indeed, we may say that Paul slips into the ἐγώ-style precisely because becoming bar mitzvah applied to him but not to most of his readers* [italics his]' ('The Moral Frustration of Paul', p. 232).

27. See Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 369.

28. W. Bauer, W.F. Gingrich and F. Danker, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn, 1979), p. 293.

catalyst of a nomistic way of life'.[29] This meaning is contradicted by the assertions in the passage that the law is holy (v. 12), spiritual (v. 14), and good (v. 16), while an evil law is inside the speaker (v. 21). In his attempt to defend his broader thesis that Romans is an attack on Jewish ethnocentrism, he does not take Paul's description of the law in the passage at face value.

It is common for those who hold the salvation-historical views to assign a 'full theological sense' to the words 'law', 'sin', 'alive', and 'death'.[30] Therefore, only Adam was alive and then died in a full theological sense. But on the other hand, if law has its full theological meaning, only Israel received the law 'Do not covet' after being without law. This totality transfer of theological definitions is an example of a classic word fallacy, particularly given the role that these terms play in the metaphoric language of slavery and marriage in the preceding co-text.

In 7.7-13, the individual undergoes a spiritual death that occurs directly after sinning, even though Paul has declared that through Adam death came to all in 5.12. The surrounding co-text refers to natural death and several dimensions of spiritual death including not only the death of the human race in Adam, but also death with Christ, death in regards to sin, death in regards to the law, and death as the consequence of sin. However, in the immediately preceding co-text in 7.5, death as the consequence of sin is highlighted and provides a context for 7.7-13: 'When we were controlled by the sinful nature, the sinful passions aroused by the law were at work in our bodies, so that we bore fruit for death'. The metaphor 'bore fruit for death' forms a cohesive tie of synonymy with previous statements: 'sin which leads to death' (6.16), 'those things result in death' (6.21), and 'the wages of sin is death' (6.23). This meaning of death constrains the meaning of the other terms. The reference to being 'alive apart from the law' refers to a relative state of innocence before being directly confronted with a prohibition that starts the process of bearing fruit for death. The word 'sin' is constrained together with the meaning of death as 'things' connected with impurity and wickedness of which the readers are now ashamed (6.19-21). However, 'sin' is also personified as a slave owner throughout ch. 6, so that the reference to sin exploiting the opportunity offered by the commandment forms a cohesive tie with the preceding personification.

The 'law', specifically represented as 'Do not covet', forms a cohesive tie of meronymy with the preceding references to law and particularly to the general principle in 5.20 which states that the commandments and prohibitions of the law cause trespass to increase. It is in a part-whole relationship

29. Longenecker, *Eschatology*, p. 229.

30. See Schreiner's discussion of Käsemann's view that the reference in 7.7-25 is to Adam (*Romans*, p. 360). Schreiner's positive evaluation of assigning the full theological sense to 'alive' and 'death' is unwarranted contextually and linguistically.

to the entire law and serves as a particularly apt illustration of the principle. The phrase 'the commandment came' (v. 9) could refer to an individual's first encounter with the Law of Moses, which would make sense to the Gentile readers. However, Paul is concerned with helping the readers experience freedom from sin (6.12). The reader may be meant to infer a relationship with their own experience of their personal reaction to any prohibition. Such stories are prolific in folklore and have been called the Dennis the Menace principle—being told you cannot have something immediately produces an uncontrollable desire to possess it.

The first place we should go to determine word meaning in this passage is the preceding co-text, particularly given the register of the discourse. The way Paul uses the words 'death', 'law', and 'sin' must constrain their meaning in ch. 7. Even though Paul uses these terms in different ways, the co-text that immediately precedes ch. 7 provides the most powerful constraint. The reference to the individual being alive without the law is admittedly difficult, but the metaphoric context and the meaning of the word 'death' constrain the phrase's meaning.

7. *Relationship to Co-text and Topic*

It is suggested that Rom. 7.7-25 is an excursus or a parenthesis—'a detour from the main road of Paul's argument'.[31] However, given the cohesive ties between 7.7-25 and the preceding co-text in 6.1–7.6, and the prominence created by the unusual patterns of the present tense and the emphatic use of ἐγώ, it is unlikely that this passage is a detour. Rather, it appears to contribute a build-up towards a discourse peak in 8.1-2.

After the marriage metaphor in 7.1-3, there is a group of sentences in vv. 4-6 marked by the inferential particle ὥστε (which is consistent with mainline material or a conclusion), the nominative plural of direct address, a shift from third person to second person plural, and then to the more marked first person plural, and the emphatic νυνὶ δέ. The rhetorical question in 7.7 joined with the inferential particle οὖν adds to the prominence. This clause complex is 'main' or 'central' and gives the conclusion for the preceding passage in v. 4 and the theme for 7.7-25 and 8.1-11 in vv. 5-6.[32] The topic sentence for 7.7-25 is v. 5: 'For when we were controlled by the sinful nature, the sinful passions aroused by the law were at work in our bodies, so

31. Moo claims: '[The question followed by an emphatic rejection in v. 7] marks the whole section as something of an excursus… In labeling 7.7-25 a parenthesis, we must also stress that we mean by this not that 7.7-25 is an unimportant aside but that it is a detour from the main road of Paul's argument' (*Romans*, p. 424).

32. Longenecker suggests that 7.7-25 complements 7.1-5, while Rom. 8.1-11 complements 7.6 (*Eschatology*, p. 229).

that we bore fruit for death'. This sentence accounts for all of the information in vv. 7-25.[33] The topic sentence for 8.1-11 is v. 6: 'But now, by dying to what once bound us, we have been released from the law so that we serve in the new way of the Spirit, and not in the old way of the written code'. The service in the new way of the Spirit will be expanded in 8.1-11. Notice that after being activated, the Spirit is conspicuous by its absence from vv. 7-25. In other words, the passage describes how the individual responds to the law if the Spirit is absent from the equation. The connections with 8.1-39 provide a strong confirmation of this interpretation. Paul polarizes the elements of the condition described in 7.7-25 against the condition of those who belong to Christ. The temporal deixis places the fleshly condition and the solution to that condition in the past. However, Paul's commands to the readers to count themselves dead to sin, to not let sin reign in their bodies, and to not offer the members of their bodies as instruments of wickedness suggests that they have the potential of experiencing Rom. 7.7-25 if they choose not to walk by the Spirit.

8. *Conclusion*

The meaning of Rom. 7.7-25 has been obscured by the treatment of present tense verbs in terms of temporal categories, considerations of theology, word fallacies, and an atomistic approach to interpretation which started with intuitive interpretations of the passage and then attempted to harmonize the results with the co-text. No wonder it came to be perceived as a parenthesis.

The function of ἐγώ in this passage is most consistent with the rhetorical usage. The same information could have been written in the third or second person. However, the use of the first person creates more interpersonal involvement than the third person and is less confrontational than the second person. The author chooses the present tense to grammaticalize a set of actions that involve a vicious circle of sin and failure and the state of being a slave of sin. The first person singular together with the present

33. As Longenecker states: 'What Paul highlights in 7.14-25 is the unwillingness of the "I" to cooperate with sin, although he is inevitably enslaved to its overbearing power (7.14)' (*Eschatology*, p. 239). While scholars such as Douglas Moo and Thomas Schreiner discuss the referent of ἐγώ in Romans 7 at length, both assert that the topic is the law, not anthropology. As Moo asserts: 'We must start out interpretation of this chapter on the right foot by insisting that anthropology—the identity and situation of the "I" of vv. 7-25—is a subordinate issue in Rom. 7…. The main topic is the Mosaic law' (*Romans*, p. 409). Similarly Schreiner states: 'The theme of verses 7-25, therefore, is not anthropology and existential human experience but the goodness of God's law' (*Romans*, p. 358). Fitzmyer calls vv. 14-25 'an apology for the law itself' (*Romans*, p. 473).

tense creates prominence that peaks in 8.1-2. The key words of 'sin', 'law', 'alive' and 'death' draw their meanings from the preceding co-text and their function in the passage, rather than from other Pauline epistles. This passage continues the argument in 6.1–7.6 and functions as a companion passage to 8.1-11, illustrating the alternative to walking by the Spirit. Therefore, it is coherent and cohesive in relationship to its co-text.

Part IV
Linguistic Investigations

Is ὅτι an Interpretive Use Marker?

Stephen H. Levinsohn

> ‘Still, thro’ the rattle, parts of speech were rife,
> While he could stammer
> He settled *Hoti*’s business—let it be!–…’
> Robert Browning (1812–89), *A Grammarian’s Funeral.*

This paper argues that ὅτι in Koiné Greek is ‘an explicit linguistic indicator of interpretive use’,[1] whether functioning as a complementizer, as a marker of causality, or preceding a reported speech or writing. The paper concentrates on ὅτι in Matthew, as earlier papers have discussed its use in Luke–Acts and John.[2]

The majority of the paper is devoted to occasions when ὅτι introduces a reported speech. Its presence indicates to the hearer or reader that the speech is *not* a simple report of what was said on a particular occasion. Rather, the speech is presented interpretively. In practice, this means one of two things in Matthew:

- either the original form of the speech is only represented *indirectly*/ as a *résumé*,
- or what follows *relates back* to and interprets a previous utterance.

This second ‘contextual effect’[3] of using ὅτι, which relates to its function as a marker of causality, also explains a number of the instances in which it is used as a complementizer.

1. Regina Blass, *Relevance Relations in Discourse: A Study with Special Reference to Sissala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 104.

2. Stephen H. Levinsohn, ‘Luke’s Recitative Usage of *hoti*’, *Notes on Translation* 70 (1978), pp. 25-36; *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (Dallas: SIL International, 2nd edn, 2000), pp. 261-70.

3. Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2nd edn, 1995), p. 108.

Introduction

Bauer recognizes four major uses of ὅτι:[4]

- as a 'marker of narrative or discourse content': a *complementizer* introducing the content of what is thought, perceived, felt, etc., as in Mt. 2.16:
  (1) ἰδὼν *ὅτι* ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων
  'seeing that he had been tricked by the magi'
- as a 'marker of explanatory clauses': a *complementizer* introducing the *epexegetical referent* of a cataphoric demonstrative (αὕτη in Jn 3.19 below):[5]
  (2) αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ κρίσις *ὅτι* τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον
  'And this is the judgement, that the light has come into the world'
- as a 'marker introducing direct discourse', 'often used pleonastically in reciting another's words' and referred to as *ὅτι recitativum*, as in Mt. 27.43d:[6]
  (3) εἶπεν γὰρ *ὅτι* Θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός
  'for he said, "I am God's Son"'
- as a 'marker of *causality*' (the italics are mine), usually translated 'because', 'since', 'for', as in Mt. 5.4:
  (4) μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, *ὅτι* αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται
  'Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted'.

This paper argues that all four of the above uses are consistent with the function of a marker of what Sperber and Wilson call 'interpretive use'.[7]

1. *What is an Interpretive Use Marker?*

When a speech is reported directly, it usually purports to communicate what was said on a particular occasion. For example, the reported speech of Jn 4.17a (below) purports to communicate what a woman said to Jesus on a particular occasion; namely, 'I have no husband'. This may be thought of as the *default* form of reporting:

(5) ἀπεκρίθη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα
'The woman answered him, "I have no husband"'

4. Walter Bauer, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (rev. and ed. Frederick William Danker; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3rd edn, 2000), pp. 731-32.

5. John Painter (*1, 2, and 3 John* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2002], p. 124) treats both of these first two uses as epexegetical. In Section 2, I discuss them together under the general heading, 'Complementizer'.

6. Wesley J. Perschbacker, *The New Analytical Greek Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1990), p. 298. '[T]his use of ὅτι with the direct oration is found in the best writers, *e.g.* Plat. *Apol.* 21 C, 34 D… It is as common in the LXX as elsewhere in Greek' (F.C. Conybeare and St George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995 (1905)], p. 114).

7. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 259.

However, some reported speeches do not so much communicate what was said as serve as an *interpretation* or representation of some other utterance or thought which they resemble, hence the term 'interpretive use'. In Jn 4.17b, for instance, Jesus' intention is not to inform the woman of what she just said (οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα). Rather, he interprets what she said as he quotes it back to her in a different order (ἄνδρα οὐκ ἔχω):[8]

(6) λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καλῶς εἶπας *ὅτι* ἄνδρα οὐκ ἔχω
'Jesus said to her, "You are right in saying, 'I have no husband'"'

Certain languages have 'an explicit linguistic indicator of interpretive use'[9] whose function is to signal that the utterance concerned is not a simple report of what was said on a particular occasion, but rather is an interpretation or representation of an utterance or thought which it resembles. This paper argues that ὅτι is such a marker.

I now show that ὅτι is a marker of interpretive use as a complementizer (§2), as a marker of causality (§3), and when introducing reported speech or writing (§4).

2. ὅτι *as a Complementizer*

ὅτι introduces the propositional complement of a number of verbs, but it occurs most frequently in the Gospels and Acts after verbs of mental or physical perception ('know', 'see', 'hear', 'think', 'understand' and 'believe'). Follingstad claims that presenting propositions with an interpretive use marker 'indicates that the propositional content is not a *description* of the state of affairs in the text world, but the *representation* of a character's thought or inference about that state of affairs' (again, the italics are mine).[10]

Follingstad's point is illustrated by comparing how Matthew and Mark present the arrest of John the Baptist. Mark 1.14a presents the arrest as the *description* of a state of affairs:

(7) μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν
'Now, after John was arrested, Jesus came to Galilee'

In contrast, by introducing the event with ἀκούσας ὅτι, Mt. 4.12 presents John's arrest as a *representation* of what Jesus heard. This analysis

8. The effect of preposing ἄνδρα is to give it prominence so that it can act as a 'foil' for a later, contrasting statement ('for you have had five husbands, and the one you have now is not your husband'—v. 18). See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, pp. 55-57.

9. Blass, *Relevance Relations*, p. 104. Blass identifies the particle *rə* in the Sissala (Gur) language of Ghana and Burkina Faso as a marker of interpretive use (pp. 101-23).

10. Carl M. Follingstad, *Deictic Viewpoint in Biblical Hebrew Text: A Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Analysis of the Particle Ki* (Dallas: SIL International, 2002), p. 317.

is confirmed by the anarthrous reference to John (contrast [7]); although John is an active participant, as far as Matthew is concerned (he was last mentioned in 3.15), Jesus is represented as activating John on hearing that he had been arrested:[11]

(8) ἀκούσας δὲ *ὅτι* Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν
'Now when he heard that John had been arrested, he withdrew to Galilee'

A comparison of the way the Gospel writers present the rolling back of the stone from the tomb where Jesus' body was placed reveals a three-way choice. Matthew 28.2b presents the event as the *description* of a state of affairs:

(9) ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον
'for an angel of the Lord, descending from heaven, came and rolled back the stone'

Mark 16.4 uses ὅτι to present the event as a *representation* of what the women saw. What they saw was that the stone had been rolled away:

(10) 'They had been saying to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the entrance to the tomb?" When they looked up'
θεωροῦσιν *ὅτι* ἀποκεκύλισται ὁ λίθος
'they saw that the stone had already been rolled back'

Finally, in Jn 20.1 the *perception* of the stone rolled away (the direct object of εἶδον) is presented as the *description* of a state of affairs:[12]

(11) 'Early on the first day of the week, while it was still dark, Mary Magdalene came to the tomb'
καὶ βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἠρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου
'and saw the stone already removed from the tomb'

The above commentary does not explain WHY Mark and John present the perception in different ways. A clue to the reason lies in the context. Mark 16.3 introduces the need for the stone to be rolled away, and the proposition introduced by ὅτι relates back to and *resembles* this idea. In contrast, the context of Jn 20.1 makes no reference to this need.[13] In other words, one

11. See Nicholas A. Bailey ('Thetic Constructions in New Testament Greek' [PhD dissertation, The Free University of Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, forthcoming]). See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, pp. 150-60 for discussion of anarthrous and arthrous references to people by name.

12. Luke 24.2 is similar, except that εὑρίσκω 'find' is used instead of εἶδον.

13. Michael Noonan ('Complementation', in Timothy Shopen, II [ed.], *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], p. 118) distinguishes for English between 'immediate perception sense' (e.g. 'I saw

motivation for choosing to present the perception of an event interpretively in running text is when the event can be related back to an utterance that it resembles.[14]

ὅτι is often used when a proposition is to be related back to a previous *constituent*. Such is the case when a clause introduced by ὅτι is the *epexegetical* referent of a cataphoric demonstrative. The clause introduced by ὅτι relates back to this demonstrative.

Thus, in Jn 3.19 (repeated below), the clause introduced by ὅτι relates back to αὕτη: 'The judgement is this (αὕτη): that (ὅτι) the light has come into the world'. In other words, the clause introduced by ὅτι *interprets* αὕτη:

(2) αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ κρίσις *ὅτι* τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον
'And this is the judgement, that the light has come into the world'

Finally, Mt. 26.75 provides an instance in which the clause introduced by ὅτι both interprets an earlier constituent of the same sentence (τοῦ ῥήματος ᾽Ιησοῦ εἰρηκότος) and relates to an earlier utterance which it resembles (v. 34):

(12) …ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με.
'…"this very night, before the cock crows, you will deny me three times"'. (34)
καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τοῦ ῥήματος ᾽Ιησοῦ εἰρηκότος *ὅτι* πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με
'Then Peter remembered the word that Jesus had told him: "Before the cock crows, you will deny me three times"' (75)

3. ὅτι *as a Marker of Causality*

In what sense can ὅτι be said to be an interpretive use marker when used as a marker of causality? A weak claim is that ὅτι indicates that the clause it introduces is not presented to *describe* the reason why a fact is so.[15] Rather,

Floyd leave') and 'knowledge and acquisition of knowledge' (e.g. 'I saw that Floyd left'). This distinction does not appear to apply to the above examples.

14. For a three-way contrast involving οἶδα 'know', see Mt. 16.16 (Peter's assertion, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God', is a description as far as Peter is concerned of an actual state of affairs), Mt. 22.16 (the Pharisees' disciples' assertion, 'we know ὅτι you are good' is a representation of some other utterance or thought—see §4.3 on the use of ὅτι in connection with irony), and Mk 6.20 (Herod's perception 'having known him [to be] a righteous and holy man' is a description of a state of affairs).

15. Maximilian Zerwick (*Biblical Greek* [English edition adapted from 4th Latin edition by Joseph Smith; Rome: Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1963], p. 145) suggests that ὅτι is often used to give 'the reason not why the fact *is* so, but whereby it is *known* to be so'. G.B. Winer (*A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*

the clause *interprets* the immediately preceding utterance—either as a whole or a specific constituent of it.

In a number of passages, though, a stronger claim for ὅτι as a marker of causality is possible; namely, that the clause it introduces *resembles* an earlier utterance. This is evident when ὅτι introduces the answer to a 'why' question. Such is the case in Mt. 20.7a (below). 'Because no one has hired us' relates to and resembles the question of v. 6, 'Why are you standing here idle all day?' in that the answer is a short form of 'We are standing here idle all day because no one has hired us':

(13) καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, τί ὧδε ἑστήκατε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀργοί;
'and he said to them, "Why are you standing here idle all day?"' (6)
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, *ὅτι* οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς ἐμισθώσατο.
'They said to him, "Because no one has hired us"' (7a)

It is possible, though perhaps not fruitful, to apply a similar argument to instances in which the clause introduced with ὅτι interprets a *constituent* of the proposition to which it relates. In each of the Beatitudes of Mt. 5.3-10, for example, a group of people is pronounced blessed and then told why. Without the clause introduced by ὅτι, they would be left with the question, 'Why are we blessed?' In that sense, the clause introduced by ὅτι could be said to resemble this implied question.

Personally, I am willing to settle for a weaker claim in such passages; namely, that the presence of ὅτι *interprets* the constituent to which it relates. Thus, in Mt. 5.4 (repeated below), the clause introduced with ὅτι completes the proposition 'Blessed are those who mourn' by interpreting why they are blessed:

(4) μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, *ὅτι* αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται
'Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted'

The same argument applies to passages like Mt. 23.13-29, where Jesus makes a series of pronouncements against the Jewish leaders. Without a clause introduced with ὅτι, 'Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites' is vacuous. The clauses introduced with ὅτι interpret and fill out each 'woe'. For example (v. 25):

(14) οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, *ὅτι* καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας
'Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you clean the outside of the cup and plate, but inside they are full of greed and self-indulgence'

[Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882], p. 557) makes a similar observation, 'Ὅτι points in general to some existing fact'.

Finally, there are passages in which the clause introduced with ὅτι interprets an earlier *proposition*. In Mt. 5.45b, for instance, such a clause provides an interpretation of what it means to be like one's Father in heaven in loving one's enemies (v. 44):[16]

(15) 'But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be children of your Father in heaven'; (44-45a)
ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς
'for he makes his sun rise on the evil and the good' (45b)

How does ὅτι as a marker of causality differ from *γάρ*? For Blass, Debrunner and Funk, the distinction seems to be simply that ὅτι is a hypotactic (subordinating) causal conjunction, whereas γάρ is a paratactic (co-ordinating) one.[17] However, Robertson treats 'causal' ὅτι as paratactic.[18] What is most significant is that γάρ is never used to interpret a constituent of the proposition to which it relates. This suggests that γάρ is NOT an interpretive use marker. Rather, it is simply the *default* way of introducing strengthening material.[19]

This is illustrated in Mt. 1.21 (below). The clause introduced with γάρ (v. 21b) strengthens the previous proposition (v. 21a) by explaining why it is appropriate to call Mary's son 'Jesus' (Hebrew *Yeshûa'* 'Saviour'). Rather than interpreting v. 21a, it conveys information that *Yeshûa'* had never previously communicated: 'he shall save his people *from their sins*':

(16) τέξεται δὲ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν·
'She will bear a son, and you are to name him Jesus', (21a)
αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν
'for he will save his people from their sins' (21b)

It is true, of course, that both particles are sometimes found in virtually identical contexts (compare Mt. 6.5 [ὅτι] and 6.16 [γάρ]). This only goes to show that, in the end, it is the author who decides whether or not to mark a clause as interpretive.

16. 'One important foundation for the unheard-of command to love one's enemies is the very fact that God gives his good gifts of sunshine and rain both to good and bad… To love one's enemies is, then, to treat them as God treats those who have rebelled against him. Thus the children, the disciples, should imitate their heavenly Father' (Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* [Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1993], p. 134).

17. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), §§452, 456.

18. A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York, London: Harper, n.d. [copyrighted 1934]), p. 1177.

19. Winer (*Treatise*, p. 558) states that γάρ 'expresses generally an affirmation or assent (γε) which stands in relation to what precedes (ἄρα!)'.

I conclude that, when used as a marker of causality, ὅτι indicates that the clause it introduces is not presented to *describe* the reason why a fact is so. Rather, the clause *interprets* the immediately preceding utterance—either a specific constituent of it or as a whole.

4. ὅτι *Introducing a Reported Speech or Writing*

John 4.17a (repeated below) illustrated that, when a speech purports to communicate what someone said on a particular occasion, it is not preceded by ὅτι:

(5) ἀπεκρίθη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ø οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα
'The woman answered him, "I have no husband"'

I argue in this section that, when ὅτι does introduce a reported speech or writing, this indicates to the hearer or reader that the speech or writing is NOT a simple report of what was said or written on a particular occasion. Rather, it is presented *interpretively*. I have already cited (6) (Jn 4.17b) as a speech which relates back to what the woman just said (οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα) and interprets it as it changes the order of the constituents (ἄνδρα οὐκ ἔχω).[20]

Although the following sections divide the occasions when ὅτι introduces a reported speech or writing into six groups, they can all be accounted for, at least in Matthew, in terms of two factors:

- the original form of the speech is only represented *indirectly* or as a *résumé* (§4.1)
- what follows is to be *related back* to and interpret a previous utterance (§§4.2-4.6).

Sections 4.2-4.6 consider six contexts in which ὅτι indicates that what follows is to be related back to a previous utterance:

4.2 when the speech is *hypothetical*
4.3 when the speaker is being *ironic* and does not endorse the contents of the speech being echoed
4.4 introducing a *writing* that is to be related back to a previous utterance
4.5 following λέγω ὑμῖν/σοι 'I tell you'
4.6 *residual* examples in Matthew.

20. Contrast Painter's (*1, 2, and 3 John*, p. 124) assertion for ὅτι in 1 John, 'after words of speaking, it may introduce exact quotation when the words are reported in the first person of the speaker and not in the third person'.

4.1. ὅτι *Introducing Indirect Speech and Résumés*

The presence of ὅτι before *indirect speech* is consistent with its function as an interpretive use marker. This is because indirect speech does not describe what was said, but only represents and resembles the original speech in some way.

In Jn 4.51b, for instance, the slaves didn't say, 'His child lives'. Rather, the words are but a representation of what they actually said (e.g. 'Master, your child has recovered and is alive'):

(17) οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες *ὅτι* ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ζῇ
'his slaves met him and told him that his child was alive'

See also Mt. 16.20.

It must be stressed, though, that ὅτι is NOT a marker of indirect speech. All it conveys to the reader is that the following speech represents or interprets another speech or thought in some way. The reader only discovers that the specific representation or interpretation is indirect speech in Jn 4.51b on encountering the third person pronoun αὐτοῦ.

It is not possible to say whether the *résumés* recorded in the Gospels should be viewed as indirect speech or not, as they contain no reference to the reported speaker or addressees. Nevertheless, the presence of ὅτι before a résumé is consistent with its function as an interpretive use marker. This is because a résumé does not describe what was said on a particular occasion, but only represents and resembles what people said on a number of occasions.

John 4.20 contains an embedded speech that provides a résumé of what Jews must have said many times. The woman isn't thinking of a particular occasion when someone said the specific words, 'Jerusalem is the place where one should worship'. Rather, the utterance represents a résumé that resembles what *you* (Jews) say:

(18) 'Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain',
καὶ ὑμεῖς λέγετε *ὅτι* ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὅπου προσκυνεῖν δεῖ
'and you (pl.) say that Jerusalem is the place where one should worship'

See also Mt. 2.23b (note the plural τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ *τῶν προφητῶν* 'what had been spoken through the prophets'), Mt. 17.10; Mk 6.18; 9.11b; and, with ἀναγινώσκω, Mt. 12.5.

In all the above passages, the résumé introduced with ὅτι relates back to the immediate context (a significant factor in §§4.2ff.). In Mk 12.35, however, the résumé 'the Messiah is the son of David' does NOT appear to relate back to anything in the context:

(19) When Jesus saw that he answered wisely, he said to him, 'You are not far from the kingdom of God'. After that no one dared to ask him any question' (34)
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς *ὅτι* ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυίδ ἐστιν;
'While Jesus was teaching in the temple, he said, "How can the scribes say that the Messiah is the son of David?"' (35)

I conclude that relating back to the context is *not* a determining factor in using ὅτι to introduce a résumé. Rather, ὅτι is appropriate because a résumé only *represents* what people say.

Again, it must be stressed that ὅτι does not indicate that the following speech is a résumé. All it conveys to the hearer or reader is that it represents or interprets another speech or thought in some way. It is the combination of the plural reference to the reported speakers and ὅτι that may suggest that the following speech is a résumé.

4.2. ὅτι *Introducing a Hypothetical Speech*

Another situation in which a reported speech does not communicate what was actually said on a particular occasion is when it is *hypothetical*. In such a situation, the presence of ὅτι also indicates that the speech is to be related back to the immediate context.

In Jn 8.55c, Jesus presents such a speech. He doesn't actually say, 'I do not know him', on any particular occasion because it would not be true, so the speech only represents what he might say if he were willing to lie. Furthermore, this hypothetical speech directly relates to and resembles his immediately previous assertion, 'I, in contrast, do know him' (v. 55b).[21]

(20) 'and you do not know him. I, in contrast, do know him' (55a-b)
κἂν εἴπω *ὅτι* οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν, ἔσομαι ὅμοιος ὑμῖν ψεύστης
'if I were to say that I do not know him, I would be a liar like you' (55c)

See also Mt. 21.3.

When a reported speech is hypothetical, ὅτι is used only if it is to be related back to its immediate context. In Mt. 21.21, for instance, 'Be lifted up and thrown into the sea' is a hypothetical speech to 'this mountain', but does not relate back to or resemble any previous utterance concerning a mountain, so ὅτι is not used:[22]

21. See also 1 Jn 1.6, 8, 10; 4.20; in each, ὅτι introduces a hypothetical speech that is to be related back to the immediate context.

22. 'Instead of telling the disciples, in reply to their question, by what means *He* (in the exercise of His divine power) caused the tree to wither, He informs them how *they* too might perform similar and even greater wonders' (Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Part I. The Gospel of St Matthew,* II [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879], p. 66).

(21) 'When the disciples saw it, they were amazed, saying, "How did the fig tree wither at once?" Jesus answered them' (20-21a)
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν καὶ μὴ διακριθῆτε, οὐ μόνον τὸ τῆς συκῆς ποιήσετε, ἀλλὰ κἂν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ εἴπητε, ø ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, γενήσεται
'Truly, I tell you, if you have faith and do not doubt, not only will you do what has been done to the fig tree, but even if you say to this mountain, "Be lifted up and thrown into the sea", it will be done' (21b)

See also Mt. 23.39.

Again, it must be stressed that ὅτι does not mark speeches as hypothetical. All it conveys to the reader is that they represent or interpret another speech or thought in some way. The hypothetical nature of the speeches in (20) and (21) is communicated by κἄν.

4.3. ὅτι *Introducing an Ironic Echo*

Another instance of interpretive use is when a speaker echoes someone in an ironical way. 'The speaker dissociates herself from the opinion echoed and indicates that she does not hold it herself'.[23] The presence of ὅτι with an ironic echo again indicates that the speech is to be related back to the immediate context.

Matthew 27.43 (repeated below) is an instance of ironic echoing. The speakers do not for a moment believe that Jesus is God's son, but echo the words ironically. In addition, it is clear from the preposing of Θεοῦ that the words are to be related back to the immediate context:[24]

(3) 'He trusts in God; let God deliver him now, if he wants to';
εἶπεν γὰρ *ὅτι* Θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός.
'for he said, "I am God's son"'

In Matthew's account of Jesus' temptation by the devil, four citations from the Old Testament are introduced with the words γέγραπται 'it has been written'. The only one with ὅτι is the one cited by the devil (4.6), presumably to indicate that he is citing it ironically. Furthermore, it is clearly the devil's intention that Jesus relate the Scripture to the invitation to throw himself down:[25]

23. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 239.

24. The presence of γάρ marks the matrix clause as the description of an event; the speakers were claiming that Jesus had said, 'I am God's son'. A similar comment applies to passage 22; the devil is not disputing that the words he cites are written.

25. 'To see the scriptural warrant is to set forth the justification that could be legitimately claimed by Jesus for jumping to safety' (Meyer, *St Matthew,* p. 67). See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, p. 268, on the use of ὅτι to introduce the passages of Scripture cited by Jesus in Luke 4.

(22) ‘If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down’;
γέγραπται γὰρ *ὅτι* τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ
‘for it is written, “He will command his angels concerning you…”’

Yet again, it must be stressed that ὅτι is not a marker of irony. All it conveys to the reader is that the following speech represents or interprets another speech or thought in some way. The ironic nature of the speech is conveyed (in the absence of an oral recording) by the fact that the reader cannot reconcile its content with the person who uttered it.

4.4. ὅτι *Introducing a Writing that is to be Related Back to a Previous Utterance*

A comparison of Mt. 21.42 and 21.16b shows that, when Scripture is cited as the ground for a *following* point, ὅτι is NOT used. When Scripture is cited to *conclude* an argument, in contrast, ὅτι is used. In other words, when ὅτι introduces a writing, that writing is to be taken as interpreting the utterance to which it relates back.

In Mt. 21.42, Jesus cites a Scripture as the ground for the conclusion he draws in v. 43 (introduced with ὅτι—see §4.5), so he does not use ὅτι.[26]

(23) οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ø λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας·
‘Have you never read in the scriptures: “The same stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone…”?’ (42)
‘Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο) I tell you *ὅτι* the kingdom of God will be taken away from you…’ (43)

See also Mt. 22.31a (the ground for the conclusion drawn in v. 31b).[27]

In Mt. 21.16b, in contrast, Jesus cites Scripture to conclusively answer the criticism of the authorities, and uses ὅτι. The words ‘Out of the mouths of infants and nursing babes you have prepared praise for yourself’ are to be related back to the children crying out in the temple, ‘Hosanna to the Son of David’ and interpret the event as a fulfilment of that Scripture:[28]

26. ‘Διὰ τοῦτο] *therefore*, because, according to the psalm just quoted, the rejected stone is destined to become the corner-stone’ (Meyer, *St Matthew*, p. 73). The parallel passage in Mk 12.10 does not use ὅτι, either, even though Jesus’ final comment (Mt. 21.43) is not reported.

27. In Mk 7.6-7, Jesus cites Scripture as the ground for the conclusion of v. 8, so the reading that omits ὅτι is to be preferred.

28. ‘Jesus quotes Ps 8.3 to explain why the children were singing the praises of the Son of David’ (Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991], p. 294). See also Mk 11.17. For examples from Luke–Acts and John, see Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, pp. 268-69.

(24) 'But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the amazing things that he did, and the children crying out in the temple, "Hosanna to the Son of David", they became angry and said to him, "Do you hear what these are saying?"' (14-16a)
ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς, ναί. οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε *ὅτι* Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον;
'Jesus said to them, "Yes; have you never read, 'Out of the mouths of infants and nursing babes you have prepared praise for yourself'?"' (16b)
'And he left them…' (17)

4.5. ὅτι *Following λέγω ὑμῖν/σοι 'I tell you'*

This section discusses utterances beginning with λέγω ὑμῖν/σοι to show that, when the following assertion introduces a new topic, ὅτι is absent. When ὅτι is used, the following assertion does not introduce a new topic, but is to be related back to a previous utterance.

I start by contrasting two utterances from John 10 (see below) that begin with ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν 'Very truly I tell you'. The first assertion, which lacks ὅτι, introduces a *new* topic: that of the false and true shepherds, together with the image of the gate of the sheepfold. This speech is followed by the observation, 'they did not understand what he was saying to them' (v. 6). The assertion of v. 7 then interprets the figure for Jesus' audience. The presence of ὅτι indicates that v. 7 relates back to and interprets a previous utterance:[29]

(25) ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ø ὁ μὴ εἰσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς θύρας εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῶν προβάτων ἀλλὰ ἀναβαίνων ἀλλαχόθεν ἐκεῖνος κλέπτης ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.
'"Very truly, I tell you, anyone who does not enter the sheepfold by the gate but climbs in another way is a thief…"' (1)
'Jesus used this figure of speech with them, but they did not understand what he was saying to them' (6)
Εἶπεν οὖν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν *ὅτι* ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων
'So again Jesus said to them, "Very truly, I tell you, I am the gate for the sheep…"' (7)

The same contrast is seen in Matthew. Matthew 8.10b (below) is a new assertion, so is not introduced with ὅτι. In contrast, the presence of ὅτι in v. 11 indicates that it relates to and interprets what has just been said.[30] In other words, the fact that Gentiles will share in the kingdom of the heavens while the heirs of the kingdom will be excluded is to be related to the absence of 'such faith' in Israel:

29. See also Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, p. 266.
30. '[W]ith this last point in mind' (Harrington, *St Matthew*, p. 205).

(26) 'When Jesus heard him, he was amazed and said to those who followed him' (10a),
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, φ παρ' οὐδενὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον.
'"Truly I tell you, in no one in Israel have I found such faith"' (10b)
λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν *ὅτι* πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἥξουσιν κ.τ.λ.
'"I tell you, many will come from east and west [and will eat at table with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens, while the heirs of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness]"' (11-12a)

See also Mt. 18.18-19. Other passages in which the assertion introduced with ὅτι relates to and interprets what has just been said include Mt. 19.28; 21.31; 24.34 (UBS reading); and 26.34. See also 16.18.

On a number of occasions in the Sermon on the Mount, an *interpretation* of traditional teaching cited in the previous utterance is introduced with ὅτι. In Mt. 5.22, for instance, Jesus interprets 'whoever murders' as including 'anyone who is angry with his brother',[31] and ὅτι is used:

(27) 'You have heard that (ὅτι) it was said to those of ancient times, "You shall not murder" and "whoever murders shall be subject to judgment"' (21).
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν *ὅτι* πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει
'But I say to you that if you are angry with a brother, you will be liable to judgement' (22)

See also Mt. 3.9; 5.28; and 5.32.

When Jesus *contradicts* traditional teaching, in contrast, ὅτι is not used. His assertions are then to be viewed not as an interpretation of the previous point, but as a new point or 'correction'[32] that replaces it. This is illustrated in Mt. 5.44:

(28) 'You have heard that (ὅτι) it was said, "You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy"' (43).
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ø ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς,
'But I say to you, "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you"' (44)

See also Mt. 5.34 and 5.39 (with an infinitive), and Mk 8.12 (rejecting the request of v. 11).

I suggested in an earlier paper that, in Luke–Acts, ὅτι *recitativum* 'in some sense…is always used to introduce a [speech or] quotation which terminates or culminates some unit'.[33] There is some evidence that Matthew

31. 'Jesus' interpretation deepens the commandment' (Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, p. 114).
32. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, p. 133.
33. Levinsohn, 'Luke's recitative usage of *hoti*', p. 25.

also uses ὅτι at times in connection with the final speech of a unit (provided it relates back to the rest of the unit).

This is particularly evident in Mt. 11.21-24. The assertion of v. 22, which relates back to v. 21, is not introduced with ὅτι. In contrast, the assertion of v. 24, which both relates back to v. 23 and concludes the passage, is introduced with ὅτι:

(29) 'Woe to you, Chorazin! Woe to you, Bethsaida! For (ὅτι) if the deeds of power done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes' (21)
πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ø Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ ὑμῖν.
'But I tell you, on the day of judgement it will be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon than for you' (22)
'And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to heaven? No, you will be brought down to Hades! For (ὅτι) if the deeds of power done in you had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day' (23)
πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν *ὅτι* γῇ Σοδόμων ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ σοί
'But I tell you, on the day of judgement it will be more tolerable for the land of Sodom than for you' (24)

See also Mt. 5.20; 6.29; 12.6, 36, 13.17; 16.28 (UBS reading);[34] 17.12; 18.10, 13; 19.9 (UBS reading); 24.47; and possibly 21.43 (UBS reading).

In a number of passages where some manuscripts include ὅτι and others omit it, the assertion concerned relates to what has just been said, but does not conclude the point.

This is illustrated in Mt. 6.2-3. Verse 2b relates back to v. 2a, which might justify the use of ὅτι. However, the UBS preferred reading lacks ὅτι, which is consistent with v. 2b not being the assertion that concludes the point about giving alms.

(30) 'So, whenever you give alms, do not sound a trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, so that they may be praised by others' (2a)
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ø* ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. [*variant: ὅτι]
'Truly, I tell you, they have received their reward' (2b)
'But when you give alms…' (3)

See also Mt. 6.5 and 6.16.

Another passage with variants is Mt. 19.24. The presence of ὅτι in v. 23b shows that the assertion relates back to and interprets the departure of the

34. If ὅτι is omitted in Mt. 16.28, 'there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom' is to be interpreted as a new assertion, rather than as relating to the previous verses.

rich young man (v. 22). In v. 24, it is tempting to favour the variant with ὅτι, as this assertion concludes Jesus' speech and relates back to v. 23b. In turn, the absence of ὅτι would imply that the assertion of v. 24 is 'new', in the sense that it makes an even stronger claim—one which astounds the disciples and leads them to exclaim, 'Then who can be saved?'

(31) 'When the young man heard this word, he went away grieving, for he had many possessions. (22) Then Jesus said to his disciples' (23a)
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν *ὅτι* πλούσιος δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.
'"Truly I tell you, it will be hard for a rich person to enter the kingdom of heaven"' (23b)
πάλιν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ø* εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος ῥαφίδος διελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ [*variant: ὅτι]
'"Again I tell you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God"' (24)

The absence of ὅτι in the UBS preferred reading in Mt. 23.36 (below) presents a similar challenge. Verse 36 appears to relate back to v. 35 and conclude the point, which would favour the variant with ὅτι. The preferred reading without ὅτι suggests that v. 36 is to be viewed as a new assertion, concerning the imminence of the judgement, which leads to the lament of vv. 37-38.[35]

(32) 'so that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar' (35)
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ø* ἥξει ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην [*variant: ὅτι]
'Truly I tell you, all this will come upon this generation' (36)
'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often have I desired to gather your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you were not willing! See, your house is left to you, desolate' (37-38)

I conclude that, when following λέγω ὑμῖν/σοι, the presence of ὅτι indicates that the following assertion relates back to and interprets a previous utterance.

4.6. *Residual examples of* ὅτι *recitativum in Matthew*

This section considers further passages in which ὅτι indicates that the following speech relates back to the immediate context.

In Mt. 27.47, ὅτι is particularly appropriate because the bystanders are attempting to interpret what Jesus has just said.

35. A similar challenge is presented by the parallel passage in Lk. 11.51.

(33) 'About three o'clock Jesus cried with a loud voice, "Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?" that is, "My God, my God, why have your forsaken me?"' (46)
τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἑστηκότων ἀκούσαντες ἔλεγον *ὅτι* Ἠλίαν φωνεῖ οὗτος
'When some of the bystanders heard it, they said, "This man is calling for Elijah"' (47)

Matthew 26.72 is unusual in that ἀρνέομαι does not normally introduce reported speech, but is followed by a participial form of λέγω (see v. 70). The presence of ὅτι marks Peter's speech as interpretive. It could be relating the speech back to Peter's first denial (ὅτι is also used in v. 74—the verb ὀμνύω 'swear' occasionally introduces speech directly), as Jesus has already prophesied that Peter will deny him three times. Alternatively, it could be indicating that only the gist of what Peter said is being reported, since 'I do not know the man' contains no oath:

(34) '…another servant-girl saw him, and she said to the bystanders, "This man was with Jesus of Nazareth"' (71)
καὶ πάλιν ἠρνήσατο μετὰ ὅρκου *ὅτι* οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον
'Again he denied it with an oath, "I do not know the man"' (72)

Imperatives of speech verbs are sometimes followed by ὅτι, and sometimes not. As with 'I tell you', ὅτι is used only if the following communication is to be related back to a previous utterance.

This is seen by comparing Mt. 26.18 and Mk 14.14 (cited below). In Mt. 26.18, Jesus sends the disciples to someone with a communication, and no previous utterance is recorded to which the communication is to be related, so ὅτι is not used:

(35) 'On the first day of Unleavened Bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying, "Where do you want us to make the preparations for you to eat the Passover?"' (17)
'He said, "Go into the city to a certain man"' (18a)
καὶ εἴπατε αὐτῷ, ø ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει, ø ὁ καιρός μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν: πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου
'"and say to him, 'The Teacher says, My time is near; I will keep the Passover at your house with my disciples'"' (18b)

See also Mt. 22.4.

In the parallel passage in Mk 14.14, in contrast, the statement, 'and a man carrying a jar of water will meet you; follow him' (v. 13) may well suggest a prior arrangement (see also v. 15—cited below). The use of ὅτι tends to confirm this, as it relates what the disciples are to say to the context.[36]

36. Note that the speech of vv. 13-15 relates back to the disciples' question of v. 12 in a much more explicit way than in the parallel passage in Matthew. My feeling is that the presence of ὅτι contributes to this close relation between the different elements of

(36) ‘On the first day of Unleavened Bread, when the Passover lamb is sacrificed, the disciples said to him, “Where do you want us to go and make the preparations for you to eat the Passover?”’ (12)
‘So he sent two of his disciples, saying to them, “Go into the city, and a man carrying a jar of water will meet you; follow him”’, (13)
καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃ εἴπατε τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ *ὅτι* ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει, ø ποῦ ἐστιν τὸ κατάλυμά μου ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου φάγω;
‘“and wherever he enters, say to the owner of the house, ‘The Teacher asks, Where is my guest room where I may eat the Passover with my disciples?’”’ (14)
‘He will show you a large room upstairs, furnished and ready. Make preparations for us there’ (15)

See also Mk 16.7 (which reiterates what Jesus had previously said to his disciples—14.28), Mt. 28.7 and 28.13 (note the use within the reported speeches of the pronouns αὐτοῦ and αὐτόν rather than nouns to refer to Jesus or the body), plus 21.3 (discussed in §4.2).

On several occasions, the *answer to a ‘why’ question* with τί or διὰ τί begins with ὅτι and it is unclear whether ὅτι is part of the reported speech or not.[37] The UBS text is sometimes punctuated so that ὅτι is part of the speech (e.g. Mt. 13.11), but often includes no punctuation (e.g. Mt. 19.8, Jn 20.13). Either way, the message of ὅτι is the same: relate the following proposition to the immediate context. The question is: who is indicating the relationship: the Gospel writer or the reported speaker?

In the case of Mt. 20.7 (discussed in §3 and repeated below), I would not expect ὅτι *recitativum* to occur because, although the speech is an answer to the question of v. 6, it does not conclude the exchange:

(13) ‘…and he said to them, “Why (τί) are you standing here idle all day?”’(6)
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, *ὅτι* οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς ἐμισθώσατο
‘They said to him, “Because no one has hired us”’ (7a)
‘He said to them, “You also go into the vineyard”’ (7b)

See also Mt. 13.11 (the reported speech continues, with various changes of topic, to v. 23). John 20.13 is similar (ὅτι is not used until the final speech of the passage, in v. 18).

The complicating factor in Mt. 19.8 (below) is the presence in the reported speech of another constituent (πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν) which can

the passage. In contrast, the different elements of the Matthew passage are much more loosely associated together.

37. For example, Robert K. Brown and Philip W. Comfort (*The New Greek–English Interlinear New Testament* [Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1990]) gloss ὅτι ‘because’ in Mt. 13.11 and 20.7, ‘but’—in Jn 20.13. See below on ὅτι in Mt. 19.8, which they gloss ‘that’.

be judged to correspond with the 'why' of the preceding question. Nevertheless, Alford still treats ὅτι as part of the speech.[38]

As to whether ὅτι *recitativum* would be expected to occur, Jesus' speech of vv. 8-9 does conclude the conversation with the Pharisees and, within the speech, λέγω ὑμῖν *ὅτι* introduces the final point in v. 9 (UBS text—see §4.5). Balancing this is the use of the historical present to introduce both this speech and the next one by the disciples (v. 10), which has the effect of pointing forward to Jesus' further teaching on the topic in vv. 11-12 (see further below).

(37) 'They said to him, "Why (τί) then did Moses command us to give a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her?"' (7)
λέγει αὐτοῖς *ὅτι* Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ὑμῖν ἀπολῦσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν
'He said to them, "It was on account of your hard-heartedness that Moses allowed you to divorce your wives"' (8a)

So, is ὅτι part of Jesus' words in Mt. 19.8, or is it *recitativum*? Blass states, 'the first interpretation tested and found consistent with the principle of relevance is the *only* interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance'.[39] Because of the presence of τί in the speech of v. 7, the first interpretation that the original readers would have tested, in my opinion, would be with ὅτι as part of the speech (as in Mt. 13.11 and 20.7).

5. *Conclusion*

I have argued in this paper that, whether functioning as a complementizer, as a marker of causality or in connection with a reported speech or writing, ὅτι always signals *interpretive use*.

Before reported speeches, the presence of ὅτι means that the speech does NOT purport to communicate what was said on a particular occasion. Such is the case when the original form of the speech is only represented *indirectly* or as a *résumé*. What is perhaps surprising to linguists familiar with the claims of Relevance Theory is that the fact that a speech is *hypothetical* or *ironic* is NOT a sufficient criterion for ὅτι to be used. Rather, if ὅτι is present, the following material must also *relate back* to and interpret a previous utterance (usually, the immediately preceding one). This condition may reflect the fact that all the examples are taken from running text, rather than short exchanges.

When ὅτι occurs as a *complementizer*, this indicates that the propositional content of the complement is not the author's description of a state

38. Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament*, I (London: Rivingtons, 1863), p. 192.
39. Blass, *Relevance Relations,* p. 104.

of affairs, but rather the representation of a character's thought or inference about that state of affairs. One of the reasons for choosing ὅτι is when what is perceived relates back to and interprets a previous utterance.

ὅτι functioning as a marker of *causality* may be distinguished from γάρ, in that ὅτι introduces a reason which *interprets* either a specific constituent of the immediately preceding utterance or the utterance as a whole.

I conclude that, although Greek grammarians recognize three or four major uses of ὅτι, its presence imposed a single constraint on the original hearers and readers: to take what follows not as a description of a state of affairs, but as an interpretation of a relevant utterance.

Setting Aside 'Deponency': Rediscovering the Greek Middle Voice in New Testament Studies*

Jonathan T. Pennington

Introduction

As happens in the study of any language, students of Koine Greek very soon run into a number of anomalies or unexpected irregularities. One such apparent irregularity is the group of so-called 'deponent verbs'. These are, according to the traditional definition, verbs which are 'middle-passive in form but active in meaning'. Students learn that the standard form of the Greek verb is the present active voice omega (–ω) conjugation. However, the student soon finds that there are many verbs whose standard lexical form does not correspond to this omega pattern. Moreover, many of these verbs appear to have an active meaning. These exceptions, many of which are very common words such as ἔρχομαι ('I come, go'), instead use the middle-passive voice paradigm as their standard. This anomaly is labeled 'deponent' (from the Latin *deponere*, to lay aside) indicating that something has been laid aside—either the middle meaning or the active forms.[1] These verbs are viewed as defective and nothing more than an inexplicable historical deviation from the standard omega paradigm.

* A much earlier version of portions of this argument appeared in Jonathan T. Pennington, 'Deponency in Koine Greek: The Grammatical Question and the Lexicographical Dilemma', *TrinJ* 24 NS 29/1 (Spring 2003), pp. 55-76. Credit for the pun that deponency should be 'set aside' goes to Bernard Taylor (see below).

1. A few have debated what exactly has been 'laid aside'. Most Greek grammarians speak of the active forms being laid aside, but others, including Daniel Wallace and several Latin grammars, say it is the passive meaning. These different interpretations were first highlighted to me by Bernard Taylor in his paper, 'Deponency and Greek Lexicography', presented at a joint session of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and the Biblical Lexicography sections at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting held in Denver, Colorado, November 17-20, 2001. See now also the slightly revised version of this paper in Bernard A. Taylor, John A. Lee, Peter R. Burton and Richard E. Whitaker (eds.), *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), pp. 167-76.

A closer examination of the Greek middle voice and the concept of deponency, however, reveals that, despite its helpful intention, this explanation is in fact the defective element. The thesis of this article is that the grammatical category of deponency, despite its widespread use in Greek grammars, is erroneous. It has been misapplied to Greek because of the influence of Latin grammar as well as our general unfamiliarity with the meaning of the Greek middle voice. As a result, we have failed to grasp the significance of the Greek middle. Indeed, most if not all verbs that are traditionally considered 'deponent' are truly middle in meaning. But because the Greek middle voice has no direct analogy in English (or Latin), this point has been missed. Comparative linguistics reveals that the use of the middle voice in Greek is akin to several other Indo-European languages and has a defined role in the verbal system. Nonetheless, the Latin category of deponency has been used to interpret these Greek forms. The consequence of my thesis is that the category of deponency should be eliminated from our reconstruction of Greek grammar. Additionally, a rediscovery of the genius of the Greek middle voice has ramifications for New Testament exegesis.

The History and Meaning of the Greek Middle Voice

Contrary to what we might expect, a study of the history of the Greek language reveals that the middle voice was not a later development between the active and the passive nor a secondary form, but was instead one of the two basic voices in Greek. For much of its history, Greek functioned with a dyad of voices: the active and the middle. The passive voice was a later development that stemmed from the middle and eventually encroached upon the middle in form and meaning.[2] The result of this linguistic evolution is that Modern Greek, like many other languages, has no separate middle voice or morphoparadigm, but only the active and passive.[3] This

2. This basic dyad and evolution to include the passive is consistent with other Indo-European languages, proto-IE, as well as some modern, non-IE tongues such as Fula (Niger–Congo) and Tamil. See M.H. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 46, 84ff. I am informed by a colleague of mine, Grant Macaskill, that early Slavonic similarly lacked separate passive forms.

3. James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek.* I. *Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1908), pp. 152-53; F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 161; Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek* (trans. Joseph Smith from 4th Latin edn; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963), §225; A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), p. 332; S.E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (BLG, 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2nd edn, 1994); pp. 63-64;

development, however, contrasts with the previous structure of the Greek voices. In the New Testament period, this evolution was still very much in process. It is only in the aorist that separate passive forms had become fully established (and to a lesser extent the future passive which is based on the aorist passive).[4] In Koine Greek, the middle forms and meaning are still very much alive.

Despite its importance and preponderance in Greek, the middle voice is often very difficult for English speakers to understand. Not only does the Greek middle comprise an assortment of nuanced meanings, but we face the additional difficulty that the English language has no simple grammatical equivalent. 'English speakers can do approximately the same things with their language as the middle form does in Greek, but various syntactical means rather than a single expression are required'.[5] These syntactical means include the use of an assortment of pronouns, prepositional phrases and auxiliary verbs.[6] Due to this significant difference in the linguistic framework of Greek, the middle voice has often been misunderstood.

One such misunderstanding in the past (and at times still today) was that the Greek middle is primarily reflexive.[7] Most grammarians today realize that the reflexive is a very rare function of the middle voice in Koine

Kenneth L. McKay, *A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek: An Aspectual Approach* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 21.

4. McKay, *Syntax*, p. 24. According to Robertson (*Grammar*, p. 333), Homeric Greek has many more instances of the middle than the passive because neither the future nor the aorist had yet developed distinct forms to any great extent. Barber states that in Homeric Greek, the passive is confined to the aorist alone (E.J.W. Barber, 'Voice—Beyond the Passive', in C. Cogen *et al.* [eds.], *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 1 [1975], p. 23 n. 2).

5. Porter, *Idioms*, p. 66.

6. Suzanne Kemmer observes that languages which mark the middle voice morphologically are a subset of the languages of the world, but are quite widespread nonetheless, 'being found in a large number of genetically and areally [*sic*] divergent languages'. Other languages, 'rather than having a designated middle form, regularly express the situation types illustrated above with unmarked, intransitive morphosyntax or other constructions'. Suzanne Kemmer, 'Middle Voice, Transitivity, and the Elaboration of Events', in Barbara Fox and Paul J. Hopper (eds.), *Voice: Form and Function* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), p. 184.

7. This misunderstanding has been augmented by the use of a verb such as ἐνδύω ('I clothe'), ἐνδύομαι ('I clothe myself') as a typical example of the use of the middle voice. This example is unfortunate because, in actuality, most middle forms occur in 'middle-only' verbs, i.e., in verbs that are always middle and do not have both active and middle forms. Moreover, as will be discussed below, verbs in the category of grooming/hygiene (here, the related 'clothing') regularly occur in the middle voice across many languages and do not communicate reflexivity in the grammatical sense. In this category, the reflexive and the broader middle voice function very similarly, but they are not equivalent, and the meaning of the middle alternates according to the lexical value of the verb.

Greek.[8] Moulton allows only one reflexive middle in the New Testament (Mt. 27.5), though others discern slightly broader usage than this.[9] Either way, it is clear the Direct or Reflexive Middle 'is *not* the predominant one in the Hellenistic period'.[10] In Greek, like English, the reflexive is typically communicated by the active voice plus a reflexive pronoun.[11]

Today, Greek grammarians provide more nuanced and helpful definitions of the middle voice. Daniel Wallace, relying on A.T. Robertson and Herbert Smyth, defines the middle thus: 'in the middle voice the subject *performs* or *experiences the action* expressed by the verb in such a way that *emphasizes the subject's participation*. It may be said that the subject acts "with a vested interest" '.[12] Porter says, 'Voice is a form-based semantic category used to describe the role that the grammatical subject of a clause plays in relation to an action…the Greek middle voice expresses more direct participation, specific involvement, or even some form of benefit of the subject doing the action'.[13] Most succinct is McKay: 'the middle voice represents the subject as acting on, for or towards itself'.[14]

Studies of grammatical voice outside of Greek confirm this basic sense and offer an even fuller understanding of the middle. After surveying various approaches to the linguistic category of middle voice, M.H. Klaiman sums up the Indo-European middle in this way: 'the middle, in opposition to the active, encodes situations having principal effects upon the referent of the nominal which the verb assigns as subject'.[15] This conforms to Lyons' definition in his classic text on linguistics: 'The implications of the middle (when it is in opposition with the active) are that the "action" or "state" affects the subject of the verb or his interests'.[16] Deeper studies on the middle voice,

8. This has traditionally been called the 'Direct Middle' as opposed to the 'Indirect Middle' of the subject's interest in the action of the verb. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p. 103, calls the reflexive (and the reciprocal) use marginal at best.

9. Moule states, 'Grammars sometimes describe the Middle as primarily reflexive. Whether or not this is true for certain periods, it is manifestly not true of N.T. usage' (C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1971], p. 24).

10. Porter, *Idioms*, p. 67.

11. Richard Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), p. 133. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p. 88. Indeed, the existence and regular use of a reflexive pronoun in Greek is partial evidence that this is not the function of the middle voice.

12. Daniel Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), p. 414, italics original.

13. Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 63, 67.

14. McKay, *Syntax*, p. 21.

15. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p. 92. Klaiman, p. 27, observes that this function is borne out in Classical Sanskrit, Fula, and Tamil as well.

16. J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 373.

such as those by Klaiman,[17] Bakker,[18] and Kemmer,[19] show that this voice was used particularly with certain lexical ideas. Or to state it another way, certain lexical ideas tend to be encoded with middle morphology in languages which use a middle voice. These lexical ideas include grooming or body care, naturally reciprocal events such as embracing or wrestling, acts of cognition, emotions, changes in body posture, and many more.[20] In these ways, Greek accords with a large variety of middle voice languages including such diverse examples as Sanskrit, Icelandic, Indonesian, and Mohave. Thus, far from being merely reflexive (the Direct Middle) or even only expressing self-interest (the Indirect Middle), the Greek middle voice also encompasses a large number of actions and categories involving the subject as the gravitational center of the action.[21] Bakker sums this up with the term 'affectedness': the specific feature of the middle voice is the '*affectedness* of the subject of the verb in, or by, the event denoted by the verb'.[22]

Defining Deponency

Always close by the discussion of the middle voice in Greek grammars is the introduction of the category of 'deponency'.[23] Nearly all grammars use the

17. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*.

18. Egbert J. Bakker, 'Voice, Aspect and Aktionsart: Middle and Passive in Ancient Greek', in Barbara Fox and Paul J. Hopper (eds.), *Voice: Form and Function* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), pp. 23-47.

19. Kemmer, 'Middle Voice, Transitivity, and the Elaboration of Events'. See also the published form of Kemmer's dissertation, *The Middle Voice* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1993).

20. Kemmer, 'Middle Voice, Transitivity, and the Elaboration of Events', pp. 182-83, provides a categorization of ten different 'situation types' which are encoded with the middle voice in various languages.

21. Bakker, 'Voice, Aspect and Aktionsart', pp. 23-24, observes that there are two different approaches to analyzing grammar: from form to function and from function to form. Traditionally, Greek grammars have only approached the middle as a form and then sought to describe the function of the voice relative to the subject. Alternatively, cross-linguistic studies (such as Kemmer's) begin with a certain type of meaning or function in languages (such as the categories of grooming, reciprocity, etc.) and then considered how this function is codified into a form. The latter approach opens different vistas upon the meaning of the middle than the traditional language-specific method of Greek grammars. Indeed, Bakker's thesis is that both types of approach are necessary to account for the Greek middle.

22. Bakker, 'Voice, Aspect and Aktionsart', p. 24. Bakker goes on to argue that while 'affectedness' is the core, abstract idea, it only gains specific value through interaction with the lexical value of each individual verb. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p. 44, also discusses voice in terms of the subject's 'affectedness'.

23. It is important to note that in the field of linguistics 'deponent' and 'deponency' are defined quite differently than in traditional Greek grammar and this could engen-

term 'deponent' to refer to the class of verbs which appear in the middle form but apparently have instead an active meaning.[24] This corresponds with the traditional Classical Greek definition as found in Smyth: 'Deponent verbs have an active *meaning* but middle (or middle and passive) *forms*'.[25] This category has obvious pedagogical payback. It enables the Greek student (and scholar) to make sense of a whole host of words which are otherwise anomalous. There are scores of such deponent verbs, some quite rare and many very common. Thus, this basic understanding of deponency fills a gap in the explication of the Greek verb.

A few authors, however, have reflected more deeply on this grammatical category and have offered some important qualifications to the traditional understanding. Wallace begins with the standard definition but goes on to specify that it is not enough 'to note merely that a verb lacks an active form throughout its history; it must also be demonstrated that the middle *force* is absent'.[26] This is an important point to highlight when considering deponency. He gives the example of δέχομαι, which is usually considered deponent because the extant forms are middle/passive, and it apparently has an active meaning ('I receive'). However, Wallace is right to point out that there is clearly a true middle meaning inherent in this lexeme.[27] Therefore, δέχομαι is not in fact a deponent verb; the middle force of the verb is *not* absent. Porter is likewise astute to point out that 'the presence of an active form eliminates a verb from being considered deponent, although it is not necessarily deponent even if there is no active form'.[28]

der confusion for those crossing fields. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p. 317, defines deponency as 'characteristic of verbs expressing physical or mental dispositions presupposing the logical subject's animacy and control'. This use of deponency is not unrelated by any means, because those verbs which are typically considered deponent in Greek in fact fall into categories circumscribed by this definition. Nevertheless, there is great potential confusion for those who have first studied Koine Greek with its very different definition of 'deponency'.

24. Note again that present tense morphology of Koine Greek does not distinguish between the middle and passive forms as the future and aorist were beginning to do. Note also that there is some inconsistency of usage with the term 'deponent'. Most often it is used to refer to verbs that appear *only* in the middle form, yet at times it is applied to the middle form of a verb which appears active in meaning even if that verb also appears with active and/or passive forms (e.g., αἰτέω, αἰτέομαι).

25. Herbert Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges* (New York: American Book Company, 1916), §319.c, p. 90.

26. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, p. 429.

27. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, p. 429.

28. Porter, *Idioms*, p. 71.

Challenging Deponency

These more qualified definitions of deponency hint at some potential problems and inconsistencies in the understanding of this grammatical category. Interestingly, a survey of Greek grammars reveals that some of the leading grammarians have offered even stronger qualifications to the use of deponency than Wallace and Porter. A few have found reason to question the usefulness of deponency in general. McKay observes that the category of deponent is 'useful in some respects, but is not entirely necessary in terms of ancient Greek itself'.[29] J.H. Moulton calls the category 'unsatisfactory'.[30] And A.T. Robertson, who continues to go along with the standard classification, bemoans that in truth the term 'should not be used at all'.[31] Despite these weighty reservations, the category of deponency is still used universally in our presentation of Greek grammar.

My contention is that these passing comments prove true and very significant for our understanding of Greek. There are two major factors that have contributed to the rise of deponency and which show its inappropriateness for Koine Greek. These are the influence of Latin grammar and our unfamiliarity with the middle voice.

1. *Influence of Latin Grammar*

There is no doubt that the grammatical concept of deponency comes from analogy to Latin. Latin, like many modern languages, has a two-part voice system consisting of the active and passive. These are defined as the subject doing the action of the verb (active) and the subject receiving the action of the verb (passive). Many verbs, however, have a passive ending (-r) with an apparently active meaning (e.g., *venor*, 'I hunt', *vereor*, 'I fear'). Descriptive Latin grammar developed the category of 'deponent' to explain this oddity.

When Western European students, many of whom had first learned Latin, began to study Greek, this label was quite useful to explain the Greek middle forms which, similarly, appeared to have an active meaning. Through the magic of repetition over time, such a handy label became the perceived reality of what middle-only Greek verbs were.

As a modern example, the Septuagintal scholar Bernard Taylor tells of his own linguistic journey through Latin to Greek. In retrospect he points out that the use of Latin categories to describe Greek imported deponency from the former to the latter:

29. McKay, *Syntax*, p. 25.
30. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 153.
31. Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 332. Disparaging comments are also made on pp. 811ff.

> At least by the Renaissance, Latin grammar and terminology had become the norm and were used to describe and delimit other languages… In the interface between Greek and Latin, at least one Latin notion was transferred to Greek that had not existed in that language before: the notion of deponency.[32]

Taylor goes on to observe that the ancient Greeks never described their own language with any category such as deponency, 'despite their close attention to the form and function of their language'.[33] An inkling of this can be seen in Robertson's massive grammar. He meticulously provided *Greek* terms for all of his grammatical categories, but failed to do so for deponency, instead always putting the term in quotes (' '). The middle voice was apparently not an anomaly to the Greeks, nor were words which occurred only or primarily in that form. It was instead one of the two basic voice-forms of the verb.

Unfortunately, modern scholars, even if their own training did not begin with Latin, have adopted the category of deponency as if it were part of the Greek linguistic structure. They have repeated the old definitions without taking into account the problems with its application to Greek, despite expressed reservations from its leading grammarians. Deponency is a clear case where we have taken a Latin grammatical category and applied it to Greek with little reflection on the fundamental differences between the two languages.[34]

2. *Unfamiliarity with the Middle Voice*

The reason this has so easily happened is not merely because of the influence of Latin grammatical structures. The problem has been compounded by a general unfamiliarity with the meaning of the Greek middle voice. Typically the middle voice has been perceived as an insignificant element in Greek, a rare oddity that lies somewhere between the key voices—the active and the passive. But as we observed already, Greek was in fact fundamentally a binary voice system—active and middle. The middle voice, even though its separate forms would eventually die out and be replaced by the passive, played no small part in the use of the Greek verb. It provided the Greek speaker with a means of communicating a wide variety of subject-focused verbal ideas including self-interest, self-involvement, emotional and mental states, and states or conditions.

32. Taylor, 'Deponency and Greek Lexicography', p. 4.
33. Taylor, 'Deponency and Greek Lexicography', p. 9.
34. This corresponds to other areas in which Greek scholars have pointed out that the structures of Latin grammar have unduly influenced our understanding of Greek. For example, the former debate over whether Greek is a Five-Case or Eight-Case system reflects the perspective of Latin grammar. Similarly, Porter, McKay, and Fanning have all sought to reinterpret Greek verbal aspect from within the structure of the Greek verbal system rather than the Latin time-based tense-forms.

But failing to understand this, grammarians have usually written off the vast majority of middle verbs in the New Testament as simply deponent.[35] Any significance as to their form or meaning is dismissed because they apparently have an active meaning. Because the meaning is active, the middle voice forms are merely anomalous and inexplicable.

Moreover, behind this approach is the assumption that all such middle-only verbs at one time must have had active forms. But this is patently not the case. Middle-only verbs are not 'defective' words that have at some point lost or laid aside their active forms. Carl Conrad sums it up well:

> The term 'deponent' seems to imply that verbs lacking an active form are somehow misbegotten: either they must once have had an active form and lost it, or else they never had an active but really *should* have had it; at any rate, they do not display the behavior of a 'standard' Greek verb. I really doubt that a speaker or writer of ancient Greek would have thought these verbs were formed or function in an irregular manner. I believe that the problem of 'deponent verbs' shows that our description of grammatical voice is in one or more respects not adequately descriptive of the way it really functions.[36]

When learning other languages, it is inevitable that we attempt to process the new language through our own linguistic grid. Often languages are sufficiently analogous to allow this, but in the case of deponency, the function of the Greek middle is too foreign to suffer such transference. When we define a deponent verb as one that is active in meaning but middle/in form, this begs the question about what it means for a verb to be 'active in meaning'. Active in meaning by whose definition? According to the English verbal idea or the Greek? Because we have no middle forms in English (or German or French), of course the glosses will often appear as English active verbs. But they apparently did not for the Greek speaker. Take again the example of δέχομαι, 'I receive, take'. This looks like the active voice in English, but as observed above, it is not difficult to see the indirect middle force inherent in the lexeme, hence the middle form. But because English lacks a middle voice we do not consider this as an option when classifying how the subject relates to the verb. Therefore we assume it is active in meaning and *force upon ourselves a seeming discrepancy between meaning and form*. But no such discrepancy is evident in Greek. Their nuanced middle voice category was marked by a distinct middle voice morphoparadigm. As Steven Baugh points out, to say δέχω would be as strange to a Greek as saying 'I catched'

35. For example, William Mounce, *The Basics of Biblical Greek* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993), p. 149, calculates the deponency rate of middle-passive verbs as roughly 75%. J.W. Wenham, *The Elements of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 93, says that 'verbs in the middle are usually deponent'.

36. Carl W. Conrad, 'New Observations on Voice in the Ancient Greek Verb', unpublished essay, p. 4.

would to an English-speaker. The seeming 'problem' of δέχομαι occurring always in the middle/passive forms is a self-inflicted one based on the limits *of English* at this point.

A Positive Explanation

As just stated, this is the negative point: Greek deponency is an unhelpful and unnecessary grammatical category. I may also offer a positive postulate: The Greek verbal system has a rich and nuanced middle voice capable of communicating any number of actions, attitudes and conditions involving a subject-focused lexical idea. In some verbs this voice form manifests itself always in the middle (commonly called the deponent verbs), while at other times a verb may alternate between active and middle forms.

Some insightful contributions along these lines were made by Neva Miller in her brief essay, 'A Theory of Deponent Verbs'.[37] Miller's treatment, though compressed and practically-oriented more than theoretical, offers a positive way of explaining the use of middle-only verbs.

She proffers an extensive list of verbs, usually considered deponent, which are shown to be in fact truly middle. She points out that inherent in many of these words the subject remains centered in the action, even though in English the form appears active. This applies to verbs like 'answer', 'try', 'doubt', 'fear', 'touch', and 'fight'.[38] She writes:

> If we accept the theory that so-called deponent verbs express personal interest, self-involvement, or interaction of the subject with himself or with others in some way, we will be better able to accept that the non-active form of the verb is valid for communicating a meaning on its own, and we will be challenged to look for that meaning.[39]

Miller concludes her essay with a long list of New Testament 'deponent' verbs in a schema designed to show the various ways in which the middle sense is used.[40] Her classification is outlined below:[41]

37. Neva Miller, 'A Theory of Deponent Verbs', pp. 423-30, Appendix 2 in Barbara Friberg, Timothy Friberg, and Neva F. Miller (eds.), *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000). It is unfortunate that Miller's insights have gone largely unnoticed, which is likely the result of being buried deep in the heavy pages of an analytical lexicon.

38. It should be noted that Miller's insights in this regard are profound although she overly relies on the reflexive idea to understand the middle voice.

39. Miller, 'Theory', p. 426.

40. Both Robertson and Wallace also offer lengthy lists of words that are traditionally considered deponent but are truly not because of an inherent middle sense in the lexical idea of the verb. These lists, however, are not nearly as comprehensive as Miller's.

41. Miller, 'Theory', pp. 427-29. This outline is directly from Miller. The definitions of the classes are close paraphrases of her definitions.

Class 1: Reciprocity—where two parties are involved and the removal of one party would render the verb meaningless and no action possible
  A. Positive Interaction—e.g. δέχομαι, ἐπισκέπτομαι
  B. Negative Interaction—e.g. μάχομαι, δράσσομαι
  C. Positive and Negative Communication—e.g. ἀποκρίνομαι, ἀσπάζομαι
Class 2: Reflexivity—the verbal concept inheres in the subject and is not deflected away from it—e.g. ἐγκαυχάομαι, μιμέομαι
Class 3: Self-Involvement—the verbs involve the self in the processes going on within the action
  A. Intellectual Activities—e.g. διαλογίζομαι, πυνθάνομαι
  B. Emotional States—e.g. διαπονέομαι, μετεωρίζομαι
  C. Volitional Activities—e.g. βούλομαι, ἐνατιόομαι
Class 4: Self-Interest—the verbs show the subject acting in his own interest—e.g. ἐργάζομαι, κτάομαι
Class 5: Receptivity—the subject is the center of emphasis, the receiver of sensory perception—e.g. γεύομαι, θεάομαι
Class 6: Passivity—the verbal concept alludes to involuntary experiences—e.g. γίνομαι, κοιμάομαι
Class 7: State, Condition—the subject is the center of gravity—e.g. δύναμαι, κάθημαι

Under each class and category, Miller gives representative examples of traditionally 'deponent' verbs. The comprehensive nature of her work is striking. The most common and well-known deponent words as well as many more obscure ones are all classified here. Also remarkable, she has provided a workable solution for what could be seen as exceptions to the theory proposed here. She shows how even a verb like ἔρχομαι (and its many compounds) can be understood as a true middle, with a notion of 'moving oneself in one direction or another' (Class 2).[42] Miller concludes her survey concurring with the same thesis argued above: 'If the verbs in the above classes are understood as true middles…then it may be that categorizing such verbs as deponent is no longer relevant'.[43]

Miller's essay is self-consciously short and she offers it 'in hopes that others will test it to confirm or falsify it'.[44] I might define the categories slightly differently and rearrange the placement of some words, but overall,

42. Porter gives ἔρχομαι as an example of a deponent, but then qualifies this and admits that there are many verbs where further analysis is required to determine if the meaning is truly active. It is also very interesting to note that the first gloss given in BDAG (3rd edn) reads, 'of movement from one point to another, *with focus on approach from the narrator's perspective*' (emphasis mine). This may relate to an inherent middle voice idea. This additional note did not appear in BAGD (2nd edn).

43. Miller, 'Theory', p. 429. This concurs with Porter's concluding thoughts (*Idioms*, p. 72), 'On the basis of this evidence…one might be justified in seeing some middle sense with virtually all verbs with middle-voice form, regardless of whether they can be analyzed as deponent'.

44. Miller, 'Theory', p. 423.

she goes further to explain the real usage of so-called deponent verbs than any other Greek grammarian.

But like other Greek grammarians, Miller has not taken into account the findings from the study of middle voice outside of Greek. These findings shed even greater light on the issue of deponency. They substantiate the suspicions of Robertson and Moulton and confirm the basic categorization that Miller has offered. As mentioned above, cross-linguistic studies of the middle voice have revealed that the middle was a rich and varied way for speakers to encode a variety of subject-centered verbal ideas.[45] Greek is not alone in its proclivity to use the middle voice for a whole assortment of lexical ideas including 'heal', 'visit', 'warn', 'spend the night', 'fly', 'acquire', 'lament', 'stretch', and 'sit'.[46] Such verbs sprout and grow in the native soil of the middle voice. So, far from needing to resort to a constructed category of deponency, we can explain and understand the middle-only Greek verbs in their own right.

Potential Objections

For a thorough discussion of deponency in the New Testament, I must also make mention of two potential objections. Even if one is basically convinced by my previous arguments, there are two grammatical phenomena in the New Testament which call for some explanation. These are (1) verbs with an active present and future middle; and (2) 'passive deponents', i.e. 'deponent' verbs whose aorists are passive in form, not middle. An explanation of these seeming exceptions will also afford the opportunity for further observations on the middle voice.

1. *Future Middles*

There are several frequently occurring verbs which have only a middle form in the future but whose other tense-forms are active. These are commonly called 'semi-deponent' or 'partially-deponent' words because their 'depo-

45. See especially Kemmer, 'Middle Voice, Transitivity, and the Elaboration of Events', pp. 182-83. She provides a categorization of ten different 'situation types' which are encoded with the middle voice in various languages. These are: (1) Grooming or body care; (2) Nontranslational motion; (3) Change in body posture; (4) Translational motion; (5) Naturally reciprocal events; (6) Indirect middle; (7) Emotion middle; (8) Emotive speech actions; (9) Cognition middle; (10) Spontaneous events.

46. Speakers of German will recognize how that language, which lacks the middle voice, still encodes many of the same situation types by using an auxiliary word, *sich*. For example: *sich rasieren*, 'shave'; *sich hinlegen*, 'lie down'; *sich fürchten*, 'be/become frightened'. The last example shows that this encoding is not merely reflexive, as the first two examples might lead one to believe. The uses of *sich* require a broader category than reflexive—a category which is analogous to the middle voice.

nency' does not appear in all of the tenses of the verb. 'Future deponents' in the New Testament include βαίνω → βήσομαι; γινώσκω → γνώσομαι; ἐσθίω → φάγομαι; πίπτω → πέσομαι; φεύγω → φεύξομαι and others.[47] Apparently, there were even more such verbs in Classical Greek, but due to the gradual elimination of the middle voice, by the time of the New Testament future active forms had replaced many of these future middles.[48] In fact, in Classical Greek grammar this category of words is called the 'Attic future' because Attic Greek often employed a future middle for verbs that expressed an emotion or physical action.[49] The explanation of this apparent anomaly has eluded Greek grammarians.[50]

One can already see that there is something more than coincidental in the connection with the middle forms. As observed above, many (but not all) Greek verbs in the categories of emotions, physical movements, acts of cognition, etc., occur regularly in the middle voice. Moreover, we beg the question if we begin our inquiry by calling these verbs 'future deponents'. It is better to start with the observation that these words are 'future middles' and seek to understand why. The entire discussion above has sought to show that these future middle forms do not need to be called 'deponent' because, although the glosses appear active in English, the Greek middle voice was a very appropriate mode for such expressions.

However, in the case of future middles, we may still ask why the present forms were not also middle in these cases? The answer is twofold. First, it is important to observe that across every language which uses the middle voice, there is variance in which verbs do occur in this form. We can identify a variety of event-types which tend to use the middle voice, but in the on-the-ground, everyday functioning of a language some verbs in those categories are middle-only and some are not. At times we can discern a difference in nuance between two nearly synonymous verbs, one of which occurs in the middle only (*media tantum*) and the other in the active only (*activa tantum*). For example, Klaiman observes a subtle, middle-oriented difference between Classical βούλομαι, 'I wish, will, prefer' (*media tantum*) and ἐθέλω, 'I wish' (*activa tantum*). He sees the difference as centered in how

47. I can count at least twenty relatively common verbs which fall under this category.

48. McKay, *Syntax*, p. 23; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §226; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 154; H.St.J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (vol. 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), p. 231; Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 813; BDF, §77, 79.

49. Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 231; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 155; Smyth, *Grammar*, §1057.

50. Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 813, says, 'the matter remains unexplained', and Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 155, describes these verbs as 'an abnormality for which no reason could be detected'.

much control the subject has. Similarly, he observes the difference of degree in the subject's control between voluntary (jump, look, accompany—*media tantum*) physical actions and involuntary (vomit, hear, urinate—*activa tantum*) ones.[51] It must be admitted that such distinctions are not always as clear as we might desire. At other times, the reason a verb is middle-only or active-only is not so forthcoming. However, the linguistic analysis of the middle voice does not claim that *all* verbs which could be conceived of as in the middle voice categories *must* occur only in the middle. Instead, it explains *why* so many verbs which do occur in the middle-only do so (descriptive versus prescriptive). Thus, we should not be surprised if on occasion a verb of self-interested movement (φεύγω) or cognition (γινώσκω) is active and not middle. The proposed theory above does not *require* the middle in these cases. Moreover, the complex process which stands behind a speaker's choice of a particular word (including its form) is influenced by many factors including text-type, aspect, and lexis.[52] Thus, we should not be surprised at occasional instances which do not conform to the general rule.

But this explanation is incomplete and requires the second part. Again, if these verbs are active in the present, why switch to the middle in the future? To this seemingly difficult dilemma, there is an amazingly simple explanation. Again, the explanation comes from studies broader than traditional Greek grammar, studies which approach the middle voice semantically and not just morphologically. Quite simply, because the future tense can only present an event as a mental disposition or intention, the middle voice serves well in many instances to communicate that sense.[53] Klaiman finds that in Greek, as in Fula and other languages, 'the middle has an affinity for nonpunctual temporomodal categories or meanings' or 'noneventuality'.[54] In lay terms this means that there is a close semantic connection in many languages between the middle voice and the future tense. Therefore, while

51. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p. 100. For Klaiman, control on the part of the subject is one of the key angles for understanding the middle voice. He states: 'At the heart of this opposition [active–middle] is the expression of physical and mental attitudes and dispositions presupposing the control of an animate logical subject, as contrasted with reflex, uncontrolled actions'.

52. For a succinct discussion of the systemic processes that go into semantic choices, see Stanley Porter, 'Aspect Theory and Lexicography', in Taylor (ed.), *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography*, pp. 216-21.

53. Bakker, 'Voice, Aspect and Aktionsart', p. 29. Of course, this does not require that all future tense forms appear in the middle (which they obviously do not), but this does explain why at times present active verbs will appear as future middles. There are many factors that go into why different verbs conjugate differently. These include the transitivity of the verb, the lexical idea of the verb, a verb's *Aktionsart* and aspect, and at times the indefinable mystery of historical, geographical, and cultural accident.

54. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, pp. 96, 69.

'future middles' strike the English, German, and even Latin ear as odd, they did not do so for the Greek (nor for many other languages).[55]

2. *Passive Deponents*

I will deal more briefly with the second category. Typically 'passive deponent' verbs are those which are 'deponent'—i.e., they occur in the middle with an apparently active meaning—yet whose aorist forms are *passive* rather than middle. The most common examples are ἀπεκρίθην, ἐγενήθην, and ἠδυνήθην.

The confusion about this phenomenon derives from the systemic misunderstanding about the middle voice. In fact, all of the 'passive deponents' are verbs which we have already shown to be truly middle verbs. That is, they are a subset of the 85+ verbs which can easily be shelved into different middle semantic categories. The only true oddity about these words is that while we would expect their aorist forms to also be in the middle, they are instead in the passive. The question remains as to why.

The answer is simply that what we see in the New Testament writings is the occurrence of the erosion of the middle forms.[56] We have already observed that during the time of Hellenistic Greek, the middle voice form was losing ground to the passive. In fact, even Homeric Greek 'did not distinguish sharply between these forms [the middle and the passive]'.[57] Thus, we have an increasing number of passive forms without a distinctive passive idea.[58] Instead they are simply replacing the older middle forms.[59] I call this

55. We may also note that in several instances of 'future middle' the situation is one where a different, middle-only verb is being used in a suppletive way, thereby showing that the semantic idea could be rendered as a middle, e,g. ἐοθίω, φάγομαι.

56. This was occurring on three fronts. First, verbs that in Classical Greek took middle form in the future were tending to adopt future active forms instead. Similarly, verbs that were typically aorist middle were increasingly occurring in the aorist passive form, yet still with a middle or active meaning (see below). The two most common examples of this are ἀπεκρίθη instead of ἀπεκρίνατο and ἐγενήθην instead of ἐγενόμην. In both of these instances, some of the aorist middle forms are residual in the New Testament. Thirdly, the active forms plus a reflexive pronoun are increasingly used where Classical Greek would have used the middle (BDF, §307, §310).

57. Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 333.

58. Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 231; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §225; McKay, *Syntax*, §2.5.5; BDF, §161. BDF (§78) points out that Koine 'preferred the aorist passive in the case of deponents (*where a real passive meaning is at best a possibility*…)' (emphasis mine). This confirms my point here; these passives do not have a passive meaning. However, this does not prove that the meaning is truly *active* in these verbs (thereby confirming deponency). This would only be the case if one accepts the definition of deponency as stated; it is at least possible that the verbs in question have a true middle sense as we have argued above.

59. BDF, §78. So also Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 238.

a 'slipping of register'. That is, the aorist middle category should have been employed, but because these forms are rapidly vanishing by the time of the New Testament (especially for non-native speakers), it is not uncommon for authors to accidentally utilize the more common aorist passive forms. Indeed, in the case of most 'passive deponents', some middle forms are still extant in the New Testament for the same lexemes (apparently idiolectically) because the takeover of passive forms is not yet complete, and it appears some authors were more sensitive to the middle forms than others.[60] So I would suggest that again, 'deponent' is a misnomer in that the verbs in question here are truly middles which have simply used the aorist passive forms accidentally as a result of the devolving state of the language and the disappearing of the aorist middle forms.[61]

Impact on New Testament Studies

This article has both a theoretical and practical purpose. I have presented challenges to the grammatical category of deponency as well as a positive alternative for understanding the Greek middle voice. We may now conclude with how this thesis impacts New Testament studies. Here I will briefly outline two practical ramifications: (1) for grammars and teachers; and (2) for exegesis and interpretation.

1. *For Grammars and Teachers*

The arguments presented here should alter the way beginning and intermediate Greek grammars discuss the middle voice. Rather than introducing the foreign category of deponency, grammars should instead offer a clear and non-complicated description of the subject-involved notion of the Greek middle voice and how it is often used. Some of this can be found in intermediate grammars (most notably, Wallace), but it should be introduced into first-year texts as well, while eliminating the unhelpful category of deponency. Additionally, Greek grammarians at all levels should deepen their understanding of the middle voice by familiarizing themselves with the discussion from the field of broader linguistics. They may thereby offer a fuller and more accurate presentation of the middle for the New Testament

60. This understanding of the evolution in process from middle to passive forms contradicts those who would try to find a clear and consistent difference in meaning between the middle and the passive aorists for verbs like ἀποκρίνομαι and γίνομαι.

61. On the relationship of the passive and the middle voices more work needs to be done. The deepest explorations that I have seen are those of Professor Carl Conrad in his unpublished paper, 'New Observations on Voice in the Ancient Greek Verb'. With great deftness, he analyzes the development of the -θη- (aorist passive) forms and offers a provocative thesis as to their origin.

student. While the first-year student does not need to be exposed to all the categories of the Greek middle, he or she can be given a basic overview of the concept. This will eliminate the need to introduce deponency to explain many common Greek words. The importing of the mistaken notion of deponency obscures the student's ability to perceive the genius of the middle voice, regardless of how handy it might appear pedagogically. In neither the short-run nor the long-run is deponency truly helpful for Greek pedagogy.

Many New Testament scholars are called upon at one time or another to teach beginning Greek. Does the elimination of deponency create undue problems for this task? I think not. In teaching the middle voice to first-year students, I simply explain that we have no comparable morphological form in our Western languages which is used to express the self-focus of the subject. I follow this with a succinct explanation of the meaning and uses. I then explain that in New Testament Greek, they will meet two kinds of verbs that are in the middle form: (1) verbs that are always or nearly always in the middle form because of their lexical idea (typically called 'deponent'), which I label as 'middle-only verbs'; and (2) verbs that are sometimes active and sometimes middle, though this category is far less frequent. This approach is sufficiently clear for students and prevents them from adopting a view of middle-only verbs that automatically disregards their middle sense.

2. *For Exegesis and Interpretation*

The impact of my thesis is also potentially significant for the ongoing exegesis and interpretation of biblical texts (including the LXX). Simply, we should let the middle voice have a voice. Because of the institution of deponency, we typically read Greek with the assumption that nearly all of the occurrences of the middle are irrelevant exegetically. This stems from the recurrent statements that some 75% of the middle forms are merely deponent. In reality, this often translates into irrelevancy for 100% of middle forms. A generation of Greek students has now been trained with little knowledge about the middle voice except that it is used for the anomalous 'deponent verbs'. The older generations, who were often trained in Classical Greek, normally were more aware of the middle voice, but such is not now the case. The result is that many New Testament scholars seldom consider the potential significance of a middle form, and we often look askance when someone suggests a distinct meaning stemming from this voice. All of this is the unfortunate consequence of importing deponency into our understanding of the Greek verbal system.

This is not to say that occurrences of the middle will always prove relevant in exegesis. In some instances, the middle was used for reasons other than clear subject-centeredness, as in the case of verbs which have a future

middle. Future middle forms often encode grammatical noneventuality and therefore do not affect semantics. Also, we must acknowledge that not all New Testament authors were necessarily aware of the nuanced meanings of every middle verb. The various authors' use of the middle certainly varied by education, background, and skill in Greek.[62] Additionally, because the first-century CE was a time when the middle voice was slowly dissolving, we cannot always be certain that the middle sense of a Classical Greek verb was still in effect in a particular New Testament instance. Some Greek words likely retained a middle sense longer than others. Thus, we must use care when deciding whether a form has a middle sense or not. Nonetheless, we should at least begin with openness to the relevance of a middle form.

The exact sense of the middle varies with each verb according to its lexical value. Taking into account what the middle means in any particular instance can provide interpretive light. For example, in Ephesians 1.4 we read that God 'chose us' (ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς). Daniel Wallace, whose discussion of the middle is quite astute, rightly comments that we can understand this as 'he chose us for himself'.[63] Likewise, in Lk. 10.42, Mary chooses *for herself* the good part (τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο). The verb ἐκλέγομαι would normally be considered deponent. But sensitivity to the middle voice of this word highlights the nuance in these texts. Admittedly, in translation, it will often be difficult to bring across this middle nuance without making the translation laborious and overdone in English. For example, in Lk. 8.13 and parallels, when the ones on the rocky soil 'receive the word with joy' (μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον), it is probably too stilted to translate this as 'received for themselves the word with joy'. Nonetheless, in interpretation, middle-only words often take on deeper hues of meaning through consideration of their voice.

This fuller appreciation of the middle also sheds light on the subtle distinctions within groups of closely related words. For example, the Greek lexical stock is multitudinous in its expressions for fighting, contending and warring. Interestingly, many of the words in these categories are middle-only forms while many others are standard active verbs. Can we discern voice-related differences in meaning between these related terms?

The best approach to such a query is through the use of Louw and Nida's *Greek–English Lexicon: Based on Semantic Domains*.[64] Under the semantic

62. Winer observes that even in Classical Greek, the use of the middle 'seems to have often depended on the culture and tact of the individual writer' (G.B.A. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek* [trans. and rev. W.F. Moulton; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1882), p. 322. Quoted in Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, p. 420 n. 38.

63. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, p. 421.

64. J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida, *Greek–English Lexicon: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 2nd edn, 1989). In addition to the helpful catego-

domain of 'Hostility, Strife' (§39.1-39.61) the editors list over 60 words, about 45 of which are verbs communicating fighting or struggling. There are also eight similar verbs listed under the category of 'Military Activities' (§55.1-55.25). Across both domains, the number of active and middle-only verbs is about the same: 29 active and 24 middle. Because it contains so many words in both voices, this category provides a good opportunity to test whether middle-only verbs are consistently distinct from their nearly synonymous active cousins. An analysis of these verbs reveals that there is indeed a clear distinction between the active lexemes and those which are middle-only. The active verbs communicate ideas such as waging war, persecuting, attacking, triumphing, conquering, and overpowering, as well as several verbs about instigating rebellion and hostility among others.[65] The middle-only verbs, however, are much more personal and psychological. These lexemes include personally opposing someone else, contending for something, rising up in pride, struggling against or for a person or thing, and joining in a verbal attack.[66] We may codify these differences as a matter of more or less personal engagement or involvement in the verbal action. In the middle-only verbs, while sometimes a physical action is meant, there is a strong connection of this action with a mental attitude or disposition. And often the middle-only verbs are those which communicate non-physical opposition. In contrast, the active verbs reflect a level removed from personal engagement in the activity.[67] One example is a comparison of the two closely related words στρατεύομαι and στρατολογέω. Both come from the same root but the middle-only στρατεύομαι means 'to serve as a soldier' (2 Tim. 2.4; 1 Cor. 9.7) or 'to fight' (2 Cor. 10.3; Titus 1.18; Jas 4.1), while στρατολογέω has the less engaged meaning of 'to enlist soldiers' or 'to gather an army' (2 Tim. 2.4).

Of course, in any such analysis, we must be cautious, lest we fallaciously think of words as steel boxes that uniformly transfer meaning along a conveyor belt of communication. This they are not. Moreover, as we have mentioned, individual authors are more or less sensitive to such nuances. However, there is a striking consistency in distinct meanings between these two lengthy sets of active and middle-only words. These distinctions relate to personal and psychological engagement and therefore align precisely

rization of words into semantic domains, Louw and Nida is also much more consistent than BDAG in how they render the lexical head-word forms for middle-only verbs. For some examples of inconsistent lexical head-word form, see Pennington, 'Deponency in Koine Greek'.

65. Examples include: πολεμέω, διώκω, ἁρπάζω, νικάω, and διαμερίζω.

66. Examples include: ἀγωνίζομαι, μάχομαι, ὑπεραίρομαι, and συνεπιτίθεμαι.

67. This observation corresponds with Klaiman's discussion of subtle distinctions between *activa tantum* and *media tantum* verbs such as ἐθέλω and βούλομαι. See discussion above under 'Future Middles'.

with the careful nuances of the Greek middle voice. The effect of this on New Testament exegesis will vary by text. At times, sensitivity to the middle voice may enable the interpreter to discern specific nuances when an author uses a middle-only verb versus a related active lexeme.

In addition to middle-only verbs, there are many Greek words which appear in both the middle and active voices. Historically, it seems a distinction in meaning often would have been indicated by this variance in voice. When it comes to New Testament exegesis, the question remains whether such distinctions still hold, and if so, what impact they have on interpretation. As I have sought to show, because of the significance of the middle voice in Greek grammar, we should at least explore this possibility when encountering a middle form. Further, the broader understanding of the middle voice as presented in this article will expand our explanatory options for such occurrences of the middle.

One common example of a verb which appears in both the active and middle forms is αἰτέω ('I ask, ask for'). This word occurs in the active and the middle throughout Classical Greek, the LXX and the New Testament . It appears from a comparison of the LXX and New Testament that the active forms were on the increase relative to the middle, though both occur with great frequency. This is not surprising in light of the slow abatement of the middle forms. There are approximately 93 occurrences of αἰτέω in the LXX with 55 in the middle, 37 active, and 1 passive. By comparison, in the New Testament there are 70 occurrences with 32 in the middle and 38 in the active.[68]

BDF §316 observes a Classical distinction in meaning between the two voices for this verb: the active is used for a request in general, and the middle is typically used in the sense of asking for a loan or asking in a situation of commerce (thus, more personal engagement). In general, according to BDF, in the New Testament the middle is used of requests in commerce and the active for requests addressed to God. Countering this, BDAG states that 'the distinction between the active and middle found by ancient grammarians has only very limited validity for our literature'. Stählin agrees: 'There is no striking distinction between the active and the middle'.[69] As a somewhat mediating opinion, Schönweiss observes that 'on a human level the middle form of the verb is used almost always in addressing superiors and therefore has a somewhat official flavour'. In contrast, 'in the religious sphere, i.e. in those passages where a request is made of God, no difference in meaning is discernible between the active and middle forms'.[70]

68. There are also several compounds used less frequently. One of these is active (ἀπαιτέω) and two are middle-only (ἐξαιτέομαι, παραιτέομαι).

69. G. Stählin, *TDNT* 1:192.

70. H. Schönweiss, *NIDNTT* 2:856.

My own examination of the New Testament use of this word affords mixed results. In several cases, one can discern a possible distinction in meaning, but not always. It is particularly interesting that there are several passages in the New Testament where the active and middle forms of αἰτέω occur together in the same text. These passages include: Mt. 20.20-22// Mk 10.35-38; Mk 6.22-25; Jn 16.23-26; Jas 4.2-3; and 1 Jn 5.14-16. These instances, then, provide a convenient way to examine a potential difference in meaning between the voices.

In the case of John 16 and 1 John 5, it is difficult to detect an intended difference between the middle and active forms of αἰτέω. This likely simply reflects the authors' lack of care for such nuances, though this cannot be certain.

In the other texts, however, there may indeed be a distinction at work. James provides one of the most intriguing instances of voice fluctuation in 4.2d-3:

> οὐκ ἔχετε διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς, αἰτεῖτε καὶ οὐ λαμβάνετε διότι κακῶς αἰτεῖσθε, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὑμῶν δαπανήσητε
>
> You do not have, because you do not ask. You ask and do not receive, because you ask wrongly, to spend it on your passions. (RSV)

Here we have three occurrences of αἰτέω, alternating in the pattern middle-active-middle. Commentators have debated whether there is any significance to this variation in form.[71] These include asking for a loan versus a gift, personal versus business requests, and asking a person versus asking for a thing. The most original interpretation was that of Mayor who regarded the middle as 'subjective' or 'dynamic', and thus, 'prayer of the heart', while the active communicated 'prayer of the lips', or 'outward action' as opposed to 'inward feeling'. No modern commentators have followed Mayor on this point, though Adamson observes that both of the middle forms here 'seem to contemplate *prayer* more specifically than the active, which has a broader connotation as in Mt. 7.7-11'.[72] In fact, Davids and others suggest that Jas 4.3a ('You ask and do not receive') is a direct allusion to Matthew 7 (αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν) and thus James intentionally uses the active instead of the surrounding middles to follow Matthew's usage. While this may be right, our fuller appreciation of the middle voice also makes Mayor's suggestion seem not so odd as it once might have. Again, there is no absolute proof that James had such a voice distinction in mind, but the differences

71. For a summary of the various views see Ralph Martin, *James* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1988), pp. 146-47; Peter Davids, *The Epistle of James* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), p. 160; and James Adamson, *The Epistle of James* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), p. 169.

72. Adamson, *James*, p. 169.

between the active and middle voices when combined with the lexical value of αἰτέω could very easily be construed in the way Mayor has.[73]

A difference in meaning can likely also be found in Mk 6.22-25. In this narrative, Herodias's banquet dancing pleases Herod so much that he tells her to 'ask [αἴτησον, active] for whatever you want' and vows that 'whatever you ask [αἰτήσῃς, active] me, I will give you'. She exits and queries her mother, 'What shall I ask (αἰτήσωμαι, middle) for?' She then returns to Herod and fatefully asks [ᾐτήσατο, middle] for the head of John the Baptist. This shift from the active to the middle may very well reflect the Classical distinction between general asking (active) and contractual asking (middle).

Similarly, Mt. 20.20-22 (par. Mk 10.35-38) can be understood in this way. In v. 20, the mother of the sons of Zebedee (or they themselves according to Mark's version) bows down in preparation to make a request (αἰτοῦσα, active) of Jesus. After her request for her sons' glory is made known, Jesus responds by saying that she does not know what she is asking (αἰτεῖσθε, middle). This case certainly could be interpreted as evidence for a voice distinction, but not necessarily so. However, an examination of the uses of αἰτέω/αἰτέομαι throughout Matthew reveals that the Evangelist appears to use the two forms with some distinction throughout. In fact, the thirteen occurrences of αἰτέω in Matthew seem to break nicely along the lines of active and middle uses, with Mt. 20.20-22 showing the distinction at play.

In sum, sensitivity to the nuances of the middle voice opens new possibilities when encountering middle forms in New Testament texts. Both middle-only verbs and those which fluctuate between the two voices can be more fully appreciated in light of a fuller understanding of the Greek middle.

Conclusion[74]

The goal of this article has been twofold. First, I have sought to challenge the use of the grammatical category of deponency. Though this category is widespread and standard in New Testament studies, a close examination of Greek grammar reveals that it has been misapplied to Greek and arises from a shallow understanding of the middle voice. Cross-linguistic studies, which

73. It might be added that according to commentators, James' Greek is of a high literary quality. This increases the probability of active and middle voice distinctions. Dibelius calls the Epistle 'polished Greek', and Davids says that the writer is 'an able master of literary Koine' (p. 58). The most extensive discussion is found in Mayor, pp. ccvi-cclix.

74. More research could be done on this topic, especially the connection between the middle voice and verbal transitivity as well as how the Greek middle relates to the anomalous –μι verbs.

approach the middle voice from a semantic viewpoint rather than from the narrowness of Greek morphology, expand our conception of the use and significance of the Greek middle. Instead of resorting to deponency, we can understand the many middle-only verbs as reflecting the highly nuanced Greek voice system. Secondly, I have offered some suggestions for how this deeper estimation of the middle can influence the field of New Testament studies. In the first instance, we need to revise our approach to the middle voice in Greek pedagogy. In exegesis, we can draw out shades of meaning inherent in middle-only verbs, especially when compared to related active voice verbs. For verbs which appear in both active and middle forms, there is new impetus to consider what impact the Greek middle has in interpreting particular occurrences of such verbs.

Towards a Unified Linguistic Description of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος

Stephen H. Levinsohn

This paper takes as its starting point Porter's observation that οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος respectively 'indicate nearness and remoteness, whether in time, space (location) or even narrative proximity, from the perspective of the language user'.[1] It defines 'nearness and remoteness' with respect to a 'reference point',[2] and identifies possible reference points in written material in Koiné Greek. This leads to an explanation of why Jesus may be referred to both by οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος in 1 John, and why ἐκεῖνος is sometimes found 'referring back to and resuming a word immediately preceding'.[3]

I limit my discussion of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος in this paper to *anaphoric* references[4] to two categories of entities: animate participants and temporal expressions. Furthermore, I do not cover references with ἐκεῖνος to animate participants in John's Gospel, as this merits a separate study.

1. *The Problem and the Key*

As Porter has observed, οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος respectively indicate nearness and remoteness to some *reference point*.[5]

In *reported speech* one expects the normal reference point to be the location of the SPEAKER:

1. Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), p. 134.

2. Porter, *Idioms*, p. 134. Charles J. Fillmore (*Lectures on Deixis* [Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information, 1997], p. 98) would call Porter's 'reference point' a 'deictic center'.

3. Walter Bauer, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (rev. and ed. Frederick William Danker; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 3rd edn, 2000), p. 301.

4. The demonstratives usually 'refer to something mentioned previously (*anaphoric* usage), although they may refer to something not yet mentioned (*cataphoric* usage)' (Porter, *Idioms*, p. 134). See further in n. 22.

5. The linguistic terms for the functions of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος are respectively PROXIMAL and DISTAL.

- πόθεν **τούτῳ** ἡ σοφία αὕτη 'Where did *this* man get this wisdom…?'—Mt. 13.54 (near to the speaker)[6]
- πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι ἐν **ἐκείνῃ** τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 'many will say to me on *that* day'—Mt. 7.22 (remote from the speaker—perhaps referring to the great day of the Lord).[7]

However, the referent of οὗτος in a reported speech may NOT be physically close to the speaker. In Acts 9.13, for example, Ananias refers to Saul with οὗτος (ἤκουσα ἀπὸ πολλῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς **τούτου** 'I heard from many about *this* man') even though he is not physically present.[8]

In a *written* text, nearness is generally taken to refer to something that has just been mentioned. Conversely, remoteness relates 'to a more distant noun'.[9] This is illustrated in Lk. 18.14, where οὗτος refers to the tax collector (mentioned in the immediately preceding verse), whereas ἐκεῖνον refers to the Pharisee (the more distant referent):

11-12 'The Pharisee, standing by himself, was praying thus…'
13 'But the tax collector, standing far off, would not even look up to heaven…'
14 λέγω ὑμῖν, κατέβη **οὗτος** δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ παρ' **ἐκεῖνον**
'I tell you, *this man* went down to his house justified rather than *the other*'

However, ἐκεῖνος can refer to something just mentioned.[10] This is seen in Mk 16.10-11:

9 'When he [Jesus] rose early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had driven seven demons.'
10 **ἐκείνη** πορευθεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν·
'*That one* went and told the ones who had been with him who were mourning and weeping.'
11 κἀ**κεῖνοι** ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν.
'*Those ones*, on hearing that he was alive and had been seen by her, would not believe it.'

6. Although Donald A. Hagner (*Matthew 1–13* [Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1993], p. 405) states, 'The skepticism underlying their question is revealed in the pronoun **τούτῳ**', scepticism is not part of the meaning of οὗτος. Rather, it is a pragmatic effect of using οὗτος in a particular context.

7. Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament,* I (London: Rivingtons, 5th edn, 1863), p. 73.

8. I find no instances in which ἐκεῖνος refers to an entity that is close to the speaker. This is consistent with Enfield's observation about Lao that, whereas the 'marked' demonstrative 'ENCODES not here', the 'default' demonstrative does *not* encode 'close to the speaker' (N.J. Enfield, 'Demonstratives in Space and Interaction: Data from Lao Speakers and Implications for Semantic Analysis', *Language* 79.1 [2003], pp. 85-87).

9. Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles: Introduction and Commentary* (trans. Reginald and Ilse Fuller; Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1992), p. 72 n. 3.

10. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 301.

Conversely, οὗτος does not need to have just been mentioned.[11] An example occurs after Jesus has compared people who act on his teaching to a wise man who built his house on rock (Mt. 7.24). The introduction to the next point, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους **τούτους** καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς 'And everyone who hears *these* words of mine and does not act on them' (26), refers not to vv. 24-25 but to what Jesus had said previously.

The *key* to the functions of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος lies in Bauer's comment about the use of οὗτος 'with reference to a subject more remote in the paragraph'; he continues, 'but closer to the main referent under discussion'.[12] I will show that 'the main referent under discussion' characterizes the function of οὗτος in a variety of situations, not just the one Bauer mentions.

Following Callow,[13] I refer to 'the main referent under discussion' as that which is *thematic* ('what I'm talking about'). Certain elements are thematic *by default*. What is thematic by default varies with the broad discourse genre or text type. For example:

- What is thematic by default in NARRATIVE is the *events* that are performed in chronological sequence by agents. Among the participants in a narrative, it is common for one of them to be *thematic*—'that participant around whom the paragraph is organized, about whom the paragraph speaks'.[14]
- In INSTRUCTIONAL material such as 1 John, what is thematic by default is the *exhortations* directed to the *addressees*.[15]
- In EXPOSITORY material such as parts of Hebrews, what is thematic by default is the *expository theses* about the main *theme* of the exposition.

The above definitions of what is thematic by default lead to the following claims about anaphoric references to *animate* participants (discussed in sec. 2):

- οὗτος is used to switch attention from what is thematic by default for the genre (as defined above) to another referent who becomes *temporarily thematic*.

11. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 740.

12. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 740.

13. Kathleen Callow, *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), pp. 52-53.

14. Stephen H. Levinsohn, 'Participant Reference in Inga Narrative Discourse', in John Hinds (ed.), *Anaphora in Discourse* (Edmonton, Alberta: Linguistic Research Inc., 1978), p. 75.

15. Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (Dallas: SIL International, 2nd edn, 2000), p. 169.

- When participants other than the thematic one are involved in more than one successive event in NARRATIVE, referring to them with ἐκεῖνος indicates that they are *athematic*. In other words, they have NOT become the centre of attention.
- Similarly, when potentially important referents other than the *addressees* are the topic of a proposition in instructional material, referring to them with ἐκεῖνος indicates that they have NOT become the centre of attention. A similar observation can be made about the use of ἐκεῖνος in expository material.

Section 3 makes the following claims about anaphoric references to *times*:

- Forms of οὗτος are used in temporal expressions to indicate *continuity* in the theme line.
- Certain temporal expressions containing a form of ἐκεῖνος indicate a *discontinuity* in the theme line.

The following sections substantiate these claims.

2. *ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος Referring to Animate Participants*

I begin by arguing that, because the referents of ἐκεῖνος are remote from whatever constitutes the reference point, one pragmatic effect of using ἐκεῖνος is to identify the referent as *athematic* (not the current centre of attention). Conversely, because referents of οὗτος are close to the reference point, one pragmatic effect of using οὗτος is to identify the referent as *temporarily thematic*.[16]

2.1. *ἐκεῖνος with Animate Referents*

This section describes the use of ἐκεῖνος in narrative and instructional material.

2.1.1. *ἐκεῖνος with animate referents in narrative*. Because the referents of ἐκεῖνος are remote from the reference point, animate participants in a narrative text who are designated with ἐκεῖνος are typically *athematic*. Thus, in Acts 21.6, the theme line of the narrative concerns 'us', whereas ἐκεῖνοι refers to the people 'we' left behind. The effect of using ἐκεῖνοι is to ensure that 'we' remain the centre of attention:

6b 'Then we went on board the ship',
6c **ἐκεῖνοι** δὲ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια
'and *those ones* returned home'

16. I am *not* claiming that ἐκεῖνος is an athematic demonstrative and that οὗτος is a thematic one; see n. 22.

In Mk 16.9-13, 20, forms of ἐκεῖνος refer to the participants with whom Jesus interacts following the resurrection. Because the sentences concerned describe events involving these participants, the reader would naturally assume that they become the centre of attention. The presence of ἐκεῖνος counteracts this assumption and ensures that Jesus remains thematic throughout the passage.[17]

9 'When he [Jesus] rose early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had driven seven demons.'
10 **ἐκείνη** πορευθεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν·
'*That one* went and told the ones who had been with him who were mourning and weeping.'
11 κἀ**κεῖνοι** ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν.
'*Those ones*, on hearing that he was alive and had been seen by her, would not believe it.'
12 'After these things, he appeared in a different form to two of them while they were walking in the country.'
13 κἀ**κεῖνοι** ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐδὲ **ἐκείνοις** ἐπίστευσαν.
'*Those ones* returned and reported it to the rest, but neither did they believe *those ones*…'
19 'The Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, was taken up into heaven and sat at the right hand of God.'
20 **ἐκεῖνοι** δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος κ.τ.λ.
'*Those ones* went out and preached everywhere, with the Lord working with them…'

In summary, the 'remote' nature of ἐκεῖνος manifests itself by being used in references to animate participants in narrative that are not the centre of attention.

2.1.2. *ἐκεῖνος with animate referents in instructional material*. The athematic nature of ἐκεῖνος in non-narrative is seen particularly clearly when two referents are contrasted. ἐκεῖνος is then used to refer to potential themes that are NOT in fact the centre of attention. In Heb. 4.2a, for instance, 'we' are the centre of attention, not 'those ones':

2a καὶ γάρ ἐσμεν εὐηγγελισμένοι καθάπερ **κἀκεῖνοι**
'For indeed the good news came to us, just as to *those ones'*

When a potentially important referent other than the addressees is the topic of a proposition in instructional material, the pragmatic effect of referring

17. The absence of overt reference to Jesus in Mk 16.9-14 also implies that he is thematic (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, p. 143). Alford (*Greek Testament*, I, p. 432) considers ἐκεῖνος to be used 'absolutely' in 10 and 11, but 'emphatically' in 13b and 20.

to them with ἐκεῖνος is to indicate that they have NOT become the centre of attention. This partly explains why ἐκεῖνος is used to refer to Jesus in 1 Jn 2.6; 3.3, 5, 7 and 16; and 4.17.[18] In each instance, the addressees are thematic, and reference to Jesus is made to reinforce the author's message to them. See, for example, 3.3:

3 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἁγνίζει ἑαυτόν, καθὼς **ἐκεῖνος** ἁγνός ἐστιν
'And everyone who has this hope in him purifies himself, just as *that one* is pure'[19]

In the above discussion, I say that recognizing the athematic nature of ἐκεῖνος PARTLY explains why it is used to refer to Jesus in the above passages of 1 John. What it does not explain is why the writer chose to refer to Jesus with ἐκεῖνος rather than as 'Jesus Christ' (see 1.3; 2.1; etc.). Perhaps the use of ἐκεῖνος reminds the reader that, though Jesus Christ is not the centre of attention in these passages, he is thematic in the book as a whole.[20]

Further examples of ἐκεῖνος in connection with comparisons occur when Jesus relates people who act or do not act on his teaching to different house-builders (Mt. 7.24-27). Both the anaphoric references to houses in the parable involve ἐκεῖνος (τῇ οἰκίᾳ **ἐκείνῃ** 'on *that* house'). This is because the houses themselves are not thematic. Rather, the addressees are thematic, as are '*these* words of mine' (τοὺς λόγους **τούτους**). For example:

26 'And everyone who hears these words of mine (τοὺς λόγους **τούτους**) and does not act on them will be like a foolish man who built his house on sand'.
27 'The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house (τῇ οἰκίᾳ **ἐκείνῃ**), and it fell—and great was its fall!'

Bauer says that, in the above passage, τῇ οἰκίᾳ **ἐκείνῃ** denotes '*that* (particular) *house*'.[21] However, it is clear from other passages that PARTICULAR is NOT part of the meaning of ἐκεῖνος (οὗτος can also refer to a particular group—see 1 Tim. 3.10, discussed in sec. 2.2.2). Rather, PARTICULAR is a pragmatic effect of using ἐκεῖνος in certain contexts in which its referent is not thematic.

18. Raymond E. Brown (*The Epistles of John* [AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982], pp. 261-62) correctly observes concerning 2.6 that the use of ἐκεῖνος 'places the emphasis on "this person"', rather than on Jesus.

19. Jesus is referred to with οὗτος in 1 Jn 5.6 and 5.20; in both instances, he is thematic (see sec. 2.2.2). ἐκεῖνος is also used in 5.16, to refer to 'sin that is mortal'—*not* the sin about which John has been talking.

20. John Painter (*1, 2, and 3 John* [Collegeville, MN: Litugrical Press, 2002], p. 218) states, 'The demonstrative pronoun is used for emphasis rather than to identify different persons'.

21. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 301.

Luke 12.35ff. is another passage in which instructions are directed to the addressees and ἐκεῖνος refers to particular groups of people whose behaviour illustrates these instructions. For example, ἐκεῖνοι refers in vv. 37 and 38 to 'those slaves whom the master finds alert when he comes'. Once again, ἐκεῖνος is the appropriate demonstrative to use because the referents are not thematic in the passage, but simply provide an illustration of how 'you' (thematic) are to behave (35-36, 40):

35 'Be dressed for action and have your lamps lit; [36]be like people who are waiting for their master to return from the wedding banquet, so that they may open the door for him as soon as he comes and knocks'.
37 'Blessed are those slaves (οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι) whom the master finds alert when he comes; truly I tell you, he will fasten his belt and have them sit down to eat, and he will come and serve them. [38]If he comes during the middle of the night, or near dawn, and finds them so, blessed are those ones (ἐκεῖνοι)…'
40 'You also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming at an unexpected hour'

2.2. *οὗτος with Animate Referents*

This section describes the use of οὗτος in narrative and non-narrative contexts.

2.2.1. *οὗτος with animate referents in narrative*. The 'near' nature of οὗτος manifests itself by being used in references to animate participants that are *thematic*: the centre of attention.[22] Typically, οὗτος is used to switch attention from the thematic participant of the passage as a whole to another participant who *temporarily* becomes the centre of attention.

οὗτος is commonly used in this way in narrative when a non-event comment is made about the participant as topic. Luke 2.25 provides an example. The thematic participants in Luke 2 are Joseph, Mary and Jesus.[23] The use of οὗτος in connection with the comment about Simeon indicates that he temporarily becomes the centre of attention:

25a 'Now there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon.'
25b καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος **οὗτος** δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβὴς προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ
'*This* man was righteous and devout, looking forward to the consolation of Israel.'

22. οὗτος is not a thematic demonstrative *per se*; it is also used *cataphorically* (for referents that have yet to be stated) and *exophorically* (for referents found in the external world, rather than the discourse one). αὕτη in Jas 1.27 is cataphoric (Porter, *Idioms*, p. 135): θρησκεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος…αὕτη ἐστίν 'pure and undefiled religion…is this'. τοῦτον in Jn 2.19 is exophoric: δύσατε τὸν ναὸν **τοῦτον** 'destroy *this* sanctuary'.

23. The anarthrous references by name to Joseph (v. 4) and to Mary (v. 5) are consistent with them being thematic (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, p. 159).

The participant who features throughout the parable recorded in Lk. 19.12-27 is the nobleman, so he may be assumed to be thematic. The effect of using οὗτος in the Alexandrian text (AT) of v. 15 is to switch attention from him to '*these* slaves to whom he had given the money' (τοὺς δούλους **τούτους** οἷς δεδώκει τὸ ἀργύριον).[24]

2.2.2. οὗτος *with animate referents in non-narrative.* I stated earlier that what is thematic by default in instructional material is the *exhortations* directed to the *addressees*. However, referents other than the addressees may become *temporarily thematic*. This is signalled in anaphoric references to them by using οὗτος.

For example, what is thematic by default in 1 Timothy is the exhortations directed to Timothy. When other referents become thematic, anaphoric references to them use οὗτος. In 3.8ff., for example, 'deacons' (a particular group of believers—see sec. 2.1.2) becomes thematic so, when an anaphoric reference is made to them in 10, οὗτοι is used:

8-9 'Deacons likewise must be serious, not double-tongued, not indulging in much wine, not greedy for money, holding fast to the mystery of the faith with a clear conscience.'

10 καὶ **οὗτοι** δὲ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν κ.τ.λ.
'And let *these ones* also first be tested; then let them serve as deacons…'

In *expository* material, οὗτος is used anaphorically (i.e. for activated referents) for two purposes:

- for the *thematic* participant, when *contrasted* with other participants
- for *other* participants who *temporarily* displace him or her as the centre of attention.

In Heb. 3.3 and 8.3, for instance, οὗτος refers to Jesus (the thematic participant), when he is contrasted with Moses and with earthly high priests. In Heb. 7.1 and 4 (AT), in contrast, οὗτος is used in connection with Melchizedek, to switch attention temporarily away from Jesus (6.20) to him.[25] See also the use of use of οὗτος in Luke 15.30, as the elder brother in the parable switches attention from himself to his younger brother.[26]

24. It is therefore not necessary to claim, 'This implies that he had other slaves to whom nothing had been entrusted' (Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St Luke* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896], p. 440).

25. Contrast Ellingworth's comment on οὗτος in 7.1: 'a rhetorical feature which may indicate the use of a source' (Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], p. 354).

26. J. Reiling and J.L. Swellengrebel (*A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* [New York: United Bible Societies, 1971], p. 556) state, '*houtos* here with obvious

In Acts 10.36-43 (below), οὗτος refers on up to four occasions to Jesus Christ.[27] The probable reason for so explicitly identifying him as thematic is that the natural centre of attention in a speech involving the speaker is *ego* (in this case, 'us'—vv. 39, 42). In addition, 'God' is the topic of a number of propositions in the speech (e.g. in vv. 36, 42), so there is a need to identify explicitly who is thematic:

36 'The message he sent to the people of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ—*this one* (**οὗτος**) is Lord of all…'
39 'We are witnesses to all that he did in both Judea and Jerusalem. They put him to death by hanging him on a tree;'
40 '*this one* (**τοῦτον**) God raised on the third day…'
42 'and he commanded us to preach to the people and to testify that *this one* (**οὗτος**) is the one ordained by God as judge of the living and the dead.'
43 *'To this one* (**τούτῳ**) all the prophets testify…'

See also the use of οὗτος (Mt. 13.19-23) or οὗτοι (Lk. 8.13-15) in the interpretation of the Parable of the Sower as different groups of hearers become the centre of attention.[28]

I conclude that, when οὗτος refers anaphorically to an animate participant, this typically implies that the referent is *thematic*. Most often, the motivation for using οὗτος is to switch attention *temporarily* to this referent from the thematic participant of the passage as a whole. Only in expository material is it normal to use οὗτος to refer to the thematic participant, when he or she is being contrasted with other participants.

3. *ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος in Temporal Expressions*

Both ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ἐκείναις** and ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις** are found in Luke–Acts. Although commentators often treat them as equivalents, they

contempt'. However, 'obvious contempt' is not part of the meaning of οὗτος. It is a pragmatic effect of using 'this son of yours' in a particular context.

27. Some MSS read αὐτός in v. 42. C.K. Barrett (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994], p. 528) concludes that τούτῳ in v. 43 is probably neuter: 'To this all the prophets bear witness…'. F.F. Bruce (*The Book of the Acts* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954], p. 226) considers this passage to be influenced by Aramaic.

28. In Mk 4.15-19, in contrast, οὗτοι appears to be cataphoric. Of particular interest is the use in 20 (AT) of ἐκεῖνοι. This not only 'set[s] the people represented by the good soil in a class by themselves' (Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on his Apology for the Cross* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993]). It may also reflect Jesus' purpose as stated in 11-12. Just as he 'limits his answer to the question of purpose to non-disciples, "the outsiders" as opposed to "the ones around him"' (ibid.), so the primary concern in the interpretation of the parable may be with the disappointing response of the outsiders (see Alexander Balmain Bruce, *The Expositor's Greek Testament.* I. *The Synoptic Gospels* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897], p. 365).

may be distinguished on the basis of *thematicity*. This section claims that one of the reasons for using ἐκεῖνος in a temporal expression is to indicate a *discontinuity* in the theme line (sec. 3.1). Conversely, οὗτος in temporal expressions indicates *continuity* in the theme line (sec. 3.2).

3.1. *ἐκεῖνος in Temporal Expressions*

The pragmatic effects of using ἐκεῖνος in a *temporal expression* vary with the context.

- Use of ἐκεῖνος may imply the *same remote* time (past or future in relation to the time of speaking or writing) as that of the events just described. This is particularly clear when an earlier reference to time has just been made (sec. 3.1.1).
- Alternatively, because the referents of ἐκεῖνος are remote from a reference point, use of ἐκεῖνος may imply a loose chronological relation between episodes or pericopes when there is a *discontinuity* in the theme line (sec. 3.1.2).

3.1.1. *Same remote time*. Luke 4.2b illustrates the use of ἐκεῖνος to refer to the *same past* time as the one specified in 2a:[29]

2a ‘*for forty days* he was tempted by the devil’
2b καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ἐκείναις**
‘and he ate nothing at all during *those* days’

For other references with ἐκεῖνος to ‘those days’ in the past, see Lk. 9.36; Acts 7.41; and 9.37. For references to ‘that [same] day’ in the past, see Acts 2.41 (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ) and 8.1 (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ).

In Lk. 21.23a, ἐκεῖνος refers to the *same future* time as the one denoted in 20-22:[30]

22 ‘for these are *days of vengeance*, as a fulfillment of all that is written’
23a οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν **ἐκείναις** ταῖς ἡμέραις
‘Woe to those who are pregnant and to those who are nursing infants in *those* days!’

For other references with ἐκεῖνος to ‘those days’ in the future, see Lk. 5.35 and Acts 2.18. For references to ‘that day’ in the future, see Lk. 6.23; 17.31; 21.34; and 10.12 (referring to the last judgment, not to a time mentioned previously in the discourse).

Hebrews 4.11 (below) may be similar to the above examples in which ἐκεῖνος marks a future time as the same as a previously stated remote time.

29. That is, ‘of a definite period’ (Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 301).

30. Reiling and Swellengrebel, *Translator’s Handbook*, p. 670. This paper does not discuss the significance of preposing the demonstrative in temporal expressions.

In this case, ἐκεῖνος marks 'that rest' as 'the rest already mentioned'[31] which remains in the future 'for the people of God'. Furthermore, the time of 'that rest' is remote from the reference point established by ταῦτα in μετὰ ταῦτα 'after these' (v. 8):[32]

8 'For if Joshua had given them rest, God would not speak about another day after these (μετὰ ταῦτα).'
9f. 'So then, there remains a sabbath rest for the people of God; for those who enter God's rest also rest from their labours, just as God did from his own [rest].'
11a σπουδάσωμεν οὖν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς **ἐκείνην** τὴν κατάπαυσιν
'Let us therefore make every effort to enter into *that* rest.'

3.1.2. *Discontinuity in the theme line*. Bauer cites Lk. 2.1 as an example of ἐκεῖνος 'when the time cannot (or is not) to be given with exactness'.[33] The pragmatic effect of using the remote demonstrative is to imply a discontinuity in the theme line between the episodes so linked. The previous verses concern John and Zechariah (the thematic participant),[34] whereas the new episode leads up to the birth of Jesus, with Joseph and Mary thematic:

1.80 'The child grew and became strong in spirit, and he was in the wilderness until the day he appeared publicly to Israel.'
2.1 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ἐκείναις** ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου
'It came about in *those* days that a decree went out from Emperor Augustus…'

Other instances with ἐκείναις cited by Bauer include Mt. 3.1 and Mk 8.1. For references to 'about that time' in connection with a discontinuity in the theme line, see Acts 12.1 (κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν) and 19.23 (κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον).

The 'remote' nature of ἐκεῖνος thus manifests itself in two ways in temporal expressions:

- marking past or future times as the *same* as a previously stated remote time
- marking a *discontinuity* of theme, when there is a loose chronological relation between the units so linked.

3.2. *οὗτος in Temporal Expressions*

When οὗτος refers in a temporal expression to a PAST time,[35] the typical pragmatic effect is to imply *continuity in the theme line*, even when the

31. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, p. 258.
32. That is, 'after the entry into Canaan' (Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, p. 258).
33. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 301.
34. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, p. 159.
35. As befits a 'near' demonstrative, οὗτος is also used in connection with references to the time of speaking. For references to 'these days', see Lk. 24.18, 21; Acts 1.5; 5.36;

chronological relation between the episodes is vague. This is illustrated in Lk. 1.39. Mary is thematic in both the preceding episode and the new one, and her decision to visit Elizabeth is prompted by the angel's words in v. 36: 'your relative Elizabeth in her old age has also conceived a son':[36]

38 'Then the angel departed from her [Mary].'
39 ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριὰμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις** ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν κ.τ.λ.
'Mary set out in *these* days and went into the hill country…'

Other references to 'these days' where continuity in the theme line is particularly evident include:

- Luke 1.24 (introducing further events involving Zechariah and Elizabeth; 'There is a close connection between verses 23 and 24')[37]
- Acts 21.15 (AT—the previous episode concerned Paul's plans to go to Jerusalem; now 'we' set off there).[38]
- Luke 23.7.[39]

In other passages, the thematic continuity consists in the scene and participants remaining unchanged between the units so linked. In Acts 1.15, for instance, the episode concerning the selection of a replacement for Judas occurs during the period that the 120 were devoting themselves to prayer. The use of οὗτος implies that the scene and participants remain the same:

9 'All these were constantly devoting themselves to prayer, together with certain women, including Mary the mother of Jesus, as well as his brothers.'
10 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις** ἀναστὰς Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κ.τ.λ.
'In *these* days Peter, having stood up among the believers…'

See also Acts 11.27 (AT).[40] The use of ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις** in Acts 6.1 is also consistent with relating the period 'when the disciples were increasing in number' 'to the notice in 5.14 of the increase of the disciples, and this would be in harmony with context'.[41]

and 21.38. For references to 'this day', see Lk. 19.42; Acts 2.29; 3.24; 23.1; and 26.22. See Lk. 18.30 for a reference to 'this time'.

36. Alford, *Greek Testament,* I, p. 445.

37. William Hendriksen, *The Gospel of Luke* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1978), p. 77.

38. See Barrett, *Acts*, p. 1002; F.F. Bruce, *Acts*, p. 426.

39. I. Howard Marshall, *The Book of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), p. 855. However, D05 has ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ἐκείναις**. As noted in sec. 3.1.1, ἐκεῖνος is typically used in this way when an earlier reference to time has just been made and a further reference is made to the *same past* time. In this passage, however, no prior reference to a time occurs in the immediate context.

40. See Barrett, *Acts*, p. 561.

41. R.J. Knowling, *The Expositor's Greek Testament*. II. *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901), p. 164. F. Rendall (*The Acts of the Apostles in*

I conclude that, when ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις** or a similar temporal expression with οὗτος is used, rather than one with ἐκεῖνος, this implies continuity in the theme line.

My final passage is the temporal expression in Lk. 6.12. The AT reads ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις**, whereas D05 has **ἐκείναις**.[42] Alford states, 'ἐν τ. ἡμ. **τ.** is vague in date, and may belong to any part of the period of our Lord's ministry now before us'.[43] This paper leads me to assert that Alford's comment is true only if the D05 reading is followed. If the AT reading is followed, then Nolland is right in stating that the expression 'functions to designate what follows as still part of the same section of Luke's account'.[44]

4. *Cross-linguistic Comments*

This paper has shown that, when οὗτος is used anaphorically in Koiné Greek, one pragmatic effect is to indicate that its referent is thematic. The same observation is true of the 'near' demonstrative in many Indo-European and Indo-Aryan languages. In certain other families, however, the demonstrative set associated with thematicity is not the 'near' one, but the 'remote' one. Such is the case in Quechuan, for example.[45]

The *degree* to which thematicity is associated with a particular demonstrative also varies from one group of languages to another. For example, a natural English translation of οὗτος is often not 'this' but 'that' (see the NRSV rendering of ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις **ταύταις** as 'in *those* days' [Acts 1.15] or 'during *those* days' [6.1]). Similarly, Bauer's statement that ἐκεῖνος, 'referring back to and resuming a word immediately preceding, [is] oft. weakened to *he, she, it*',[46] relates not so much to Koiné Greek as to how ἐκεῖνος is to be translated into a Germanic language in which thematicity is less clearly associated with nearness to a reference point.

If οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος are to be correctly rendered in another language, then the translator needs to understand, not only the pragmatic effects of using them in Greek, but also the way the demonstratives function in the receptor language. Otherwise, as has happened on occasion in recent translations into English (see the NIV rendering of κἀκεῖνοι as 'these' in Mk 16.13), thematic participants may be marked as athematic, and *vice versa*.

Greek and English [London: Macmillan, 1897], p. 163) even links δέ in 6.1 with μὲν οὖν in 5.41.

42. I am grateful to Jenny Heimerdinger for drawing this and other D05 readings to my attention.

43. Alford, *Greek Testament*, I, p. 492.

44. John Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), p. 269. Marshall (*Luke*, pp. 237-38) makes a similar point. See also Hendriksen, *Luke*, p. 326.

45. Levinsohn, 'Participant Reference in Inga', p. 89.

46. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 301.

Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation

Gene L. Green

Introduction

Most contemporary biblical scholars acknowledge that considering contextual information is important, indeed essential, to the task of interpreting biblical texts. Examining the relevant historical and cultural materials, whether from texts or archaeology, is a primary responsibility of the commentator who attempts to lay open the original horizon of meaning of the books we interpret. We understand that our texts are deeply integrated with their literary contexts, both within the book under examination and as part of the collection of sacred texts. But our contextual explorations step over the threshold of the canon as we move out to explore how the thoughts and perspectives current in the wider world of the biblical authors and their readers garner importance for our understanding of the biblical text. While we affirm with one of my colleagues that, 'Context is king', we seldom inquire about the nature of the interrelation between texts and contexts in the act of communication. What are the respective roles of texts and their contexts and how do they interact in both oral and written communication? And, if we consent that both texts and their contexts are central to communication, what are the respective roles of authors and readers as they seek to communicate and understand?

In this essay I would like to introduce the general theory of cognition and communication known as Relevance Theory (RT), developed by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson[1] and explored by numerous others,[2] as a

1. Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 2nd edn, 1995).

2. In addition to the bibliography found in Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, pp. 299-319, Francisco Yus of the University of Alicante maintains on-line bibliography: www.ua.es/personal/francisco.yus/rt.html. For a summary of relevance theory see Deirdre Wilson, 'Relevance and Understanding', in Gillian Brown, Kirsten Malmkjaer, Alastair Pollitt and John Williams (eds.), *Language and Understanding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 37-58; Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, 'Précis of Relevance: Communication and Cognition', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 10 (1987), pp. 697-754; Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, 'An Outline of Relevance Theory', *Notes on*

model for understanding how texts and contexts, authors and readers, work together in the communication of meaning. This theory holds considerable promise as a means of understanding why we engage in contextual studies as we labour to interpret biblical literature. A semiotic approach to communication has been a dominant paradigm in our discipline, but it strains to explain this relationship and frequently presents an uncomfortable juxtaposition of textual and contextual considerations.[3] Relevance Theory offers a pragmatic model of communication which argues that the recovery of contextual information is essential for comprehension and that communication is largely an inferential process, not simply a matter of encoding and decoding. While RT does not provide a unique 'method' for the interpretation of biblical texts within their literary, cultural and historical contexts, it offers a thick and nuanced understanding of *why* the contextual work we undertake is an essential and not a secondary task. The theory also presents a framework for understanding the respective roles of authors and readers as they interact with language and contexts in communication. According to RT, speakers and authors, whether modern or ancient, seek to modify the cognitive environment of their hearers or readers.

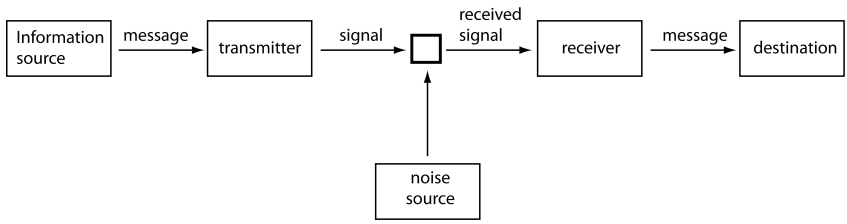
Models of Communication

In 1949 Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver published a classic and frequently referenced text entitled *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*.[4] In the first essay on 'Recent Contributions to the Mathematical Theory of Communication' Weaver proposes the following diagram and explanation to account for the process of communication:

Linguistics 39 (1987), pp. 5-24; Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, 'Relevance Theory', in G. Ward and L. Horn (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 607-32. An accessible primer on pragmatics and relevance theory is Diane Blakemore, *Understanding Utterances: An Introduction to Pragmatics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). Also, a longer edition of this article appears in *Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation* (Semeia Series; Atlanta: SBL, forthcoming).

3. For example, while acknowledging both the semantic and pragmatic dimensions of language, Cotterell and Turner subsume both under semiotics (the study of signs or signaling systems) saying, 'It is convenient to divide the semiotics of human communication into two related areas, one dealing with the actual language used and the other dealing with the accompanying circumstances. The first area is termed *semantics* and the second area is termed *pragmatics*' (Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1989], p. 13). The father of contemporary semiotic theory is Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (London: Owen, 1960).

4. Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1963).



Weaver understands communication as a process of encoding and decoding messages. He concludes simply, 'Thus one says, in general, that the function of the transmitter is to *encode*, and that of the receiver to *decode*, the message'.[5] This is the classic expression of the code model of communication in which messages are paired with signals by means of a code. To know the code, which is the mutually shared language of the transmitter and receiver, is to understand the message. Any misunderstanding can be accounted for by noise or a lack of adequate understanding of the code. Since the codes are social products, they are in a constant state of development and flux which can result in a breakdown of the coding/decoding process. But if the code is mutually understood and the signal is not corrupted, the message the source intends to communicate becomes evident to the receiver. While the message itself may not be observable directly by the hearer/reader, the code pairs the message with the signals which are discernible. Thus a semiotic approach assumes not only that language is a socially determined code but also that communication is a code. This model of communication, or some form of it, likely accounts for the overriding emphasis on biblical languages at the expense of contextual considerations in some educational programs which teach biblical interpretation.

The attractiveness of the code model is its understanding of communication as a strong process. Crack the code and we understand the meaning of the text, an attractive approach for anyone who considers that these texts are sacred. But the apparent virtue of the code model entails significant problems. The basic premise of the code model is that a communicator's thoughts are contained within the socially-constructed code and the code produces a duplication of those thoughts in the mind of the hearer or reader. As a result, the encoded message can exist on its own without reference to the author since, from the moment of utterance, it is autonomous and self-contained, capable of conveying the message independently. This model is inherently signal oriented and not communicator or receiver oriented.[6]

5. Shannon and Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*, p. 17.

6. Commenting on this orientation, Sperber and Wilson note, 'All an encoder has to do is produce a signal; all a decoder has to attend to is a signal. This can happen without either communicator having any notion that there are other beings like itself, with mental states and capacities, or even that it is itself such a being. Thus, bees are

Commenting on the code model, Unger states, 'The signal itself does not *provide evidence for the conclusion* that the speaker intended to convey this information; it encodes the information *I* itself, and the speaker's intentions are irrelevant to the identification of the intended message'.[7] Thus the code model opens the door to the suppression of authors since texts can stand on their own and, truly, are orphaned from the moment they are given birth.[8] Authors and their intentions become irrelevant. The code model, in the end, itself gives birth to the 'free play' of postmodern literary theory which views texts as independent and only subject to the contextual forces which surround them.[9] The orphaned child becomes the abused and used child.[10]

The basic code model is inadequate to explain the process of communication, as many who hold to the model themselves maintain. The pragmatic dimension of communication, which accounts for the role of context in the process of interpreting utterances, must be recognized. A critical distinction is made here between sentences and utterances. Searle introduces the notion of an utterance saying, 'To have a brief way of distinguishing what a speaker means by uttering words, sentences, and expressions, on the one hand, and what the words, sentences, and expressions mean, on the other, I shall call the former *speaker's utterance meaning*, and the latter, *word, or sentence, meaning*'.[11] So while semantics deals with the meaning of language or the representational content, pragmatics focuses on language in use and the role of context in utterance interpretation.

social animals and code-communicators, but there is no reason to credit them with any form of subjectivity, let alone intersubjectivity.' Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, 'Remarks on Relevance Theory and the Social Sciences', *Multilingua* 16 (1997), p. 146. From the standpoint of relevance theory, *intersubjectivity* is at the very heart of communication.

7. Christoph Unger, 'On the Cognitive Role of Genre: A Relevance-Theoretic Perspective' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 2000), p. 21.

8. Kevin Vanhoozer decries 'the death of the author' in contemporary literary theory but does not explore the way the code model of communication contributes to her demise, preferring to focus upon authors' intentions and their recoverability (*Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998], pp. 43-97).

9. See, for example, Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1975); Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

10. See the helpful discussion in Anthony C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 80-141. Thiselton, however, argues that the semiotic theory of Saussure leads to the kind of deconstruction proposed by Barthes, Derrida and others.

11. John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 77.

Take, for example, sentence (1):

(1) *He doesn't make much bread.*

Without knowing the context in which the sentence was uttered, it is impossible to understand its meaning. 'He' could refer to either Peter or Joe. While 'he' identifies the subject as masculine and singular, contextual considerations are necessary in order to assign reference to the pronoun. Moreover, 'bread' is an ambiguous term since it may be understood as a food made from grain which has been baked or, for children of an earlier generation, it may be used as a colloquialism for 'money'. A context is needed to disambiguate the meaning of 'bread'. Did 'he' (Peter or Joe) fail to produce as a baker or did he fail by not earning much? The same problem confronts the interpreter who tries to understand 'made'. Should he[12]think about the process of baking or earning? 'Much' is a term which needs to be suitably enriched from context to understand its meaning. 'Much' in relation to what standard? Let us assume that the 'bread' is of the food variety and the context is a kitchen and not a baking company. Perhaps Peter bakes a lot of cookies but 'he doesn't make much bread' in his kitchen. Or, in comparison to Sue's production, 'he doesn't make much bread'.

Similar pragmatic considerations are in full play when interpreting 1 Thess. 5.3:

(2) *When they say, 'There is peace and security', then sudden destruction will come upon them, as labor pains come upon a pregnant women, and there will be no escape!*[13]

Among other interpretive decisions, the interpreter assigns reference to 'they', disambiguates terms such as 'peace and security' (what kind of or which 'peace and security' do 'they' have in mind?), and enriches the declaration that 'there will be no escape!' Who will not escape and from what will they not escape? These examples are sufficient to remind us that inferences must be made in order for communication to be successful. What is communicated or 'said' via the text or sentence goes well beyond the encoded lexical and semantic information. Sperber and Wilson observe that 'there is a gap between the semantic representation of sentences and the thoughts actually communicated by utterances'.[14] Mind the gap!

12. Following the custom of much of the literature written on RT, in general examples I will use feminine pronouns to refer to speakers/writers and masculine pronouns to refer to hearers/readers.

13. This, and the following biblical translations, are from the NRSV.

14. Sperber and Wilson, 'Précis of Relevance', p. 697.

Relevance Theory, Communication and Context

Relevance Theory, as developed by Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, departs from a semiotic understanding of communication by first affirming that the goal of communication is not the duplication of the speaker's thoughts in the mind of her hearer but rather the modification of the cognitive environment of the hearer.[15] While RT does affirm that language is a code, the code is not viewed as 'containing' the message the speaker has in mind but it only presents evidence which, when combined with contextual considerations, allows the hearer to infer the speaker's informative intent. Sperber and Wilson agree with Gricean pragmatics that speaker's meaning is linguistically underdetermined and that communication involves a richer process than encoding and decoding. Since, for example, slips of the tongue and misspellings are regularly understood ('I got my tang tungled up'), as are ungrammatical sentences ('Pete makes much sense doesn't'), unprocessable utterances ('The children played music slept'), and incomplete utterances (Mother to child: 'If you do that again…!'),[16] a strict code model cannot fully account for human communication. There exists a gap between 'what is said' (in the Gricean sense) and what the speaker means by what she says.

Wilson notes that this gap between the encoded sentence meaning and speaker's meaning can be broken down into the following categories: First, 'What did the speaker intend to say?' In example (1) ('He doesn't make much bread'), the hearer must work out somehow whether 'he' is Joe or Peter and whether 'bread' is a foodstuff or financial commodity. Secondly, 'What did the speaker intend to imply?' Let's suppose that I listen to a paper read by my colleague and afterwards say to her:

(3) *That was a stunning lecture*.

Was my statement meant to imply that it was stunning in its excellence or that it was stunningly poor? Similarly, when Paul declared to the Thessalonians regarding 'the times and the seasons' (1 Thess. 5.1) that:

15. Relevance Theory was developed primarily with reference to oral communication but is becoming increasingly applied to the study of written communication.

16. The last two examples are from Deirdre Wilson, 'Pragmatic Theory (PLIM M202)', (lectures presented at University College London, 2000–2001): 2.4-5. Reddy makes the same observation about the inadequacy of the code model: 'If the signals were to arrive at the receiving end, and the set of alternatives was damaged or missing, the proper selection could not be made. The signals have no ability to bring the alternatives with them; they carry no little replica of the message. The whole notion of information as "the power to make selections" rules out the idea that signals *contain* the message' (Michael J. Reddy, 'The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in Our Language About Language', in Andrew Ortony [ed.], *Metaphor and Thought* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], p. 182).

(4) *You do not need to have anything written to you.*

He implied that they should remember what they already knew about this subject. Thirdly, 'What was the speaker's intended attitude to what was said and implied?' If we are talking about a round of golf that you had with the department chair and I then ask you how he played, you might respond:

(5) *He played just like Tiger Woods.*

What was your attitude toward what you said? Should your statement be understood as ironical or sincere? In the same way, the interpreter must understand Paul's intended attitude when he wrote to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4.8):

(6) *Quite apart from us you have become kings!*

In all three of these considerations the gap must be filled between what is said and what is meant by the utterance. A rich, inferential process is in play which brings text and context together in the communication of the speaker/writer's message to the hearer/reader. The nature of this process is described by RT.

Relevance Theory focuses on *intentional* (not accidental) *overt* (not covert) communication. Its proper domain is *ostensive-inferential communication*. Sperber and Wilson define *ostensive-inferential communication* in the following way:

> *Ostensive-inferential communication*: the communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions {**I**}.[17]

When speaking about *ostensive-inferential* communication, we are looking at the communicative process from two vantage points: that of the speaker or author and that of the hearer or reader. Communication is ostensive in the sense that the speaker/author wants her intention to communicate to be recognized. On the other hand, from the perspective of the hearer/reader it is inferential in that he must infer from the evidence provided what the speaker/author's intent was. This definition assumes that the gap between linguistic meaning and speaker/author's meaning must be filled by the inferential process.

But this process is not left to the whim and fancy of the hearer but rather is based upon adequate evidence supplied by the speaker and is worked out according to the *communicative principle of relevance* (discussed below). There are 'rules of the game' which govern the communicative process and

17. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 63.

which are both universal and automatic, similar to the way that reflexes operate. To speak of ostension is to recognize the role of speakers and authors as those who are bound up with the messages which they communicate. On the other hand, the notion of inference calls into question the idea that all information is communicated within a code and yet, at the same time, pays all due respect to the intentions of the speaker or author. Under this model, communication is not regarded as risk free, but it does assume that adequate evidence for the communicator's intent is presented and that the hearer or reader can, from the available evidence, work out a faithful representation of the meaning of the communicator's utterance. While the inferential model of communication recognizes that miscommunication can occur, at the same time it affirms that successful communication is a centerpiece of human existence. Communication is not subject to abject relativity and uncertainty but rather achieves faithful representations of thoughts which result in mutual understanding. Relevance Theory brings authors and readers, intent and inferences, and texts and contexts into the arena of interpreting texts, including the biblical texts.

Intentions in Communication

The fundamental elements of communication are the thoughts of the speaker/author, which are not available to anyone but the speaker/author (and God himself!), and the behaviors or ostensive acts by which the thoughts of the speaker/author are represented or communicated. So, if you ask me if I know where Peter's bakery is, I may shrug my shoulders or shake my head or nod, all behaviors which give evidence of my thoughts (respectively, 'I don't know'; 'No'; 'Yes'). I have engaged in ostensive communication which is recognized by the addressee. What is recognized, however, is not simply the behavior, whether it is a gesture or some verbal behavior such as uttering a sentence. Content (a description of the behavior) is communicated but also the *intention* to communicate is recognized. That is to say, we do not recognize every shrug of the shoulders or nod of the head as a representation of a person's thoughts.

Intentions are far from being an opaque cognitive mystery which is inaccessible to the hearer or reader. Intentions are at the very heart of communication. Relevance Theory makes a fine distinction between a speaker/writer's *informative intention* and *communicative intention*. The *informative intention* is defined, according to Sperber and Wilson, in the following way:

> *Informative intention*: to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions I.[18]

18. Sperber and Wilson, 'Précis of Relevance', p. 58. Or, more simply (and less precisely), the informative intention is 'to inform the audience of something' (p. 29).

The informative intention is the speaker/writer's intention to inform the addressee of something. It is communicated to the addressee by saying something such as, 'Go away', or writing, 'Dan will come to the picnic'. But RT also identifies another level of intention beyond the desire to communicate information. The *communicative intention* is the desire to make the communicator's informative intention known to the hearer:

> *Communicative intention*: to make it mutually manifest to audience and communicator that the communicator has this informative intention.[19]

In ostensive communication, the desire of the communicator is to make known not only information or a set of assumptions but also that she wants the addressee to recognize her intent to communicate those assumptions. When speaking about the communicative intention, we move beyond the mere transfer of information to genuine human communication which is a mutual process engaging both the communicator and addressee. Without it, there is no communication, only words which, as Macbeth said in his lament of life, are 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'.

The point is that ostensive communication involves not simply a communicated set of assumptions but also the recognition that the speaker/writer intended these assumptions to be recognized by the hearer/reader. Comprehending both the informative and communicative intention of the communicator is the essence of communication, even when we seek to understand the message of the biblical authors. Were communication accomplished simply by encoding and decoding messages, intent would hardly be a concern. But since language only gives evidence of a speaker/writer's informative and communicative intent, the addressee's task is to work out this intent given the available evidence from the code and relevant contextual information.

Relevance Theory recognizes the role of the linguistic code in communication but also argues that context is essential for understanding the speaker/writer's meaning. A given utterance could mean a wide variety of things given different contexts. Take the following sentence:

> (7) *It's three o'clock.*

If, for example, our department meeting was to begin at 2:45 and you and I are chatting away merrily over tea in your office and then you look at your watch and say (7), the meaning of the utterance would be something like, 'We're late! We need to go!' If, on the other hand, your husband is rushing around the house making preparations for dinner guests who will arrive at 8:00 and he's perturbed that you are not participating diligently

19. Sperber and Wilson, 'Précis of Relevance', p. 61. Again, more simply, it is the intention 'to inform the audience of one's informative intention' (p. 29).

in the process, if you say (7) it means something like, 'We have time. No need for me to be rushing about.' 'It's three o'clock' encodes a time reference but does not specify how exact that reference is (exactly three? about three?). Nor does it encode the utterer's meaning but only gives *evidence* of the speaker's informative intent. Were this not the case, the need for piles of biblical commentaries would be considerably diminished! Context is an essential element for working out what the utterance means.

The Nature of Context

What is context? In biblical studies we are accustomed to talking about the 'context' of a sentence or discourse. Context is viewed very broadly and imprecisely as 'all that out there' beyond the specific text under consideration, including both the immediate literary context of the discourse (the 'co-text'), the larger literary corpus of a particular author, the body of biblical literature itself (the canon), as well as the cultural context shared by both the writer and the readers.[20] The question becomes how a reader is to select an appropriate context in which to read a text. While most would acknowledge that reading texts within contexts is essential ('A text without a context is a pretext' is the popular maxim), we have given little attention to the means by which texts and contexts work together in communication and the principles which come into play to distinguish *which* contexts are appropriate in our reading of a text. While some would place emphasis primarily on the immediate literary context of a particular text and the text's place within the canon (the program of biblical theology), others would want to take into consideration the social context of the Jewish world, including such items as apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, the Septuagint, and the like. Still others would argue that the appropriate context for reading a particular text of the New Testament is the Greek and Roman environments in which the text was both written and read. Current trends in biblical interpretation

20. Contemporary literary theory understands context as a different set altogether. The context which is important is that of the contemporary reader embedded in his community which brings its perspectives to the interpretation of the text. The text, having been divorced from its author, is malleable according to the particular context in which it is read. Under this reading, the mantra 'Context is king!' takes on a completely different character than it does within the orbit of historical-grammatical exegesis. Vanhoozer comments on Derrida's approach: 'For Derrida, texts are interdependent not only of their authors and their original contexts, but also of any single determining context, including that of their readers: "A written sign carries with it a force that breaks with its context, that is, with the collectivity of presences organizing the moment of its inscription". The possibility that a text may drift away from its origin and original context is not a possibility outside language but rather the condition for the very possibility of language. Indeed, it is for this reason that textual meaning is undecidable: because texts are not anchored to a stabilizing context' (*Is There a Meaning in This Text?*, p. 112).

point to the context of a book's reception history or the theological context in which we read Scripture. The question of context confronts us at every hermeneutical turn. This essay, however, focuses upon the biblical text as a product of human authors, divinely inspired, who directed their message to particular interpretive communities.

Even our texts, which were gathered to form our corpus of biblical literature, are linguistically underdetermined. That is to say, Scripture is very much an example of human to human communication ('Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, To the church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ', 1 Thess. 1.1). It is constrained by the same forces of ordinary human communication and so even the most fundamental confession, such as 'Jesus Christ is Lord' (Phil. 2.11), cannot be understood apart from contextual considerations. The author's intent, the cognitive environment of author and hearers/readers and the rich process of inference need to be taken into account since texts do not stand on their own.

For RT, the sources of context are three-fold: the physical environment of communicator and addressee, the discourse in which an utterance is embedded, and the encyclopedic knowledge shared by the communicator and addressee. The first category does not come into play in biblical interpretation as do the second and third since, absent a time-machine, the contemporary reader cannot be co-present with the biblical author. The third category would include knowledge of history, cultural values and norms, particular or idiosyncratic information shared between a communicator and addressee (such as that which husband and wife might share), scientific information about the nature of the world, religious beliefs, etc. This category consists of all the knowledge that a particular person may have access to in their memory and, as such, is genuinely encyclopedic though by no means exhaustive since nobody knows all things. It is also patently clear that the encyclopedic knowledge of two individuals is never the same, an additional factor which complicates the communicative process. These categories bring together all aspects of contextual knowledge which may come into play in the interpretation of a particular utterance.

If we are to understand what a speaker or writer intended to say, what she intended to imply, and what her attitude was with respect to what was said or implied, we must take into account the background assumptions or contextual information available at the time the communicative event took place. Given the enormity of this very broad rubric of 'context', how could one ever hope to understand another individual? And, in the case of the interpretation of biblical literature or any text from another culture and time, the problem is compounded exponentially. Considering all the possible available contexts, why should a person understand a particular utterance such as (7) ('It's three o'clock') within any one particular context? Truly, unless some such narrowing takes place, we will be subject to interpretive

nihilism. For if communication is context dependent, and there is no way to select one context over another as appropriate for the interpretation of a particular utterance, we are left adrift on a sea of unfathomable uncertainty about what another person might mean by what they say, whether that person is our most intimate friend or an author who wrote in the distant past.

Context, however, is not a monolithic whole since there is no way that any person could access all the contextual information which is potentially available to them at a particular moment. Only particular aspects of our context are manifest or salient to us at a given time. Sperber and Wilson describe the notion of *manifest* in the following way:

> A fact is *manifest* to an individual at a given time if and only if he is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true.[21]

For a fact to be *manifest* does not mean that I am immediately aware of that fact but that it is 'perceptible or inferable'.[22]

Furthermore, context is not a static commodity nor a pre-established set before the process of communication begins. It is instead both dynamic and constructed out of the available information from the previous discourse (which becomes part of the short term memory), physical environment and encyclopedic memory. Context is built-in discourse.[23] Context consists of

21. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 39.

22. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 39.

23. The dynamic quality of context is also noted by Duranti and Goodwin, who observe that 'neither the physical nor the social setting for talk is something that is fixed, immutable and simply "out there". Instead these phenomena, and the very real constraints they provide, are dynamically and socially constituted by activities (talk included) of the participants which stand in a reflexive relationship to the context thus constituted.' Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 5-7. This perspective should not be confused with the post-structuralist notion that the meaning of texts is inherently unstable since they are read in a variety of contexts which shape their meaning. What relevance theory, and here Duranti and Goodwin, are speaking about is the way that discourse shapes context in the process of communication. In discussing the difference between the notion of context in relevance theory and poststructuralist interpretation, Pilkington says, 'Selden…, for instance, argues that: "Poststructuralist thought has discovered the essentially *unstable* nature of signification". The problem is that poststructuralism has no serious account of the role of context in utterance interpretation, so for Birch and Selden concepts either have a fixed meaning *or* their meanings are unstable. For them, if context plays a role it is merely as a fixed body of ideas imposed from the outside. What these views fail to realize is that the move from linguistic meaning to communicated meaning is a principled one. Pragmatic principles, using a dynamic notion of context construction as part of the interpretation process, are used to explain the rich range of potential

the all the information which is relevant for the interpretation of a particular utterance. Context does not stand as a pre-set, unmoving, unchanged whole, but is woven or shaped as the discourse continues. In this way, the context is constantly shifting and changing in accordance with the purposes of the speaker or writer who plays on the interaction of the text with its context in order to make known her informative intent. Not all the potential contexts are accessed at once but only the contextual information which will be needed in the process of communication.

In the discussion about context, RT presents the notion of a 'cognitive environment' in which utterances are interpreted. Gutt puts the matter this way:

> Hence in RT context does not refer to some part of the external environment of the communication partners, be it the text preceding or following an utterance, situational circumstances, cultural factors, etc.; it rather refers to part of their 'assumptions about the world' or *cognitive environment*, as it is called. The notion of 'cognitive environment' takes into account the various external factors but places the emphasis on the information they provide and its mental availability for the interpretation process.[24]

So, a person's cognitive environment is a set of facts or assumptions which are manifest to the person.[25] A 'context' then becomes a subset of someone's cognitive environment. Much of our energy in biblical interpretation is invested in working to understand the cognitive environment of the biblical authors and their hearers/readers and selecting what aspects of that information are relevant in the interpretation of a particular text. We ask questions about what information was salient to them at the time of the communicative event.

Relevance in Communication

Relevance Theory begins with a few fundamental premises. The first, as previously argued, is that every utterance has a large variety of possible

meanings that utterances, and lexicalised concepts within utterances, can communicate' (Adrian Pilkington, *Poetic Effects: A Relevance Theory Perspective* [Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000], p. 42.

24. Ernst-August Gutt, *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context* (Manchester and Boston: St Jerome, 2nd edn, 2000), p. 27. Or in the words of Sperber and Wilson, 'A context is a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. It is these assumptions, of course, rather than the actual state of the world, that affect the interpretation of an utterance. A context in this sense is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or the immediately preceding utterances: expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in interpretation' (*Relevance*, pp. 15-16).

25. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 39.

interpretations, all of which would be compatible with the information which is linguistically encoded. Example (7) 'It's three o'clock' could mean a variety of things, all of which would be in harmony with the sentence meaning. Secondly, not all of these interpretations will be available to a hearer at a given moment, that is, within a particular context. For example, if we are sipping coffee at three while the meeting started at 2:45, utterance (7) would not be interpreted to mean, 'It's time to go pick up the laundry' or 'We missed lunch'. Thirdly, hearers are enabled to evaluate possible interpretations as they occur to them, either accepting or rejecting them, by application of a general criterion, that being the communicative principle of relevance. We are not left to make such selections willy-nilly but are guided by this fundamental principle. Fourthly, this criterion is effective enough to eliminate all but at most one interpretation and the hearer may be assured that the first interpretation which meets this criterion is the only interpretation he is rationally justified in accepting.[26] This final premise seems decidedly odd as we consider the multiple ways different individuals interpret textual and verbal utterances. The variety of commentaries and interpretations of a particular biblical book seems to undo this assertion. But in framing RT, Sperber and Wilson describe what does indeed occur in communication. A hearer or reader will invest processing effort in an attempt to achieve 'relevance' and, when the investment realizes adequate cognitive benefits, processing stops. We do not exhaust every possible interpretation of a person's utterance, either read or heard. Were this not the case, the cognitive process of interpretation would be endless.

'Relevance' is not understood simply as that which seems to be important, as 'relevance' is commonly understood in ordinary conversation. According to RT, 'relevance' is a technical term which is defined in relation to cognitive effects and processing effort:

Relevance

a. The greater the cognitive effects, the greater the relevance;
b. The smaller the effort needed to achieve those effects, the greater the relevance.[27]

26. Wilson presents this simple and useful summary which undergirds relevance theory in her lectures Wilson, 'Pragmatic Theory', 3.1 and Wilson, 'Relevance and Understanding', p. 44.

27. Deirdre Wilson and Tomoko Matsui, 'Recent Approaches to Bridging: Truth, Coherence, Relevance', *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 10 (1998), p. 16. A more complete definition of 'relevance' is found in Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, pp. 118-71, 265-66. In the postface of the second edition (p. 265), the revision of the (comparative) definition of *relevance to an individual* is: '*Extent condition 1*: An assumption is relevant to an individual to the extent that the positive cognitive effects achieved

For a stimulus to be relevant to an individual there must be some payoff in relationship to the effort a person has to expend in processing the input. In the domain of human cognition and communication this means that there must be an adequate amount of *cognitive effects*, or modification of a hearer/reader's 'representation of the world' to offset the processing effort expended. As Sperber and Wilson explain:

> When is an input relevant? Intuitively, an input (a sight, a sound, an utterance, a memory) is relevant to an individual when it connects with background information he has available to yield conclusions that matter to him: say, by answering a question he had in mind, improving his knowledge on a certain topic, settling a doubt, confirming a suspicion, or correcting a mistaken impression. In relevance-theoretic terms, an input is relevant to an individual when its processing in a context of available assumptions yields a POSITIVE COGNITIVE EFFECT. A positive cognitive effect is a worthwhile difference to the individual's representation of the world—a true conclusion, for example. False conclusions are not worth having. They are cognitive effects, but not positive ones.[28]

The notion of gaining the greatest cognitive effects for the least processing effort comes into play at the crucial intersection between text and context. In order for an utterance to achieve relevance, it must be processed in a context which will yield for the hearer some cognitive effects, some benefit, without undue or gratuitous processing effort. When a speaker/writer communicates, the information offered to the hearer/reader will interact within the context of the assumptions which are manifest to both her and her hearer to produce *cognitive effects* in one of three ways:

a. Strengthening existing assumptions.
b. Contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption.
c. Combining with an existing assumption to yield contextual implications.[29]

In order for information to achieve relevance, it must not only yield cognitive effects of one or more of the varieties mentioned above but must do so with minimal processing effort. Any increase in processing effort must come

when it is optimally processed are large. *Extent condition 2*: An assumption is relevant to an individual to the extent that the effort required to achieve these positive cognitive effects is small.'

28. Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, 'Relevance Theory', in G. Horn and L. Ward (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 607.

29. Wilson and Matsui, 'Recent Approaches to Bridging', p. 16. In the first edition of *Relevance*, Sperber and Wilson spoke of *contextual effects* but revised the nomenclature in favor of the more precise *cognitive effects*. A number of those who write on relevance theory continue to use the term *contextual effects*. See Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, pp. 263-66, 108-37.

with the expectation that it will yield greater cognitive effects. Processing effort may be affected in any number of ways. The most accessible contexts will naturally demand less processing effort than more remote contexts. Therefore, in a given discourse the immediately preceding interchange will be a more accessible context as compared to something mentioned very early on in the discourse. If we are called upon to access information from our encyclopedic memory, those things which are more familiar and common to us will be easier to access than that which is less familiar and less common. When we search for an appropriate context in which to interpret an utterance we will examine those assumptions which are manifest from the physical environment, discourse and the encyclopedic memory.

In the search for a context which will satisfy the principle of relevance, there is a fine balance between processing effort and cognitive effects. If no cognitive effects are immediately available, the addressee may still believe that adequate cognitive effects might become available for an extra processing effort since the act of ostensive communication brings with it a guarantee of relevance. He can expect that he will not have to invest gratuitous processing effort in order to achieve relevance. However, there comes a point where the addressee will break off the search for relevance as the processing effort goes beyond his hope for obtaining cognitive effects. At this point communication will have failed. He will either go back to the communicator and ask for clarification (something not easily done when interpreting texts) or simply give up the hope of understanding what the communicator meant by what was said. In the interpretation of texts from another time and culture, the interpreter invests greater processing effort to discover those assumptions which the biblical author and first readers would have been able to represent, all in the hope of achieving greater cognitive effects. The argument of relevance theory is that the search for *relevance* constrains the interpretive process. Though a particular utterance may be understood in a wide variety of ways, the hearer/reader is only justified in understanding the utterance in accordance with the principle of relevance.

Explicature and Implicature

Relevance Theory includes the notions of *explicature* and *implicature*. The explicatures of an utterance include lexical and grammatical considerations (semantics). But explicatures are not understood as the same thing as sentence meaning, that which is decoded. Rather Sperber and Wilson define *explicitness* in the following way:

> An assumption communicated by an utterance *U* is *explicit* if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by *U*.[30]

30. Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 182.

What is explicit, then, includes all the information necessary to make a sentence fully propositional. Explicatures are not exactly the same as Grice's 'what is said', for an explicature 'involves a considerable component of pragmatically derived meaning in addition to linguistically encoded meaning. A key feature in the derivation of an explicature is that it may require "free" enrichment, that is, the incorporation of conceptual material that is wholly pragmatically inferred, on the basis of considerations of rational communicative behaviour, as these are conceived of on the relevance-theoretic account of human cognitive functioning'.[31] While Grice limited explicitness to linguistic form plus reference assignment and disambiguation, relevance theory understands that even what would be considered explicit embraces a higher degree of pragmatic inference which also includes enrichment. We have already seen in example (1) how that the full propositional form of 'He doesn't make much bread' includes reference assignment (Joe rather than Pete), disambiguation (foodstuff rather than finances) but also enrichment (much more bread than cookies rather than more bread production than Jill). Such elements are not encoded into the linguistic form but must be derived by pragmatic inference according to the principle of relevance. What was truly 'said' includes all these elements which are derived via the relevance-theoretic interpretive procedure.[32] The pragmatic dimension of explicatures gives us pause as we consider the very nature of texts. The semantics of a text are signposts and in no way can be considered equal to the whole of a communicator's utterance. What a biblical author 'says' spills way over the semantic representations we read.

The other side of utterances are their *implicatures*. Implicatures can be conceived as everything which is communicated by an utterance which is *not* an explicature. We have seen that there is a gap between the linguistic form of a sentence and its full propositional content which is filled by pragmatic inference. Whatever inferences are made to round out the propositional form, including reference assignment, disambiguation and enrichment, are all, however, developments of the linguistically encoded information. These are the explicatures. Relevance Theory would argue that there are

31. Robyn Carston, 'Explicatures and Semantics', *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 12 (2000), p. 4.

32. Carston, Sperber and Wilson would also add that *ad hoc* concept formation is also a component of the explicatures of an utterance, but that is a matter for another day (Carston, 'Explicatures and Semantics', p. 40; Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, 'The Mapping Between the Mental and the Public Lexicon', *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 9 [1997], pp. 1-20). On the explicit/implicit distinction in relation to semantics and pragmatics, see also Robyn Carston, 'The Semantics/Pragmatics Distinction: A View from Relevance Theory', *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 10 (1998), pp. 1-30; *Thoughts and Utterances: The Pragmatics of Explicit Communication* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 94-221.

also implicatures of an utterance which are in no direct way related to the linguistic form of the utterance and which are derived wholly from inference, but 'inference in which the explicature is one of the premises'.[33] These are the *implicatures* of an utterance.[34] *We may rightly say that the goal of interpretation of any utterance is the recovery of both the explicatures and implicatures intended by a speaker/writer.* The recovery of implicatures is carried out on the basis of expectations of relevance in the same way that inferential explicatures are recovered. Implicatures are not encoded in any way yet their recovery is not a random process but constrained by the principle of relevance.

Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation

The application of RT to the interpretation of biblical texts has been little explored up to this point, although some recent works are hopeful signs that this theory of cognition and communication can inform the task of biblical studies.[35] Relevance Theory sails a course in the waters between the Scylla of post-structuralist readings, which understand the contemporary reader's context as all important and the only context worth mentioning, and the Charybdis of semantically-bound interpretation, which believes that all meaning is contained in the code and that the text is therefore not in any way context-bound. Both hermeneutical approaches to texts are derived from a code model of communication which results in the separation of texts from authors and contexts, the one in the attempt to destabilize meaning and the

33. Carston, 'Semantics/Pragmatics Distinction', p. 22.

34. 'Any assumption communicated, but not explicitly so, is implicitly communicated: it is an *implicature*' (Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, p. 182; see also pp. 193-202 on 'The identification of implicatures').

35. See, for example, Ernst-August Gutt, 'Matthew 9:4-17 in the Light of Relevance Theory', *Notes on Translation* 113 (1986), pp. 1-20; Regina Blass, 'Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation' (unpublished paper presented at Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology, 2000); K.G. Smith, *Bible Translation and Relevance Theory: The Translation of Titus* (PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2000); Timothy Meadowcroft, 'Relevance as Mediating Category in the Reading of Biblical Texts: Venturing beyond the Hermeneutical Circle', *JETS* 45 (2002), pp. 611-27; Stephen W.S. Pattemore, *The People of God in the Apocalypse: Discourse, Structure, and Exegesis* (SNTSMS, 128; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Unger, *Genre, Relevance and Global Coherence*; Harriet S. Hill, *The Bible at Cultural Crossroads: From Translation to Communication* (Manchester and Kinderhook, NY: St Jerome Publishing, 2006); Jeannine K. Brown, *Scripture as Communication* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), pp. 35-38; Karen H. Jobes, 'Relevance Theory and the Translation of Scripture', *JETS* 50 (2007), pp. 773-97; Gene L. Green, 'Lexical Pragmatics and Biblical Interpretation', *JETS* 50 (2007), pp. 799-812. The 'Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation' group has met yearly at the SBL International Meeting since 2003.

other in the quest to guarantee its stability.[36] Relevance Theory is not nihilistic in its approach to the possibility of the communication of meaning but affirms that genuine understanding does take place and communication is successful. On the other hand, RT would not argue that there is an absolute guarantee of successful communication. Risk is involved since communication is an inferential process which is dependent upon the interaction of text and context. This is not to say that meaning is unstable but rather that the goal of interpretation is to work out the interpretation to the best possible explanation.

Text and Context

Relevance Theory underscores that the reader of Scripture must consider both text and context in the process of interpreting the biblical author's message or utterance. Context, we should remember, is not a monolithic entity 'out there' and preestablished, but rather a cognitive concept which is built in discourse. Context consists of all the assumptions which are accessed in order to interpret an utterance. Context may be constructed from the discourse itself and the encyclopedic memory. Relevance Theory does not place these aspects of a person's cognitive environment in any kind of hierarchical order. In utterance interpretation, context construction depends upon the communicative principle of relevance. Relevance to an individual is understood as that which yields adequate cognitive effects for the least processing effort. Within this framework, therefore, priority would not be given automatically to any one particular aspect of the cognitive environment over another since what is important is whether or not some assumption is salient or manifest. If an assumption is remote or inaccessible, we must ask the question whether a reader would be capable of representing it given the constraints of relevance.

In the area of New Testament interpretation, the understanding of context cannot be a set as large as 'Scripture, the Jewish world, and the Greco-Roman world'. Not all this information would have been brought to bear

36. Trotter's observation is instructive: 'From Aristotle to Roland Barthes and beyond, literary criticism has been based on a code model of communication. It has been preoccupied with the encoding and decoding of messages: sometimes in the name of hermeneutics, sometimes in the name of semiology, sometimes in the name of radical scepticism. Although the problem of inference—of what readers *do* with the output of decoding—confronts us at every turn, it lacks an inferential model of communication, and has therefore been reduced, more often than not, to piety or sociology. During the 1970s, a surge of interest in literary language led critics to Chomsky and Saussure, but not to Grice (Grice 1975). To this day, literary theory has barely acknowledged the existence of pragmatics (though see the suggestive critique of Saussure in Fabb 1988). If Grice got it right, the theorists are in for a rude awakening' (David Trotter, 'Analysing Literary Prose: The Relevance of Relevance Theory', *Lingua* 87 [1992], p. 11).

by the readers of their communication in the interpretation of an author's utterance. While we may explore the vast, though limited, resources which have survived through history, we must not for a moment assume that any and every piece of information would have been mutually manifest to author and readers and, as such, been part of their cognitive environment which was drawn upon by the readers in the interpretation of an utterance. We must pay closest attention to the 'triggers' within the discourse which activate certain concepts (in the way that the mention of fork, napkin, and waiter triggers the conceptual frame of restaurant for us or as 'Don Pepe' and '1948' trigger the frame of revolution for Costa Ricans). We must also ask which aspects of their cognitive environment (drawn from discourse and memory) would allow for a particular utterance to achieve relevance. For example, Wanamaker argues that 'the lawless one' in 2 Thess. 2.3 is a title which was given to the Roman general Pompey in the *Pss. Sol.* 17.11, who led the Roman troops to subjugate Palestine in 63 BC, an event which led to Jewish apostasy. He argues that the 'lawless one' to whom Paul refers recalls this person.[37] The identification of Pompey as the figure which anticipates this 'man of lawlessness' is questionable since the name was used more generally (Wis. 17.2; 1 Macc. 2.44) and, moreover, the text in *Pss. Sol.* 17.11 is no way secure (the manuscripts read 'the wind' [*anemos*] instead of 'the lawless one' [*anomos*]),[38]making this a less than accessible contextual assumption! But even if the text were secure at this point, we would have to ask whether the Thessalonians would have been capable of representing this assumption, especially given the fact that the vast majority of the Christians in that city were recent converts from paganism (1 Thess. 1.9) and not likely to have any knowledge of the *Psalms of Solomon*.

Relevance Theory also teaches us that our emphasis must be upon utterances and not simply linguistic analysis. Since what is communicated by an author consists of both explicatures and implicatures, the analysis of lexicography and grammar is only the first step in interpretation. Sentence meaning is viewed only as evidence of an author's informative intent. If we neglect the pragmatically recovered aspects of explicatures which go beyond the code, or if we ignore the implicatures which are not linked directly to the code, we will, in the end, be in danger of not understanding what the author means. In this way, pragmatic (and therefore contextual) considerations are not understood as an 'add on' to the real task of interpretation which consists of word studies and grammatical analysis. Commenting on Heb. 1.1,

37. Charles Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), p. 245.

38. Herbert Edward Ryle and Montague Rhodes James, *Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), pp. 132-33.

Ernst-August Gutt stated, 'All the meat is in the implicatures!'[39] Textual analysis is not in competition with contextual analysis since both are necessary for the recovery of a writer's informative intent. Context is not some 'added extra' which gives a reader 'bonus meaning'. Nor is it something which is hidden 'behind' the text, waiting to be discovered. Communication functions within this interplay between text and context according to the communicative principle of relevance. The recovery of both explicatures and implicatures in the inferential process of interpretation is an essential and not a secondary, optional task.

On the other hand, the contemporary reader who does not explore the shared assumptions of the author and implied readers is at risk of supplying assumptions which were not envisioned by the author. In the normal process of communication, contemporary readers will seek to construct contexts in which to interpret utterances, although these will not necessarily be those of the author and first readers/hearers. For example, Jesus' well-known statement in Jn 15.15 is commonly interpreted within the frame of contemporary, Western notions of friendship with no reference to the ancient constructs of such relations which were often interwoven with patronage:

> (8) I do not call you servants any longer, because the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends, because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father. Instead, I have called you friends, for everything that I learned from my Father I have made known to you.

We know, on the one hand, that *liberti* (freed slaves) would remain within the social orbit of their former masters, being attached to them as clients. Clients were, at times, spoken of euphemistically as 'friends'.[40] The 'master-slave' relationship mentioned in the verse (the NRSV rendering of *doulos* and *kyrios* is 'servant' and 'master'), and the note about a change in relationship, would make the frame of patronage manifest for the first readers of the text who well understood the nature of *clientela*. On the other hand, the contemporary encyclopedic entry about friendship a reader may access upon reading Jn 15.15 could be the very source of misunderstanding the informative intent of the author. Jesus' 'friends' are not, as in current use, well-known people one trusts and has affection for, 'buddies'. Although such assumptions would be most accessible to the contemporary reader, the interpretation which they render would not be faithful to the meaning of the utterance. If, however, the reader has no access to the assumptions about friendship which were available to the author and first readers, some

39. Ernst-August Gutt, personal conversation (High Wycombe, 28 May 2001).

40. Richard Saller, 'Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction', in Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 49-62.

assumptions may be constructed *ad hoc* from the discourse itself (Jn 15.12-17), which in this case would include the assumptions that friends enjoy a status elevated above slaves and that obedience is an element of the concept of friendship which Jesus assumes. If improper assumptions are supplied or if contextual assumptions are overlooked, misunderstanding will occur either by leading to unintended implicatures or by not recognizing intended implicatures.[41] Context construction depends upon the availability of the assumptions which were accessible by author and first readers, including those which go beyond assumptions which become available from the previous parts of the discourse.

The contemporary reader of Scripture must ask questions about which assumptions the biblical authors would have expected their readers to be capable of representing. In the process of interpretation, our contemporary set of manifest assumptions can lead us to derive explicatures and implicatures which were not part of the author's informative intent or our assumptions may deprive us of intended explicatures and implicatures. On the other hand, insofar as a particular contemporary culture shares cultural values with those of the culture in which Scripture was first written and read, these values *may*, in fact, facilitate the process of interpretation. For example, for a person from an honor/shame culture, assumptions about these values will become manifest to him as he reads about this issue in Scripture (Lk. 16.3; Rom. 1.16; 1 Pet. 4.12; etc.). In the same way, upon reading Paul's utterances about the nature of Christian community, a person from a collectivist culture will have manifest to him assumptions about the relationship between the individual and the group which will be decidedly different than those of someone from an individualistic culture. This is not to say that a Latin American's understanding of honor/shame or an African's collectivist orientation would correspond one-to-one with the way these concepts were understood in Mediterranean cultures of the first century. However, the very fact that such values are part of these contemporary cultures would allow these readers to access assumptions *similar to* those of the first readers. A second, and absolutely necessary, step in the interpretive process would be to inform the reader's understanding more precisely concerning how these values would have been understood in the first century. Relevance Theory predicts that our cultural predisposition will affect our understanding in one way or another. Western bias towards individualism and triumphalism will dispose a contemporary reader to overlook inferences derived from concepts about collectivism and suffering. Gutt comments that 'relevance theory predicts that the more similar the two audiences are with regard to contextual assumptions needed for the understanding of the text, that is,

41. Gutt, *Translation and Relevance*, p. 77. See Green, 'Lexical Pragmatics and Biblical Interpretation'.

the closer the situation is to one of primary communication, the fewer the problems will be'.[42] For this reason, dialogue about interpretation should take place within the wide global community and not be limited to the North Atlantic region. Those from another culture can open us to interpretive possibilities and challenge us about our own the cultural assumptions which impinge upon the process of utterance interpretation. This is, to be sure, a two way street.

Conclusion

Relevance Theory does not present a new method of interpretation but instead helps us understand why and how we do what we do when we interpret biblical texts within their historical, social and canonical contexts. It teaches us that all communication is a combination of linguistically encoded information and assumptions which must be inferred by any interpreter of an utterance. The contemporary interpreter should seek to recover those assumptions which the author would have communicated, considering the constraints of relevance. Relevance Theory suggests that while language (code) learning is an important aspect of training contemporary interpreters, other areas of knowledge must be included, such as the exploration of cultural perspectives of the era in which the biblical authors communicated. Language studies and contextual studies need to be joined together in any curriculum designed for those who aspire to be interpreters of Scripture. Relevance Theory would also support the notion that interpretation should be carried out within a global community to help the interpreter avoid the problem of making inferences which are based on his most accessible cultural assumptions.

In addition, RT stands on the side of authors and argues that the recovery of their intentions is essential for faithful understanding since the core of communication is reading intent given the stimulus presented by the author. Meaning is not simply encoded but inferred. We therefore seek to recover an author's informative intent, drawing upon linguistic and contextual evidence within the constraints of the communicative principle of relevance.[43] On the other hand, while authors speak, readers truly do contribute something to the interpretive process. They are passive but active contributors, called

42. Gutt, *Translation and Relevance*, p. 98.

43. The resurgence of theological interpretation presents a further challenge for those who understand RT as a framework for understanding the process of biblical interpretation. On the program of theological interpretation of Scripture, see Daniel J. Treier, *Introducing Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Recovering a Christian Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008). For a reflection on theological interpretation and RT, see Gene L. Green, 'Relevance Theory, Biblical Interpretation and Theology' (forthcoming).

upon to make inferences—those for which the author has given evidence and which are consistent with the communicative principle of relevance. Meaning is, therefore, not simply subject to readers and politics. Authors are given full voice as readers enter into communication with them. A gap exists between a biblical author's semantic representations and the meaning he wished to represent. We, as the first readers, fill that gap by an inferential process. This does not suggest that language is unstable but simply that meaning is linguistically underdetermined. Relevance constrains the inferences made in understanding.

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