



Language and Culture Archives

Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation 11

Bruce Moore, editor

©1984, SIL International

All rights reserved.

This document is part of the SIL International Language and Culture Archives.

More resources are available at: www.sil.org/resources/language-culture-archives.

SELECTED TECHNICAL ARTICLES RELATED TO TRANSLATION

NO. 11 4-84

CONTENTS

Split Phrases and Clauses in Greek.....	Alan Healey.....	3
The Function of the Historic Present in Mark 1:16--3:6; 4:1-41; 7:1-23; 12:13-34....	John Callow.....	9
The Historical Present in John's Gospel.....	David Boos.....	17
Vocatives and Boundaries.....	Elinor Rogers.....	24
The Position of the Vocative <u>Adelphoi</u> in the Clause.....	John Banker.....	29

START is published by the Translation Department of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at least twice each year as suitable technical articles become available. The publication is dependent upon the voluntary contribution of materials from its readers and from members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in study programs. Since the publication is intended to stimulate creative interaction, the articles will not necessarily represent the author's "final word" on any topic, nor are the opinions expressed in them to be regarded as the official position of the Translation Department of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Send articles, reactions to articles, and general observations and comments to the Editor at: International Linguistics Center, 7500 West Camp Wisdom Road, Dallas, Texas 75236. Permission to use these articles, either in full or in part, must be obtained from the Editor.

START is sent out on a "standing order" basis. The cost is \$1.00 per issue (\$1.25 for single copies). Billing will be done annually. Please address all communications regarding subscriptions to:

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
Dallas Center Book Store
7500 West Camp Wisdom Road
Dallas, Texas 75236

Editor: Bruce Moore

SELECTED TECHNICAL ARTICLES RELATED TO TRANSLATION NO. 11
1984 5C
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
DALLAS, TEXAS 75236
Printed in U.S.A.

SPLIT PHRASES AND CLAUSES IN GREEK

Alan Healey

[Alan Healey became a member of SIL in 1955 and has worked principally in Papua New Guinea. He received a Ph.D. in Linguistics from the Australian National University in 1964 and has served as a linguistics consultant and also as a Technical Studies Coordinator with the Papua New Guinea Branch.]

In languages that have a reputation for free word order, that freedom is in fact limited. We usually find that words which are closely related to each other in a text occur together in sequence. That is, the words of a grammatical phrase usually occur together in a clump, and the elements of a clause usually occur together in a clump. So it comes as somewhat of a surprise or even frustration to find that in New Testament Greek a phrase or a clause may often be split into two or occasionally three pieces. Let us survey some of the various kinds of splitting so that we can more easily recognize and accept them. (Some of the material in section 3 below is covered in a different way in Blass-Debrunner-Funk sect. 473.)

1. Vocatives as splitters

A vocative form usually immediately precedes or follows the first clause of a sentence. However, in about 6% of the instances it follows a clause-initial conjunction and in 19% of the instances it comes right inside the clause.

1.1 If the verb is in the second person or if it is a verb of seeing or knowing, the vocative will usually follow it.

Acts 26:13 At midday on the way I saw, King, a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, shining around me...

Acts 26:27 Do you believe, King Agrippa, the prophets?

1 Cor. 7:16 How do you know, wife, whether you will save your husband?

Jas. 5:9 Don't grumble, brothers, against one another.

1.2 In other circumstances there is no readily seen rule for the position of the vocative.

1 Cor. 1:10 Now I appeal to you, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that all of you agree...

1 Cor. 3:1 But I, brothers, could not address you as spiritual men...

1.3 The vocative normally comes between two clause elements; only in 1% of the instances does the vocative split a phrase.

1 Cor. 15:31 By my boasting of you, brothers, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord!

(For more details on vocatives see Barnwell, 1974.)

2. Postpositive conjunctions as splitters

2.1 The conjunctions gar, oun, de, men, and te are normally the second word in a clause; about 9% of the time they come in the third position or later. Thus, if one regards a conjunction, not as an integral part of any one clause, but as the connection between two clauses, then these postpositives are seen to split a clause into two parts.

Matt. 3:8 Produce, therefore (oun), fruit appropriate to repentance.

2.2 Much of the time the postpositive comes between two elements (tagmemes) of the clause, but about 30% of the time the postpositive actually splits a phrase and is found right inside a clause element.

Luke 11:38 The but (de) Pharisee...was astonished...

John 4:18 Five for (gar) husbands you have had...

2.3 Two kinds of context account for most of the instances of postpositive conjunctions in the third or later positions.

(a) When two postpositives occur together, one comes in second position and one in third.

Acts 9:31 The so (men oun) church...had peace...

Acts 23:8 Sadducees, for (men gar), say there is no resurrection...

(b) When the first element of a clause is a prepositional phrase, a postpositive is often delayed to the third position or later. An examination of gar shows that it is delayed half of the time when the preposition is followed by a nominal, and it is always delayed when the preposition is followed by a relative clause. In most instances, the prepositional phrase is split by the postpositive whether or not the postpositive is delayed.

Matt 2:6 From you, (gar), shall come a ruler.

John 5:46 About for (gar) me he wrote.

Heb. 7:13 The one about whom, for (gar), these things are said belong to another tribe.

(For more details on the position of (gar) see A. Healey, 1977.)

2.4 Some conjunctions such as hara, ean, hina, hōs, eos, and hotan which are normally initial in a clause occasionally behave as postpositives.

(See Blass-Debrunner-Funk sect. 451(2). Sect. 475(1).)

3. Clause elements as splitters

A clause element may come into the middle of some other multiword clause element and split it in two. Such splitting of phrases is quite common. I have collected a list of 88 instances from the New Testament so far.

3.1 (a) The splitter is a verb in two-thirds of the instances and some other element such as Subject, Complement, Object, Indirect Object, Location, or Time in the remaining instances.

- Mark 4:30 ...or with what it parable shall we describe? (O)
 Mark 16:17 With tongues they will speak new. (Vt)
 Luke 4:22 Not the son is of of Joseph this man? (Ve)
 John 4:52 So he inquired the hour from them at which he began to mend. (IO)
 John 9:16 Not is this from God man? (L)
 Acts 4:33 With great power gave their testimony the apostles of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. (S)
 2 Cor. 6:16b We for a shrine of God are of a living. (Ve)
 2 Tim. 4:8 ...a crown of righteousness which will award me the Lord on that day the righteous judge... (T)

(b) Quite often (28% of instances) the splitter is a string of two or even three clause elements.

- Luke 7:2 Now a slave of a certain centurion was sick and about to die who was dear to him. (Ve Co Vi Vi)
 Luke 8:47 why she had touched him she confessed in the presence of all the people and how she had been immediately healed. (Vt L)
 Luke 23:14 ...no I found in this man crime of the kind you accused him of. (Vt L)
 John 4:39 From that city many believed in him of the Samaritans (Vt IO)
 John 5:6 When this man saw Jesus lying there (Vt S)
 Acts 2:36 ...that both Lord him and Christ made God this Jesus whom you crucified. (O₂ Vt S)
 1 Cor. 3:2 Milk you I gave not food. (IO Vt)
 1 Cor. 3:7 neither he who plants is anything nor he who waters (Ve Co)
 2 Jn. 5 ...not as though a commandment I were writing to you new... (Vt IO)

(c) Sometimes the splitter is a postpositive conjunction plus one or more clause elements (9% of instances), and occasionally a vocative plus a clause element.

- Luke 8:40 ...were for (gar) they all expecting him. (Ppcj S)
 Rom. 11:13 To you now (de) I am speaking to Gentiles. (Ppcj Vt)
 Jas. 5:10 As an example take brothers of of suffering and patience the prophets. (Vt Voc)

3.2 The item split may be a verb phrase, but more often it is a noun phrase functioning as a Subject, Complement, Object, Indirect Object, Instrument, Location, or Time.

- Matt. 5:14 Cannot a city be hidden on a hill situated. (V)
 Luke 1:10 And the whole multitude was of the people praying outside at the hour of incense. (V)
 Luke 8:21 My mother and my brothers those are who hear the word of God and do it. (Co)
 Luke 18:18 And questioned a him ruler... (S)
 John 7:44 Some wanted of them to arrest him. (V)
 John 11:51 ...he prophesied that was about Jesus to die for the nation... (V)
 Acts 1:5 ...but you with the Spirit will be baptized Holy before many days. (I) or (Ag)
 1 Cor. 2:10 For the Spirit everything searches even the depths of God. (O)
 Heb. 9:24 For not into a handmade entered sanctuary Christ a copy of the true one but... (L)

1 Pet. 4:2 ...so as...by the will of God for the rest of his bodily to live time. (T)

(Note that Matt. 5:14, Luke 1:10, John 7:44 have two split elements, and in Heb. 9:24 the Location is split into three parts.)

3.3 Verb phrases mostly consist of just two verbs, and there is only one way they can be split. On the other hand, noun phrases (perhaps better called nominals) are often quite long and there are many opportunities for splitting. (For a detailed description of kinds of verb phrases ("verb chains") see Funk pp. 427-452, and for kinds of noun phrases ("nominal word clusters") see Funk pp. 527-610.)

(a) If the phrase has a single head with one or more modifiers, the split can apparently come almost anywhere. Only one restriction has been observed: the split never comes after a phrase-initial definite article or preposition.

Luke 2:19 But Mary all remembered these things...

Luke 11:27 ...raised a certain her voice woman in the crowd...

John 3:19 ...were for their evil actions...

Acts 2:7 Not behold all these are who are speaking Galileans?

Acts 7:19 He...forced our fathers to have infants exposed their...

Rom. 11:24 If for you from the inherently have been cut wild olive tree...

Rom. 12:4 ...all the members not the same have function.

1 Cor. 2:11 What for knows person a man's thoughts...?

Heb. 1:4 ...a more excellent than them he has obtained name.

(b) If the phrase is a coordinate or appositional one, the split regularly comes between the two grammatical halves of the phrase. (Split phrases coordinated with kai are mentioned in grammar books because of their rules of agreement with the verb. See Blass-Debrunner-Funk sect. 135(1)(c).)

Luke 7:17 And spread this report through the whole of Judea concerning him and all the surrounding country.

John 8:19 Neither me you know nor my Father.

1 Cor. 1:14 None of you I baptized except Crispus and Gaius.

1 Cor. 4:3 ...that by you I should be judged or by any human court.

1 Cor. 4:13 As the scum of the earth we are treated the dregs of humanity to this very day.

1 Cor. 5:7 For our pascal lamb has been sacrificed Christ.

Heb. 4:12 Is living for the word of God and active and sharper than any two-edged sword.

1 Pet. 2:7 To you therefore he is precious who believe.

(The first example has two split elements.)

4. Dependent clauses as splitters

A dependent clause (or even two dependent clauses) may come into the middle of another clause, usually the main clause on which it depends, and split it in two. I have noted forty-seven instances of this in the New Testament so far. The splitter may be a participial clause of any case (these are the majority in my data only because I had been researching circumstantial participles at the time), a preposition plus infinitival clause, or a subordinate conjunction plus

finite clause. The main clause may be split in many different ways, and these may be identified by the nature of the first part of the split clause.

4.1 The first part is Subject.

- John 6:18 and the sea, because a strong wind was blowing, rose (Split by a genitive participial clause. See also Acts 4:36-37, Rom. 5:6.)
- John 11:33 Then Jesus, when he saw her weeping and the Jews who came with her also weeping, was deeply moved in spirit and troubled (Split by a hōs clause. See also John 11:20, 29, and 32.)
- Acts 23:15b And we, before he comes near, are ready to kill him. (Split by a preposition plus infinitival clause.)
- Rom. 7:13 Yet sin, in order that it might be shown to be sin, worked death in me through what is good (Split by a hina clause.)
- Jude 9 But the archangel Michael, when he contended with the devil and disputed about the body of Moses, did not presume to pronounce a reviling judgment upon him (Split by a hote clause. See also John 19:23, Gal. 4:3.)

4.2 The first part is a prepositional phrase.

- Acts 3:26 To you first, when God had raised up his servant, he sent him... (Split by a nominative participial clause.)
- Heb. 11:21 By faith, when Jacob was dying, he blessed each of the sons of Joseph... (Split by a nominative participial clause. See also Mark 3:7-8, Heb. 11:4b and 7.)

4.3 The first part is an adverbial element of some kind.

- Luke 1:73-74 to grant us that (we) fearlessly, when we have been delivered from our enemies, might serve him (Split by an accusative participial clause.)
- Luke 22:60 And immediately, while he was still speaking, the cock crowed. (Split by a genitive participial clause. See also Mark 14:43.)

4.4 The first part is or includes a relative pronoun.

- Matt. 13:48 ...a net...which, when it was full, they drew ashore... (Split by a hote clause.)
- Luke 17:7 ...one of you...who, when (his servant) has come in from the field, will say to him... (Split by a dative participial clause.)
- Acts 25:15 ...a prisoner about whom, when I was in Jerusalem, the chief priests and elders of the Jews informed (me) (Split by a genitive participial clause.)

4.5 The first part is or includes the predicate (verb phrase).

- Luke 20:10b but the tenants sent him away, after they had beaten him, empty-handed (Split by a nominative participial clause.)
- John 20:1 Now on the first day of the week Mary Magdalene came early, while it was still dark, to the tomb (Split by a genitive participial clause.)
- Heb. 11:12 Therefore from one man were born, and him as good as dead, (descendants) as many as the stars of heaven... (Split by a genitive participial clause.)

4.6 Certain close-knit constructions of two verbs may be viewed as a single clause, and these are sometimes split by a subordinate clause.)

(a) "Able to" with infinitive (See Funk sect. 567-573.)

Luke 11:7b I cannot get up and give you any (Split by a nominative participial clause. See also Mark 3:27.)

(b) "Hope that" with infinitive

2 Cor. 10:15 but we hope that, as your faith increases, (our field) among you may be greatly enlarged (Split by a genitive participial clause.)

(c) "It happened that" with infinitive or indicative (See Reiling 1965 for a thorough description.)

Matt. 7:28 And it happened that, when Jesus finished these sayings, the crowds were astonished at his teaching (Split by a hote clause. See also Matt. 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; and 26:1.)

Luke 1:23 And it happened that, when his time of service was ended, he went to his home (Split by a hōs clause. See also Luke 1:41; 2:15; and 19:29.)

Luke 3:21 Now it happened that, when all the people were baptized and when Jesus also had been baptized and was praying, the heaven was opened (Split by a preposition plus infinitival clause and by a genitive participial clause. See also Luke 11:1.)

Acts 16:16 It happened that, as we were going to the place of prayer, a slave girl... met us (Split by a genitive participial clause. See also Matt. 9:10; Luke 9:37; 11:14 and 20:1.)

Acts 22:6 It happened that, as I made my journey and drew near to Damascus, about noon a great light from heaven suddenly shone about me (Split by a dative participial clause. See also Acts 22:17.)

5. Conclusions

In New Testament Greek, phrases and clauses are quite frequently split into two or occasionally three parts. The splitter may be a vocative, a postpositive conjunction, a clause element, or any two or even three of these. Each of these tends to have different ways of splitting, although there are a few similarities.

6. Research needed

6.1 A fuller investigation will probably uncover many more restrictions on where vocatives may split clauses, and on where clause elements may split phrases.

6.2 A careful examination is needed of those situations in which two or more ways of splitting are observed. What controls or motivates the author's choices in this matter? Do the different splits convey different shades of meaning? If the answer given is "emphasis" (as in Blass-Debrunner-Funk sect. 473), what kind of emphasis is it? (See K. Callow pp. 49-68 for the kinds of prominence in language.) Is the explanation in terms of emphasis good enough to predict from their English translation exactly where an author will split phrases or clauses?

6.3 In any further investigation, a list should be kept of instances where a passage can be interpreted in two different ways according to whether or not

one treats certain words as part of a split phrase. The passages could then be evaluated for exegetical ambiguity in the light of all that has been learned about splitting (and about word order in general—see J. Callow).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barnwell, Katharine. 1974. "Vocative Phrases." Notes on Translation 53:9-17.
- Blass, F. and Debrunner, A. 1961. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Trans. by Robert W. Funk. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press.
- Callow, J.C. 1974. "A Preliminary Theory of Order within Verbal Clauses in Pauline Greek". Ms.
- Callow, Kathleen. 1974. Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan.
- Funk, Robert W. 1973. A Beginning-Intermediate Grammar of Hellenistic Greek. Second edition. Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Healey, Alan. 1977. "The Position of gar in Greek." Ms.
- Reiling, J. 1965. "The Use and Translation of Kai Egēneto 'and it Happened' in the New Testament." The Bible Translator 16(4): 153-163.

THE FUNCTION OF THE HISTORIC PRESENT IN

MARK 1:16—3:6; 4:1-41; 7:1-23; 12:13-34

John Callow

[John Callow has an M. A. in Mathematics from Cambridge University and a Ph.D. from London University. He began working with SIL in 1956. He worked with the Kasem language in Ghana, and since then has been a linguistic and translation consultant and has taught courses in exegesis and in Greek discourse analysis. He is currently an International Translation Consultant and is editor of the Semantic Structure Analysis series.]

Introduction

In NOT 65 (1977) two articles were published on the question of the use of the "historic present"; that is, the use of the present tense instead of the aorist on the time-line in the Gospels. Both studied the historic present (HP) in Mark, but the approaches were rather different. Randall Buth looked at all the HPs which were not speech introducers in Mark; Stephen Levinsohn studied all the HPs in the last three chapters of Mark; so one was extensive in his approach, the other was intensive. In spite of the difference of approach and data, certain similar observations were made and conclusions reached:

- a. It is useful and important to distinguish between verbs which introduce speech, and others (Levinsohn also introduces distinctions in addition to these, but this basic distinction is important for him also, in practice);
- b. Both reach the conclusion that the use of the HP has a prominence function. Buth's remark is rather general: "Mark is able to use this construction as a climax marker to draw attention to the crucifixion of

Jesus" (p. 13). Levinsohn is rather more specific: "It is employed as a device to give prominence to the events that lead from and build upon the speech or event so introduced" and "The overall effect of employing the HP in Mark is to give prominence...to certain themes" (both on p. 27).

In addition to these two observations that they share, Levinsohn also lays down two "basic principles" (p. 14) for the use of the HP in Mark:

"(i) It is used only in connection with the interaction of two participants or groups of participants."

"(ii) Its use is always cataphoric, anticipatory, pointing to another action connected with it...it is an event which is to be built upon."

It is the second of these two basic principles that lies at the heart of Levinsohn's analysis. Later (p. 16) he says "...the historic present...forms the first half of a couplet, the second half being the action or actions which develop the theme and build upon that event." And his diagrammatic analyses of Mark 14-16 take the form of Inciting event + whatever events develop in connection with it.

In using some data from the gospel of Mark at a recent workshop, the problem of the HP was forced on my attention, so I have given some time to look at the examples which fall within the list of the above examples, thirty-five examples in all. I had two particular goals in mind—one was to try out the above ideas and see if they worked for the data I was familiar with; and the other was to see if using the narrative roles spelled out in Beekman and Callow (pp. 71-73) would be of any help in the analysis, as they certainly proved to be in the analysis of the function of the conjunction kai.

Nonspeech historic presents

One of my first approaches was to see if there was any correlation between the occurrence of the HP and the narrative role in which it was found. By dividing them into speech and nonspeech, a marked difference in distribution immediately appeared. Nonspeech uses of the HP occurred in the Setting/ Preliminary Incidents or Problem roles (with only one exception); speech uses of the HP occurred mostly in Occasioning Incidents or Resolving Incidents or Resolutions, with only one in a Setting and some in the Problem. Hence, an analysis of the two types separately seemed a valid approach.

Before looking, therefore, at the nonspeech HPs first, it is worth noting that no examples of the HP were found in the Outcome when following a Resolution—nine of the episodes and such Outcomes (out of a total of twenty-one episodes altogether). This, of course, would tend to support Levinsohn's contention that the HP is cataphoric, as the outcome is always the final role in an episode, and so, in the nature of the case, nothing else can be "built on" it. It is also of interest, though probably less significant, that neither of the two cases of a Complicating Incident had the HP.

Another interesting observation is that, in general, there is only one HP per role (some exceptions will be discussed later), even when Resolving Incidents and the Resolution are treated as one narrative role. Also, in the

rather limited data analysed in this particular respect, the conjunction de never occurs with the HP.

The nonspeech HPs can be divided into three groups—those found in the Setting or Preliminary Incidents; those in the Problem; and the one example in a Resolving Incident. (Incidentally, there are thirteen examples of nonspeech HPs, out of the total of thirty-five, i.e. about one in three.)

Historic present in the setting/preliminary incidents

The seven examples are the following:

- 1:21 Jesus and the disciples arrive at Capernaum
- 2:15 Jesus is eating in Levi's house
- 4:1 A crowd assembles
- 4:36 The disciples take Jesus with them in the boat
- 7:1 Pharisees and scribes gather round Jesus
- 12:13 Pharisees and Herodians are sent to Jesus
- 12:18 Sadducees come to Jesus

The most obvious and simplest analysis of these examples is to say the HP has two functions:

- a. To "bring onto the stage" participants who will be involved in the subsequent story (Levinsohn's "interaction"—but note that in chapter 4 the crowd only listen—no reaction of any sort is indicated on their part), with a verb of motion to Jesus.
- b. To take Jesus (usually with the disciples) to some new location, i.e. Capernaum (1:21), onto the lake (4:36), or to indicate where Jesus was, as in Levi's house (2:15).

This analysis tends to be confirmed when the examples of the HP in the Problem role are considered also.

Historic present in the problem

There are five examples in this case:

- 1:40 A leper comes to Jesus
- 2:3 A group of people arrive with a paralysed man
- 2:4 They lower the paralysed man to Jesus
- 2:18 Some people (not further identified) come to Jesus
- 4:35 A severe wind arises.

Here again, participants (which also includes a stormy wind in 4:35) who will interact with Jesus are brought into the story, only they are first introduced in the Problem, rather than the Setting. In 1:40 the Problem and the Setting are fused, but in each of the other cases there is a Setting, but it does not introduce the appropriate participants into the story. In 2:3,4 the bringing of the paralysed man to Jesus is divided up into two separate actions, since the crowd around the house precluded direct access to Jesus, so the paralysed man is lowered through the broken up roof. (Buth refers to 2:4 as a major exception (see p. 8), but this double movement to Jesus seems an adequate explanation.)

The one example that is not in the Setting or Problem is found in 4:38 where the disciples wake Jesus from his sleep at the back of the boat. This obviously does not fit the pattern established by the other examples, in that it is not introducing new participants, nor taking Jesus/his disciples to a new location. It is probably better discussed in connection with the HP in Resolving Incidents and Resolutions.

In the introduction to his article, Both quotes from Turner's grammar, which says: "Thackeray suggested that the presents in Mark (except legei) were used in a similar way (to the LXX use of the HP in 1-4 Kings) for new scenes and characters" (italics mine). This is virtually the same conclusion as I have reached above.

Levinsohn's analysis of similar cases is not too different, but there is a significant difference nonetheless. His statement, in connection with what he calls "verbs of arrival" (which would broadly cover the examples given above) is that "the historic present establishes the location in which an important interaction will occur". Thus, in discussing 14:12-25 he says of the HP used in 17b that it "indicates that the participants concerned have arrived at the location where the central events of the episode are to take place....The reader thus knows...that he is to pay special attention to the events that will take place in the upper room..." (p. 17). Similarly, it is implied by the diagram on p. 24 that the use of the HP in 14:53 indicates that the high priest's house is the location for the important events that follow, i.e. Jesus' trial.

Hence, Levinsohn sees a prominence feature here, the location being one in which important events will take place, and the HP alerts the reader to this fact. Is this so?

To try and test this hypothesis, I studied carefully the two different functions the HP has with nonspeech verbs, i.e. the introduction of participants into the narrative, and the movements of Jesus (and his disciples).

The introduction of participants

It has already been observed that participants are introduced either in the Setting or in the Problem, and this distinction turns out to be important for this study.

In the Problem, participants are introduced in the following ways:

1. kai + HP verb + pros auton + subject (i.e. participant). (1:40; 2:3) In this latter case, since the participant could not walk, there is a pherontes 'bringing' following the HP verb. I would also include 4:37 kai ginetai lailaps 'and becomes a-storm', as following the same basic pattern, but with the pros auton being inappropriate and the verb not being the usual one of motion.
2. kai + definite subject (participant(s)) + imperfect verb. (2:16,24; 3:2) This is the case in which no subject is given, but it is specified in verse 6 instead, at the end of the episode, perhaps because this is the last episode in a major grouping of episodes. In each of these three cases, the subject is the scribes and/or Pharisees, who are introduced for the first time in 2:6.

3. kai + ēn + anthrōpos + description. (1:23; 3:1) In both of these cases a location is also given, which is the same location that is given for Jesus in the Setting.
4. de + subject (participant) + imperfect verb. (1:30) Peter's mother-in-law.
5. de + imperfect verb + pros auton + object (participants). (1:32) No subject is expressed, and the sentence has de, not kai, for its conjunction.

Disregarding the two de examples initially (de is much rarer than kai in the passages studied, about one de to ten examples of kai), the most straightforward analysis of this data (but always bearing in mind its limited nature) is that patterns 1 and 3 are those used to introduce a new participant into the narrative, whereas pattern 2 does not introduce new participants, but refers to known/old participants. It would then be proposed that pattern 1 is used when the participant concerned comes/is brought to Jesus; pattern 3 when the participant concerned is already where Jesus is. What is particularly interesting is that the new participants are referred to by a subject phrase that follows the verb, whereas old/known participants precede the verb.

What of the two examples introduced by de rather than the usual kai? Taking pattern 5 first. This brings out a further distinction that should perhaps have been made: in pattern 2 none of the verbs is a verb of movement, two are speech, one is "watching closely"; whereas, in pattern 5 the verb is pherō 'bring' as in 2:3 in pattern 1. The order is the same as pattern 1; the tense is that of pattern 2. So are the participants new or old? This is not easy to answer, as they are the people of Capernaum, who have been in the background since 1:31. So this example is left unanalysed at the moment, as to whether it is new or old.

Pattern 4, apart from the de, looks just like pattern 2; but while Peter is a known participant, his mother-in-law is certainly new (nor has Peter's wife been mentioned, which would have implied a mother-in-law). However, one further example can be considered. In the episode 2:1-12, the scribes are introduced for the first time, in Problem 2. The pattern used is the following:

de + ēsan + subject (i.e. participants) (2:6) The subject takes the form tines tōn grammateōn, which could be regarded as a plural indefinite subject; there is also an ekei, putting them in the same location as Jesus.

Apart from the de, then, this follows the same pattern as 3, and this would accord with the fact that this is the first time the scribes appear as participants, interacting with Jesus. Pattern 5 contrasts with this example in word order, as it has the subject first (it is also definite, but I would assume this is because Peter had only one mother-in-law), so it would appear that pattern 5 is a special form of "old/known participant", but this conclusion is certainly open to query.

What, then, of Levinsohn's suggestion of prominence associated with the HP pattern (i.e. pattern 1)? Several comments come to mind:

- a. If further examples of pattern 5 were found which differ from 1 only in tense used, then this might point to pattern 1 being prominent and pattern 5 not being so.
- b. Pattern 3 appears to function in the same way as pattern 1, so should also be treated as prominent if 1 is.
- c. In many of the episodes from which these patterns have been taken, there are examples of HP later in the same episode. How does this affect the decision on prominence?
- d. If it were decided that pattern 1 (and 3) indicated prominence, it still leaves the question open as to what is being made prominent. Levinsohn suggests the episode as a whole, and a decision on this would require analysis of groupings of episodes at all levels, in the whole gospel, to confirm. In Larson's analysis of 1:16—3:6, she sees two groupings, 1:16-45 and 2:1—3:6. In the former grouping, she states "Incident 2 (1:21-28) seems to be prominent" (p. 48), and this episode starts with a HP, which lends support to Levinsohn's thesis. And in connection with 2:1—3:6 she says: "The use of present tense throughout the Scene would indicate that it is important and sets the stage for more conflict later" (p. 55). This would also support Levinsohn's "cataphoric" theory for the HP. However, the examples I have considered so far do not occur in the Setting, but in the Problem; so, if Levinsohn's cataphoric approach is right, then the use of the HP in the Problem would, presumably, direct attention to the Resolution of the Problem, later in the same episode. An alternative statement, which perhaps isn't too different, is that the use of the HP to introduce the "problem patient" highlights that particular sickness or problem, and hence Jesus' power to deal with it—but this is probably the same as saying it gives prominence to the Resolution. In fact, in all the episodes considered in this body of data, there are only two examples of the HP in the Problem—the leper in 1:40 and the paralysed man in 2:3. But if my suggestion for including 4:37 is accepted, then this would add the storm on Lake Galilee; and if pattern 3 is also included, then this would give two further examples—1:23, the demon-possessed man; and 3:1, the man with the withered hand.

In summary, then, if it can be established that the use of the HP to introduce a participant in the Problem has a prominence function (and I would add pattern 3 as well), then the prominence may well be directed to the problem in question, and hence, how the problem was resolved, which is probably simply a refinement of Levinsohn's suggestion.

Participants in the setting

It is now necessary to turn to the introduction of participants in the Setting, rather than the Problem. There were eleven examples of the latter, and there are nine of the former; so in this particular body of data, they are about equally common. Three patterns are observed in the Setting:

1. kai + HP verb + pros auton + subject (i.e. participant(s)). (4:1; 7:1; 12:13; 12:18) I would regard 2:18 as belonging to this pattern, even though no expressed subject is given and pros auton is omitted. The

subject may be omitted because it is given in the preceding sentence. If this is so, the establishment of this pattern 1 could help in the exegetical question of the subject of erchontai in 2:18.

2. kai + aorist participle + subject (i.e. participant). (12:28)
3. kai + eiden + object (i.e. participant(s)). (1:16,19; 2:14) This pattern is restricted to the calling of disciples, the subject of eiden 'he saw' being Jesus in each case.

Here there are striking similarities and differences with the patterns found in the Problem. Here, there is no use of the imperfect at all, but the aorist is used, unlike in the Problem. But, most striking, although pattern 1 is identical with pattern 1 found in the Problem, the distinction between new and old appears to be neutralized. In 7:1 the subject is "the Pharisees and some of the scribes"; in 12:13 it is probably "the chief priests and the scribes and the elders" introduced in 11:27, or else it is indefinite and equivalent to a passive, in which the object, i.e. some of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, refers to the participants. In either case, they are known; in 12:18 it is the Sadducees; in 2:18 it is either unstated (in which case the categories of new/old do not apply), or the disciples of John and the Pharisees, both known. In 4:1 the subject is "a very large crowd", which is hard to categorise. Certainly, the clear distinction found in the Problem is not apparent here, nor is there an appropriate contrasting pattern.

Another striking difference is that the interaction of these participants with Jesus is verbal in every case—they either listen to what Jesus says (the crowd in 4:1) or they ask Jesus questions, the question constituting the Problem (some of the questions, being rhetorical, are criticisms).

Pattern 3 is obviously special, but pattern 2 is in clear contrast with pattern 1, as the aorist participle occurs with a participant ("one of the scribes") who asks Jesus a question (also aorist, unlike all the other cases, where the question/criticism is HP or imperfect). What does the contrast imply? Here again, Levinsohn's suggestion of prominence seems a reasonable guess. It seems plausible to suggest that in 11:27 to 12:40 Mark is presenting the conflict between Jesus and his opponents in the temple in Jerusalem, so that the thematic participants are brought onto the scene with the HP—the individual scribe would not come into this category. In 4:1 the crowd is introduced with the HP and it is to the crowd that the parables are directed—this is clear from various statements in 4:1-34, especially in the summary in verses 33 and 34. One possible interpretation, therefore, would be that an HP introducing "verbal participants" picks them out—either Jesus' opponents, or as those to whom Jesus' ministry was directed. (I would also be inclined to suggest that the importance of the issue(s) that are raised by questioners/criticisers is shown by whether what they say is introduced by the HP, or not. The HP is used in 2:18, 7:1, and 12:13; whereas, the imperfect is used in 12:18 and the aorist in 12:28, perhaps not giving prominence to the Sadducees' question about the resurrection and the scribes' question about the greatest commandment. If Levinsohn is right, this could throw light on Mark's themes at this points.)

(It is also of interest that in two of the cases of pattern 2, i.e. known participants + imperfect, the activity of the participants is that of speech; in the third case it is "observing closely". Why, then, the frontshifting, as

compared with similar introductions in the Setting? Is it the use of the imperfect? Is it because the occurrence is medially, rather than in the Setting?)

The movements of Jesus (+ his disciples)

Two facts should be noted first. One is that all references to Jesus' own movements are in the Setting, never in the Problem. (There are also occasional references to Jesus' movements in the final Outcome, but they aren't under consideration here, and, as observed earlier, the HP is never used in such Outcomes.) The other is that of the twenty episodes considered, there is no movement of Jesus recorded in eight of them, thus leaving twelve cases to be discussed:

Only two patterns have been found in this data:

1. kai + HP verb + location—subject (Jesus (+ disciples)). (1:21a; 4:36; 2:15) 4:36 is a little unusual in that the subject is the disciples who take Jesus with them in the boat (in which he already was). 2:15 is included although it reads kai ginetai katakeisthai auton en tē oikia autou 'And he comes to be reclining in his house'. Jesus' movement to Levi's house is not recorded, but his presence there eating is. (Cf. the use of ginetai in 4:37 for a storm arising.)
2. kai + aorist participle/finite verb + location—subject (Jesus (+ disciples)) (1:21b,29,35; 2:1,13,23; 3:1; 7:17; 1:19)

Some explanatory comments are needed on pattern 2. Sometimes Jesus' movement is referred to by a participle only, and the following finite verb does not refer to movement; as in 1:16, 19 eiden 'he saw', 1:21 edidasken 'he was teaching', and 2:1 ēkousthē 'it was heard'. On the other hand, his movements may be referred to by several verbs as in 1:29 "having left...he/they went" and 1:35 "having arisen, he went out and went away". And in 2:23 the Greek reads kai egeneto auton...paraporeuesthai dia tōn sporimōn 'and he came to be...passing through the grainfields', which clearly refers to movement on Jesus' part. (It isn't clear why egeneto + infinitive is used—possibly because the movement is continuous, and the subject of the following sentence is not Jesus, so a present participle is excluded. In any case, it clearly contrasts with the use of ginetai in 2:15.) Finally, in 1:16 a present participle is used, because the movement is simultaneous with the main event ("he saw"), but this is clearly a matter of aspect, so 1:16 is regarded as belonging to pattern 2. (This makes thirteen examples, but this is because there are two statements of movement in 1:21, one in the HP and one in the aorist.)

There is obviously a clear contrast of pattern in terms of the tense used—either HP or aorist; there are no other contrasts. What reasonable explanation can be offered for the difference, especially since pattern 2 is much more common than pattern 1? Pattern 1 is the closest to Levinsohn's examples from chapters 14-16, so his answer would be that it indicates that the episode that follows is an important one in the light of Mark's overall themes. This seems reasonable here—1:21a introduces the healing of the man with an evil spirit (and Larson considers this episode to be prominent); 4:36 introduces the episode in which Jesus calms the storm; and 2:15 introduces the episode in which

Jesus is criticised for eating with tax collectors and sinners. But there are several queries that can be raised:

1. Is it true that none of the rest of the twelve episodes is prominent (e.g. the healing of the paralysed man)? And what of those episodes in which no movement of Jesus is mentioned?
2. In 1:21-28 two statements of movement are given, one in the HP, stating that Jesus and his disciples arrive at Capernaum; and the other aorist, stating that Jesus (the disciples are not mentioned) went into the synagogue where the exorcism actually took place.
3. In two of the three possibly prominent episodes, i.e. 4:35-41 and 2:15-17, the HP is also used subsequently in the same episode. What difference does this make?

However, it is difficult to see what good alternative explanations could be offered. Evidently, Jesus' movements are given in the aorist normally, so the switch to the HP seems significant. It could be said that it draws attention to the location of that episode, but that doesn't seem very different to me to saying it is drawing attention to the episode as such. I would raise a query about 1:21a, however. This is the first of two locations given in the Setting, and there is also a switch from Jesus and the disciples to Jesus alone. I would be inclined to say, therefore, that this HP draws attention to Capernaum as such—possibly because it seems to have been Jesus' center of operations in Galilee, or because it was the scene of so many of his miracles; or possibly, even, because it was Peter's home town, as 1:29 makes clear. It is also interesting to note that in 1:15, where Jesus actually moves to Galilee, the aorist is still used, not the HP.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beekman, John and Callow, John. 1979. The Semantic Structure of Written Communication, Parts 2 and 3, the Practical Application of the Theory. Prepublication draft.
- Buth, Randall. 1977. "Mark's Use of the Historical Present." Notes on Translation 65, pp. 7-13.
- Larson, Mildred L. "The Gospel of Mark, 1:1—3:6", in Beekman and Callow (cited above), pp. 34-59.
- Levinsohn, Stephen. 1977. "Preliminary Observations on the Use of the Historical Present in Mark." Notes on Translation 65, pp. 13-28.

THE HISTORICAL PRESENT IN JOHN'S GOSPEL

David Boos

[David Boos is a graduate of California State University at Sacramento and has an M. A. in Greek from Western Conservative Baptist Seminary. He became a member of SIL in 1982 and will be working in Peru.]

Introduction

The "historical present" is that use of the present tense to denote a past event in narrative discourse genre. It is used by a number of New Testament authors with Mark and John the most prolific users. It is John's use of the historical present that this paper is concerned with. Although A. T. Robertson doubts whether this phenomenon can be brought under any rule,¹ this paper seeks to demonstrate a pattern of its use by John and to discover any discourse functions of the historical present.

The organization of this paper will be to present different theories on the function of the historical present and to evaluate them in light of John's use.

Theories on the Function of the Historical Present

Heightened Vividness

One of the most common theories on the function of the historical present is that it is used by the author to create a "heightened vividness" in the recording of narrative accounts. The editors of the New American Standard Bible recognize this use and state that:

...Greek authors frequently used the present tense for the sake of heightened vividness, thereby transporting their readers in imagination to the actual scene at the time of the occurrence.²

This theory is generally correct, in that the narrative is more vivid when the historical present is used. In John's account of raising Lazarus from the dead, there are eleven historical presents. The vividness of this narrative is highlighted especially in light of the fact that the episodes that precede and follow this have no historical presents.

The problem with this theory is that it fails to tell us what sort of vividness is in view. It recognizes a marked prominence over the use of the aorist tense but stops short of saying how the vividness contributes to the understanding or appreciation of the discourse as a whole. It fails to answer the question of why John chose to highlight one episode rather than another. So this theory, although recognizing a certain prominence, is rather vague and empty and fails to analyze the cause and effect of the vividness.

Suddenness

Another theory says that the historical present is used to indicate excitement or suddenness as the result of a startling incident. Robertson says that in John 20:1-2 the string of historical presents indicates the excitement of Mary, Peter, and John.³ In verses 1 and 2 the erchetai 'she comes', blepei 'she sees', trechei 'she runs', erchetai 'she comes', and legei 'she says', would be an intentional attempt by John to show an emotion of excitement on the part of the participant in question. Likewise, the blepei 'he sees', erchetai 'he comes', and theōrei 'he beholds' in verses 5 and 6 show the same emotion in Peter and John.

This theory could also explain the occurrences of the historical presents in 1:35-51. The disciples were obviously excited that they had found the

Messiah (1:41). Yet in other occurrences, there clearly is no excitement on the part of the participants resulting from a startling experience. For example, in John 18:28, 29 "they lead" (agousin) and "he says" (phēsin) are both historical presents, but the emotions of the guards and Pilate were not that of Mary or Peter in Chapter 20. So this theory could explain some occurrences, but does not seem to handle many of the uses in John's gospel.

Imaginative Presence

This theory suggests that the author uses the historical present at times when he is reliving the scene. Blass and Debrunner say,

The historical present can replace the aorist indicative in a vivid narrative at the events of which the narrator imagines himself to be present, the Aktionsart usually remains punctiliar in spite of the present tense form.⁴

This theory would fit well with John's gospel since he identifies himself as an eyewitness to the events which he records. The problem with this theory is that it does not address the frequency differences in the historical presents in the episodes of the Gospel of John. For example, why does he use seven historical presents to relate the episode of the wedding at Cana (2:1-11), only two for the healing of the nobleman's son (4:43-54), and none in Jesus' confrontation with the Jews in the temple at the Feast of Dedication (10:22-41)? John was probably present during all of these events, yet he "relived" them in varying degrees of vividness. This theory is, therefore, unsatisfactory in that it does not explain the patterns of the use of the historical present. In light of the frequency differences, it really does not tell us any reason at all for John's using the historical present.

Scene Introduction

This theory suggests that the historical present is used intentionally by the author to signal the start of a new paragraph and describes a change in the geographical location of participants who were off-stage.⁵ Thackeray notes this same use in the Septuagint and says that the historical presents in Mark are also used to introduce new scenes and characters.⁶ Proponents of this theory restrict its use to Mark and exclude legein 'to say'. With few exceptions, the historical presents function in this manner in Mark.

John also seems to use the historical present in the same manner. In 9:13, "They bring (agousin) to the Pharisees him who was formerly blind" clearly starts a new paragraph and introduces a new participant (the Pharisees). But there are numerous examples in John where this is not the case. In 13:5 the "he pours (ballei) water into the basin" is not paragraph initial nor does it introduce a new participant or change the geographical location of a participant who is already on stage (see also 21:13 where three events in the historical present are paragraph final with no change in participants or location).

Although this theory is consistent in Mark and accounts for some occurrences in John, it fails to answer the question as to why Mark and John do not always use this construction to start a paragraph or introduce a new

participant. What is Mark communicating to his readers when he uses the present tense for this purpose?

Cataphoric Reference

This theory is based on a study of Mark's Gospel by Stephen Levinsohn. Levinsohn says,

(the historical present) establishes the direction and gives prominence to the following actions, which in turn "build upon" that event in some way. Its use is always cataphoric, anticipatory, pointing to another action connected with it. It establishes a theme which is to be pursued further.⁷

What this theory says is that an event (speech acts included) is marked for prominence for the purpose of alerting the reader to important events which follow, i.e. those that would be naturally prominent.

This theory fits well into the uses of the historical present in John's Gospel. One example that does not seem to be explained by the other theories is found in John 9:12 and 13. Jesus has just healed a blind man and slipped away. The people around the healed man ask where Jesus is and the man says (leqei) "I do not know". Then they "bring" (aqousin) him to the Pharisees. The events which follow are what is important; that is, the Pharisees are divided in their evaluation of Jesus. The information and dialogue is repeated again in chapter 9, but there are no more historical presents since the important events have already been stated.

Although this theory accounts for the function of the historical present at a low level in the discourse, the question as to why it is used and when must still be answered. This brings us to the final theory.

Plot Development

This theory says that the significant groupings of the historical present (and possibly even the more isolated occurrences) signal that particular section as important in the plot development of the total discourse. No author has stated this theory as such but many have recognized this higher level discourse significance. Blass has stated that incidentals (that is, incidental to the development of the narrative) are denoted by past tense, the principal actions are denoted by the present, while the final results (or climax) are again expressed by the aorist.⁸ Shive says that a high concentration of the historical present emphasizes (gives prominence) to what is central in John's Gospel.⁹ Blass and Debrunner say that the secondary events are given in a past tense, main action is given in present tense, and concluding events are again put into the aorist.¹⁰ Levinsohn recognizes that the episode in which the present tense occurs are being given prominence over and against other episodes of the Gospel, thus reflecting the author's purpose in relating his narrative.¹¹ I would go further than Levinsohn and say that these episodes in which there is a significant number of historical presents signal an important development in the whole plot structure of the discourse. To use Longacre's terms,¹² these episodes would be inciting moments that led up to the climax itself and then any post-peak episodes which would add to the final climax.

The following chart will help illustrate this theory:

Chapter	Finite Verbs Not in Reported Speech	Historic Presents	Percentage of Historic Presents
1	88	20	22.72
2	46	7	15.21
3	24	1	4.16
4	76	16	21.05
5	29	3	10.34
6	79	5	6.33
7	56	2	3.56
8	47	1	2.12
9	65	3	4.61
10	24	0	0.00
11	89	11	12.35
12	70	6	8.57
13	49	18	36.73
14	6	5	83.33
15	0	0	0.00
16	6	1	16.66
17	2	0	0.00
18	80	10	12.50
19	97	9	9.27
20	66	23	34.84
21	62	23	37.09
Totals	1,061	164	15.45 ¹³

This chart would be more helpful if it were broken down into episodes, but will serve well for illustrative purposes. John gives us his purpose for writing the gospel in 20:31:

but these have been written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in his name.

The climax to his gospel is clearly Jesus' death and resurrection in chapters 19 and 20. Keeping these two things in mind, let us note the concentrations of the historical present.

In chapter 1 and the first eleven verses of chapter 2 there are twenty-seven historical presents. In these episodes Jesus' ministry is established (through baptism). His disciples are chosen and he performs his first sign. All these would be important preliminary events in establishing John's purpose and build to the climax.

The next major occurrence of the historical present is chapter 4 which is the narrative of the Samaritan woman. Was John's purpose for writing to bring all people to belief? Was Christ's sacrifice sufficient for all people? The obvious answer is yes; and by relating the narrative of Jesus' extension of salvation to the Samaritans, John marks this as important in his theme and plot development.

In chapter 11, there are eleven historical presents in the narrative of the death and resurrection of Lazarus. In this chapter Jesus tells his disciples that he would do something to confirm their faith. In demonstration of his deity and power he raises Lazarus from the dead, and as a result some Jews believed. The tie to John's purpose in writing is obvious. Also, this episode (and in a large part by the use of the historical present) will be in a reader's mind when he is confronted with the death of Jesus himself. He has already demonstrated his power over it. John included this episode and marked it for prominence with historical presents as a key inciting moment in the plot development.

The next section with a high rate of historical presents starts in chapter 13 and goes to the end of the book. Excluding most of chapters 14, 15, 16, and 17 because they contain extended discourse by Jesus, there are five chapters (13, 18-21) that represent the few days around Jesus' death and resurrection and an extended period of time where he reveals himself to his disciples. In these five chapters (plus the first nine verses in chapter 14) there are seventy-nine historical presents, or 48% of the total number used in the book. This section is clearly marked for prominence (especially Jesus' resurrection and appearance to his disciples which has forty-six historical presents).

The few episodes that have been discussed above represent almost 80% of the total uses of the historical present in John's Gospel. It is clear that John selects a few episodes to highlight his purpose for writing and developing the plot of his total discourse.

Conclusion

In John's Gospel one can look at the distribution of the historical presents and use that as a guide to developing John's purpose for writing and his overall plot structure. Although both the aorist and the historical present represent past punctiliar events, it is the historical present which is used to highlight those episodes which build suspense toward a climax in the plot structure and directly relate to the author's purpose. The aorist tense is used alone in incidental episodes and in the climax itself. This is clearly illustrated in John 19:30: "He said, 'It is finished.' And he bowed his head and gave up his spirit." All the verbs are aorist ("bowed" is an aorist participle).

The remaining 20% of the historical presents should be analyzed as being a cataphoric referent to a following important event. These two uses are similar in nature with the main difference being at the level in the discourse in which they function. When there is a significant grouping of historical presents, they signal a higher level function than the more isolated uses.

Additional Questions

One area which needs additional study is the use of the historical present in the quote formula of reported speech. What is John's purpose in using direct quotation and then how does that relate to the use of leqō and phēmi in the quote formulas?

Also a detailed analysis of the isolated uses of the historical present needs to be done. Is a lone historical present in an episode only functioning at the propositional level or is there a higher level discourse function?

It would be interesting to see whether a display in an SSA of John's Gospel reflects the marked prominence of the historical present.

NOTES

¹A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), p. 868.

²The Lockman Foundation, New American Standard Bible (Carol Stream: Creation House, Inc., 1960), p. viii.

³Robertson, pp. 868-869.

⁴F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 167.

⁵Randall Buth, "Mark's Use of the Historical Present", Notes on Translation 65 (June 1977), p. 13.

⁶Nigel Turner, A Grammar of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1963), III, pp. 61-62.

⁷Stephen H. Levinsohn, "Preliminary Observations on the Use of the Historical Present in Mark", Notes on Translation 65 (June 1977), pp. 13-14.

⁸Fredrich Blass, Grammar of New Testament Greek (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905), p. 188.

⁹Ronald Lowell Shive, The Use of the Historical Present and Its Theological Significance. Th.M. Thesis (Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1982), pp. 50-51.

¹⁰Blass and Debrunner, p. 167.

¹¹Levinsohn, p. 17.

¹²Robert E. Longacre, The Grammar of Discourse: Notional and Surface Structures (Prepublication draft, 1983), p. 29.

¹³John J. O'Rourke, "The Historical Present in the Gospel of John", Journal of Biblical Literature 93 (1974), pp. 586-587.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Blass, Fredrich. 1905. Grammar of New Testament Greek. New York: The Macmillan Co.
- Blass, F. and Debrunner, A. 1961. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Buth, Randall. 1977. "Mark's Use of the Historical Present." Notes on Translation 65, pp. 7-13.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1977. "Preliminary Observations on the Use of the Historical Present in Mark." Notes on Translation 65, pp. 13-28.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1983. The Grammar of Discourse: Notional and Surface Structures. Prepublication draft.
- O'Rourke, John J. 1974. "The Historical Present in the Gospel of John." Journal of Biblical Literature 93, pp. 585-590.
- Robertson, A. T. 1934. A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. Nashville: Broadman Press.
- Shive, Ronald Lowell. 1982. The Use of the Historical Present and Its Theological Significance. Th.M. Thesis. Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary.
- Turner, Nigel. 1963. A Grammar of New Testament Greek. 3 Vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

VOCATIVES AND BOUNDARIES

Elinor Rogers

[Elinor Rogers has her M. A. in New Testament from Wheaton Graduate School and has also done extension study with Moody Bible Institute, Washington Bible College, and Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. She is currently working on the Semantic Structure Analysis of Galatians.]

For many years, boundaries within a discourse have been established largely by markers such as change of time, place, or participants, and by grammatical-rhetorical devices such as imperatives, rhetorical questions, conjunctions, and the vocative form. But in their discourse theory, Beekman and Callow stress that referential-relational coherence defines an expository paragraph. It is stated in their Translating the Word of God (1974:279): "The basic criterion is that a section, or a paragraph, deals with one theme. If the theme changes, then a new unit has started." Timothy Friberg (1978:18), using their theory, speaks of the logical (or temporal) dependency chain as "the clearest indication of coherence" in a paragraph or higher unit. But Beekman and Callow (ibid.) go on to say that there is "supporting evidence for a break" in the formal grammatical clues including (among others) the vocative form.

In what way can the vocative form support a boundary decision?

1. Can the vocative itself indicate change of theme? Does direct address, for instance, necessarily mean change of person address? (Where it includes change of person addressed, does that demand a paragraph break? This question is difficult as evidenced by the irregular paragraphing done in Eph. 5:22—6:9 and Col. 3:18—4:1.) In other words, does the vocative intrinsically mean some change as does the conjunction "but", for example?
2. Is the vocative considered a boundary marker for reasons other than usage as such by some writers?
3. Even if many writers use the vocative at or as a boundary, should one assume that all writers do?
4. If vocatives are used for boundaries only part of the time, are they reliable support for decisions based on the more basic grounds of logical dependency or coherence?

5. If Beekman and Callow are correct in saying that paragraphs are determined by referential-relational coherence, should the presence of a vocative change a boundary based on that coherence?

This writer submits that "no" is the answer to all of the above questions.

Although Beekman and Callow (ibid.) use Jude 17 as an example of the vocative for boundary marking, the verse and following ones substantiate, rather, the negative response to 1 above. Jude 17: humeis de agapētoi 'but you, beloved'; mnēsthēte 'remember' (imperative). Here change may be signalled not by the vocative itself, but by other factors such as: "but"; the change from "these" (repeated in verses 10, 12, 14, and 16) to emphatic "you", to which the vocative is added in apposition; and the imperative mood. In verses 20-21 the same first three Greek words appear with a different imperative. The United Bible Societies' text (1975), NAS, TEV, and RSV make no paragraph break for this second vocative, perhaps because there is no change of person. Williams, Beck, NIV, The Living Bible, and The Jerusalem Bible make paragraph breaks at both places, perhaps because of the change from warning to challenge, from negative to positive, or because they consider the vocative a standard boundary marker (but see 1 and 2 above). Interestingly, NEB leaves both vocatives paragraph-internal. And the same three Greek words in the UBS text of 1 Thessalonians 5:4 and 2 Thessalonians 3:13 are paragraph-internal. Thus, some who are working along conventional lines recognize that factors other than the presence of a vocative are more decisive for boundary marking.

In connection with 3 above, Paul's use of the vocative was investigated; his 97 vocatives (all, except accidental omissions) were charted. About two-thirds of these (63) are in the initial sentence of a paragraph in the United Bible Societies' text (1975). It is impossible within the scope of this paper to determine in how many instances referential-relational coherence has been given second priority so that the seemingly introductory role of the vocative is incorrect. But Galatians 6:1 seems to be one instance. And where the break is correct, it may not be called for by the vocative itself. Of the 63 paragraph-initial vocatives: twenty-two are in combination with imperatives; seventeen are in combination with orienters; two or three are with rhetorical questions; and in Galatians 4:12 an imperative and an orienter combine with a vocative. One of these other forms may be a more decisive and reliable support for boundaries in Pauline material. But preliminary work suggests that neither imperatives nor rhetorical questions are decisive evidence. See Galatians 5:11, 1 Corinthians 7:24, and Romans 9:20, for example.

The thirty-four Pauline vocatives which are not at boundaries, in the judgment of the United Bible Societies, need to be explained if vocatives support boundary decisions. Of these, thirteen or fourteen are in combination with expressions used for conclusions, and so, one could say that they are automatically not paragraph-initial:

with hōste 'so that': Rom. 7:4; 1 Cor. 11:33; 14:39; 15:58; (Phil. 4:1)

with ara oun 'so then': 2 Thess. 2:15

with oun 'therefore': Rom. 12:1; 1 Cor. 14:26; 2 Cor. 7:1; 2 Tim. 2:1

with dio 'therefore': Gal. 4:31

with loipon 'finally': 2 Cor. 13:11

with loipon oun 'finally, therefore': 1 Thess. 4:1

with dia touto 'for this reason': 1 Thess. 3:7

However, some of these expressions are more often introductory than concluding. To loipon with a vocative is paragraph-initial (UBS) in Philippians 3:1; 4:8; 2 Thessalonians 3:1. Ara oun with a vocative begins a paragraph (UBS) at Romans 8:12. Oun and a vocative introduce a paragraph at Colossians 3:12 (UBS). And hōste introduces a paragraph at Philippians 2:12 (UBS). The hōste of Philippians 4:1 is so puzzling that eight English versions make the verse a separate paragraph. There are twenty or twenty-one other Pauline vocatives not at paragraph boundaries in the judgment of the United Bible Societies: Romans 9:20; 1 Corinthians 1:11; 7:16 (2x), 24, 29; (15:31); 2 Corinthians 12:19; Galatians 4:(6), 19, 28; 5:11; Philippians 3:13; 1 Thessalonians 1:4; 2:9, 14; 2 Thessalonians 5:4, 14; and Philemon 7, 20. If they are correctly internal, they alone disprove the idea that vocatives are consistently boundary markers (in Pauline material). And if they are not consistently boundary markers, their support is slight, if any, as suggest in question 4 above.

In many places where vocatives seem to signal boundaries, other forms or factors are decisive. In itself, the vocative form cannot be said to signal change of theme. Although some writers may use vocatives only at boundaries, it should not be assumed that all do. Paul uses vocatives in both paragraph-initial and paragraph-internal positions. Therefore, this writer submits that in working with Pauline material, logical relationships should not be cut off, dependency chains should not be altered, in order to make paragraph boundaries conform to interspersed vocatives. At the same time, it might be added in postscript, emphasis given by the vocatives should not be overlooked. Those who work with the Beekman-Callow theory are concerned with prominence as well as with referential-relational coherence. Perhaps the value of the vocatives for prominence has been neglected in the undue attention given to them as boundary markers.

<u>Association with Paul's Use of Vocatives</u>			<u>Conjunction</u>	<u>UBS ¶?</u>
Romans				
orienter	1:13	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
rh. Q.	7:1	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>ē</u>	✓
	7:4	... <u>adelphoi</u> <u>mou</u> ...	<u>hōste</u>	
	8:12	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>Ara oun</u>	✓
	9:20	<u>ō anthrōpe</u>	---	
	10:1	<u>Adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
orienter	11:25	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>gar</u>	✓
	12:1	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>oun</u>	✓
orienter	15:14	... <u>adelphoi</u> <u>mou</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
(imper.)	16:17	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
Galatians				
orienter	1:11	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>gar</u>	✓
	3:1	<u>ō anoētoi</u> Galatia...	---	✓
	3:15	<u>Adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
	(4:6)	(... <u>ho patrēr</u> .)	<u>de</u>	

Association with Paul's Use of Vocatives		Conjunction	UBS #?
orienter	4:12 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
(imper.)	4:19 ... <u>tekna mou</u> ...	---	
imperative	4:21 ... <u>oi...the</u> <u>lontes einai</u> ...	---	✓
	4:28 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	
	4:31 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>dō</u>	
rh. Q.	5:11 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	
	5:13 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	gar	✓
	6:1 <u>Adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
	6:18 ... <u>adelphoi</u> .	---	✓
Ephesians			
imperative	5:22 <u>Ai gunaikes</u> ...	---	✓
	5:25 <u>Oi andres</u> ...	---	
	6:1 <u>ta tekna</u> ...	---	✓
	6:5 <u>Oi douloi</u> ...	---	✓
Philippians			
orienter	1:12 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓
imperative	2:12 ... <u>agapētoi mou</u> ...	<u>hōste</u>	✓
	3:1 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>To Toipon</u>	✓
	3:13 <u>adelphoi</u> ...	---	
	3:17 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
	4:1 ... <u>adelphoi mou agapētoi kai</u> <u>epipothētoi...agapētoi</u>	<u>Hōste</u>	?
	4:8 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>To Toipon</u>	✓
1 Corinthians			
orienter	1:10 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓
	1:11 ... <u>adelphoi mou</u> ...	gar	
imperative	1:26 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	gar	✓
	4:6 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓
	2:1 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	(kai)	✓
	3:1 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	(kai)	✓
	7:16 ... <u>gunai</u> ...	gar	
	7:16 ... <u>aner</u> ...	<u>ē</u>	
	7:24 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	---	
orienter	7:29 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	
	10:1 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	gar	✓
imperative	10:14 ... <u>agapētoi mou</u> ...	<u>Dioper</u>	✓
	11:33 ... <u>adelphoi mou</u> ...	<u>hōste</u>	
orienter	12:1 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓
rh. Q.	14:6 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>Nūn de</u>	✓
imperative	14:20 <u>Adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
rh. Q.	14:26 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	oun	✓
	14:39 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>hōste</u>	
orienter	15:1 <u>gnōrizō...adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓
	[15:31] ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	---	
	15:50 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓
imperative	15:58 ... <u>adelphoi mou agapētoi</u>	<u>hōste</u>	
orienter	16:15 ... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	de	✓

<u>Association with Paul's Use of Vocatives</u>			<u>Conjunction</u>	<u>UBS 4?</u>
2 Corinthians				
orienter	1:8	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>gar</u>	✓
	6:11	... <u>Korinthioi</u> ...	---	✓
(imper.)	7:1	... <u>agapētoi</u> ...	<u>oun</u>	✓
orienter	8:1	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	12:19	... <u>agapētoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
imperative	13:11	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>Toipon</u>	✓
Colossians				
imperative	3:12	(v)... <u>hagioi kai</u> <u>ēgapēmenoi</u> ...	<u>oun</u>	✓
	3:18	<u>Ai</u> <u>gunaikes</u> ...	---	✓
	3:19	<u>Oi</u> <u>andres</u> ...	---	✓
	3:20	<u>Ta</u> <u>tekna</u> ...	---	✓
	3:21	<u>Oi</u> <u>pateres</u> ...	---	✓
	3:22	<u>Oi</u> <u>douloi</u> ...	---	✓
	4:1	<u>Oi</u> <u>kurioi</u>	---	✓
1 Thessalonians				
orienter	1:4	... <u>adelphoi</u> , <u>ēgapēmenoi</u> <u>hupo theou</u> ...	---	✓
	2:1	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>gar</u>	✓
	2:9	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>gar</u>	✓
	2:14	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>gar</u>	✓
	2:17	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	3:7	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>dīa touto</u>	✓
(imper.)	4:1	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>Doipon oun</u>	✓
	4:10	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
orienter	4:13	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	5:1	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	5:4	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	5:12	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
imperative	5:14	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	5:25	<u>Adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
2 Thessalonians				
imperative	1:3	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	---	✓
	2:1	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	2:13	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	2:15	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>ara oun</u>	✓
	3:1	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>To loipon</u>	✓
	3:6	(v)... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
	3:13	... <u>adelphoi</u> ...	<u>de</u>	✓
1 Timothy				
imperative	1:18	(v)... <u>teknon</u> <u>Timothee</u>	---	✓
	6:11	... <u>ō anthrōpe theou</u>	<u>de</u>	✓
	6:20	<u>O</u> <u>Timothee</u> ...	---	✓
2 Timothy				
imperative	2:1	... <u>teknon</u> <u>mou</u> ...	<u>oun</u>	✓

Association with Paul's Use of VocativesConjunctionUBS ¶?

	Philemon		
imperative	7 ... <u>adelphē</u> .		<u>gar</u>
	20 ... <u>adelphē</u> ...		<u>Nai</u>

THE POSITION OF THE VOCATIVE ADELPHOI IN THE CLAUSE

John Banker

[John Banker has a B. A. in Greek from Houghton College and an M. A. in Linguistics from the Hartford Seminary Foundation. Entering SIL in 1956, his major indigenous language work was in the Bahnar language in Viet Nam. He served as a translation consultant in Viet Nam, the Philippines, and Malaysia and is presently an International Translation Consultant and is also working on the analysis of Titus and Philemon for the Semantic Structure Analysis series.]

0. Introduction

The topic of this paper is the vocative adelphoi 'brothers' and the corpus is the epistles of the New Testament.

The purpose of the investigation is to determine the rules which the authors used, whether intuitively or by deliberate thought, in positioning adelphoi in the clause.

My hypothesis is that the most common tendency is to place adelphoi directly after some form which refers to the same people as adelphoi does; that is, the recipients of the epistle. These forms in most cases are either the second person plural pronoun or a verb with a second person plural ending. However, there are other rules and pressures, notably the occurrence of adelphoi after certain conjunctions, which supersede, or at least compete with, the tendency mentioned above.

1. Treatment of the position of the vocative by Greek scholars

The following quote from Blass and Debrunner, page 250, gives quite a comprehensive though brief summary of the position of the vocative in the whole New Testament, "The normal position of the vocative: at the beginning (Mt. 8:2 and often) or near the beginning of the clause (H3:1 othen, adelphoi, hagioi, etc.), after the second person pronoun (1C1:10 parakalō de humas, adelphoi), after a verbal form in the second person (Ja. 1:2 pasan xaran hēqēsasthe, adelphoi mou), and also after a first person plural which includes the persons addressed (H 10:19 exontes oun, adelphoi, etc.)."

I found nothing in Robertson (1923) on the position of the vocative in the clause. In some research that Dr. John Callow has done in the epistles, he has observed the strong tendency of the vocative to follow either the second person plural pronoun or the verb with the second person plural ending (personal comment).

Dr. Timothy Friberg in his Ph.D. thesis, "New Testament Greek Word Order in Light of Discourse Considerations" (1982), does not deal with the position of the vocative.

2. The data and observations based upon it

Eighty-five occurrences of the vocative adelphoi 'brothers' and two occurrences of adelphē 'brother' were found in the epistles, i.e. from Romans through Jude.

Of the eighty-seven occurrences, adelphoi occurred only six times at the beginning of the clause (or sentence), adelphoi/adelphē occurred only ten times at the end of the clause. All the other occurrences of adelphoi/adelphē (seventy-one) were found somewhere within the clause. (In this paper, orienters are not considered clauses in themselves. Nor, of course, are participles or relative clauses.)¹

2.1 Occurrence of adelphoi directly after the second person plural pronoun and verbs with second person plural endings

As Chart 1 shows, adelphoi occurs directly after the second person plural pronoun twenty-four times and after the verb with a second person plural ending seventeen times. It occurs an additional seven times with a word between it and the pronoun or verb in constructions where the grammatical structure is too tight for a vocative to break in. Examples:

After second person plural pronoun: Blepete gar tēn klēsin humōn, adelphoi 'Think of what you were when you were called, brothers' (1 Cor. 1:26)

After verb with second person plural ending: Akousate, adelphoi mou agapētoi 'Listen, my dear brothers' (James 2:5)

With one word intervening: Ou gar thelomen humas agnoein, adelphoi 'We do not want you to be uninformed, brothers' (2 Cor. 1:8)

<u>adelphoi</u> directly after second person plural pronoun	24 times
<u>adelphoi</u> directly after verb with second person pl. ending	17 times
<u>adelphoi</u> as soon after second pers. pl. as grammar allows	7 times
<u>adelphoi</u> directly after some other form of the verb which also refers to the recipients of the letter	2 times
Subtotal	50 times
Clauses where at least one of the above forms occurs but <u>adelphoi</u> occurs elsewhere than directly following it	27 times
Clauses where no form referring to recipients occurs other than <u>adelphoi</u> itself	10 times
Total	87 times

Chart 1. Occurrences of adelphoi after second person plural

Adelphoi also occurs directly after one participle and a third person singular finite verb ending that refer to the recipients of the letter. Example of the participle: Exontes oun, adelphoi, parrēsian eis tēn eisodon tōn hagiōn...proserxōmetha... 'Having therefore, brothers, boldness to enter into the holiest...let us draw near...' (Heb. 10:19-22). Example of verb with third person singular form: Hekastos en hō eklēthē, adelphoi, en toutō menetō para theō 'Let everyone wherein he is called, brothers, abide therein with God' (1 Cor. 7:24).

However, there are twenty-seven clauses where some form occurs in the Greek which refers to the recipients of the epistle, but adelphoi does not follow these forms; instead, it occurs elsewhere in the clause. Example: Hōste, adelphoi mou, kai humeis ethanatōthēte... 'Therefore, my brothers, you also have become dead...' (Rom. 7:4).

So a rule cannot be formulated which states that when adelphoi occurs in a clause which has some form of the second person plural (or other form relating to the recipients of the letter), it always follows that form.

2.2 adelphoi occurring within an orienter-CONTENT construction

At least a third of the occurrences of adelphoi in the data are in the middle of orienter-CONTENT type constructions. Since there is a difference in position according to the type of orienter, the various types will be treated separately.

2.2.1 adelphoi occurring after a "stereotyped" orienter phrase of urging or informing

2.2.1.1 adelphoi occurring in the common orienter phrase parakalō de humas

There are five occurrences of parakalō and two of parakaloumen as orienters in a set phrase, parakalō/parakaloumen de humas, adelphoi (in one instance oun occurs instead of de). Example: Parakalō de humas, adelphoi oidate tēn oikian Stephana... 'I urge you, brothers, (you know the family of Stephen...' (1 Cor. 16:15).

2.2.1.2 adelphoi occurring in the orienter phrase erōtōmen de humas adelphoi

There are two occurrences of the orienter phrase, erōtōmen de humas, adelphoi 'we ask you brothers'. Notice that it follows the same structure as the parakalō phrases in 2.2.1.1 above. Example: Erōtōmen de humas, adelphoi, eidenai tous kopiōntas en humin 'We ask you, brothers, to respect those who work hard among you' (1 Thess. 5:12).

This same structure is also found with paraqqellomen 'command' in 2 Thessalonians 3:6, Paraqqellomen de humin, adelphoi, en onomati tou kuriou Iēsou Xristou, stellesthai humas... 'Now we command you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Christ, that you withdraw yourselves...' (2 Thess. 3:6).

2.2.1.3 adelphoi occurring in the orienter phrase ou thelō /conj/ humas agnoein, adelphoi

There are five occurrences of the orienter phrase ou thelō/omen /conj/ humas agnoein, adelphoi 'I would not have you ignorant, brothers'. Notice that

the structure is only slightly different from that of the orienter phrases of 2.2.1.1-2, the difference being caused by the presence of the infinitive with thelō. The conjunction slot is filled by either de or gar, gar coming sometimes after the ou. Example: Ou gar thelomen humas agnoein, adelphoi, huper tēs thlipseōs hēmōn tēs genomenēs en tē Asia 'We do not want you to be ignorant, brothers, about the hardships we suffered in the province of Asia' (2 Cor. 1:8).

There is one example where the CONTENT comes first followed by adelphoi and then ou thelō humas agnoein: Peri de tōn pneumatikōn, adelphoi, ou thelō humas agnoein. 'Concerning spiritual gifts, brothers, I would not have you ignorant.' (1 Cor. 12:1).

There are no occurrences in the epistles of this orienter phrase where adelphoi does not occur and it always occurs in the positions described above.

2.2.1.4 adelphoi occurring in the orienter phrase qnōrizō/omen de/gar humin, adelphoi

There are three occurrences of the orienter phrase qnōrizō/qnōrizomen de/gar humin, adelphoi 'I want you to know, brothers'. Example: qnōrizō gar humin, adelphoi, to euaggelion to euaggelisthen hup' emou 'I want you to know, brothers, that the gospel I preached' (Gal. 1:11).

2.2.1.5 Predictability of position of adelphoi in orienter phrases

Based on the data above, given an orienter phrase occurring before CONTENT with the structure, + neg. + verb + conj. + 2nd p. pl. pron. + inf., if the vocative adelphoi occurs, it will occur immediately following this phrase. This formula accounts for seventeen of the eighty-seven occurrences of adelphoi and so almost 20% of the data.

There is another orienter phrase with a structure somewhat different from the one above but which is similar in that it is a simple phrase of a "stereotyped" nature. This is touto de phēmi 'now this I say'. It occurs only two times in the epistles and is followed by adelphoi both times, e.g. Touto de phēmi, adelphoi, hoti sarks kai haima basileian theou klēronomēsai ou dunatai 'I say to you, brothers, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Cor. 15:50).

2.2.2 Orienters with topic introducers peri plus humōn

When there is a peri topic introducer phrase following the orienter which introduces the recipients of the letter as the topic, then adelphoi tends to follow peri humōn rather than immediately following the orienter. Example: Edēlōthē gar moi peri humōn, adelphoi mou, hupo tōn Xloēs hoti erides en humin eisin. 'For it has been declared unto me concerning you, my brothers, by those of the house of Chloe that there are quarrels among you.' (1 Cor. 1:11).

There are three occurrences of adelphoi after peri humōn in this type of a construction. However, there is one occurrence of adelphoi immediately following the orienter. Example: Pepeismai de, adelphoi mou, kai autos eqō peri humōn, hoti kai autoi mestoi este agathōsunēs 'I am convinced, my brothers, even I myself concerning you, that you are full of goodness' (Rom. 15:14).

Since the orienter has a first person singular ending and is followed by kai autos egō, is it possible that Paul seeks to emphasize himself more here than the Romans and so puts adelphoi right after the orienter?

2.2.3 Other orienter-CONTENT constructions

There are three other clauses where orienter-CONTENT has been observed. In two of these, adelphoi occurs after orienter verbs with second person plural endings. Example: Autoi gar oidate, adelphoi... 'You know, brothers...' (1 Thess. 2:1).

In the third clause, adelphoi comes after a finite verb of the orienter phrase with a first person singular ending. Humas occurs in the orienter phrase but is probably separated from adelphoi by the restraints of the infinitive construction: Ginōskein de humas boulomai, adelphoi, hoti... 'Now I want you to know, brothers...' (Phil. 1:12).

2.3 adelphoi occurring after conjunctions

When adelphoi occurs with certain conjunctions that have an obligatory main clause initial position, adelphoi occurs immediately after the conjunction. These conjunctions or conjunction combinations are hōste 'therefore' (five times), ara oun 'therefore' (two times), dio 'therefore' (once), dio mallon 'therefore rather' (once), and hothen 'therefore' (once).

A rule can be formulated stating that given obligatory positioned main clause initial conjunctions hōste, ara oun, dio, dio mallon, or hothen in a clause, if adelphoi occurs, it will occur immediately after these conjunctions. (This rule covers all occurrences in the epistles but would not necessarily cover other literature.)

Other phrases that may belong here are nun de and pro pantōn, both of which occur once each in the data followed by adelphoi. Example with hōste: Hōste, adelphoi, zēloute to prophēteuein 'Therefore, brothers, be eager to prophesy' (1 Cor. 14:39). Example with ara oun: ara oun, adelphoi, stēkete 'Therefore, brothers, stand firm' (2 Thess. 2:15).

There seems to be a strong tendency for the same thing to happen when combinations of loipon (a higher level conjunction) occur. There are three instances of adelphoi occurring immediately after this conjunction but one of adelphoi occurring later in the clause. Examples: Loipon, adelphoi, xairete... 'Finally, brothers, farewell...' (2 Cor. 13:11); To loipon proseuxesthe, adelphoi, peri hēmōn 'Finally pray, brothers, for us' (2 Thess. 3:1).

Often in these clauses where the vocative occurs immediately after the conjunction, some form of the second person plural will occur later in the clause. (Note examples above.)

There is another example which might be somewhat related where nai 'yes' occurs at the beginning of the clause and is immediately followed by adelphoi: Nai, adelphe, egō sou onaimēn en kuriō 'Yes, brother, let me have joy from you in the Lord' (Phlm. 20).

2.4 adelphoi after forefronted pronouns

A strong tendency for adelphoi to follow forefronted pronouns which occur clause-initial was observed. Example: Hēmeis de, adelphoi, aporphanisthentes aph' humōn pros kairon hōras 'But we, brothers, when torn away from you for a short time' (1 Thess. 2:17).

There were two instances which did not seem to follow this tendency, e.g. Humeis gar ep' eleutheria eklēthēte, adelphoi 'For you unto liberty have been called, brothers' (Gal. 5:13).

However, the following rule can be formulated which deals with all the examples: Whenever adelphoi occurs in a clause which has a clause-initial pronoun followed by de, it will immediately follow de unless a second person plural pronoun later in the clause is also being marked as a topic; then it will follow that pronoun. Following, is the example of a second person plural pronoun later in the clause being marked as topic: Hēmeis de opheilomen eucharistein tō theō pantote peri humōn, adelphoi 'But we ought always to thank God for you, brothers' (2 Thess. 2:13). Another way to handle this would be to state this exception as being subject of an orienter.

There are five examples which conform to this rule. Possibly, tauta could also be included with the pronouns here. There is one example: Tauta de, adelphoi metesxēmatisa eis emauton kai Apollōn di' humas 'Now these things, brothers, I have applied to myself and Apollos for your benefit' (1 Cor. 4:6).

In 1 Corinthians 3:1 adelphoi occurs immediately following kaqō with no de intervening. This is very similar to the above examples but had to be left out since there was no de. Kaqō, adelphoi, ouk ēdunēthēn lalēsai humin... 'I, brothers, could not speak to you...' (1 Cor. 3:1).

Note also the occurrence of humin later in the clause and the fact that adelphoi follows kaqō rather than humin.

2.5 adelphoi occurring in imperative clauses

There are eighteen occurrences of adelphoi in clauses with the second person imperative verb; three or four of these could be said to be orienters also. There is a strong tendency for adelphoi to occur immediately following the imperative verb. In the data there are thirteen cases where adelphoi directly follows the imperative verb and five cases where it does not. One of these may be closer to an orienter and so follows other rules.

adelphoi directly following imperative verb:

Hupodeigma labete, adelphoi... 'Take the example, brothers...' (Jas. 5:10)

adelphoi occurring elsewhere than right after the imperative verb:

Adelphoi, proseuxesthe peri hēmōn. 'Brother, pray for us.' (1 Thess. 5:25)

It is hard to explain why adelphoi would come clause-initial as in the example immediately above and not after the imperative verb. There are two other examples of adelphoi occurring clause initial in an imperative clause. It seems possible then at this time to formulate a rule which would state without

exceptions where the vocative would occur in the imperative clause. There is, however, a strong tendency for it to occur right after the imperative verb, even if this interrupts a seemingly close verb phrase relationship such as direct object with the verb. Example: Mnēmoneuete gar, adelphoi, ton kopon hēmōn 'Remember, brothers, our labor' (1 Thess. 2:9).

It seems as if the Greek syntactic rules come into conflict in these situations and so sometimes the author will follow one rule and sometimes another. In the following example the author seems to bow to pressure for an uninterrupted verb-object sequence rather than the pressure to put the vocative directly after the imperative verb: Mē katalaleite allēlōn, adelphoi 'Do not speak against one another, brothers' (Jas. 4:11).

In the following example, also from James, the verb phrase is interrupted: Mē stenazete, adelphoi, kat' allēlōn 'Do not grumble, brothers, against one another' (Jas. 5:9).

2.6 Ranking

By definition, when adelphoi co-occurs with the conjunctions and pronouns described in the rules in 2.3 and 2.4, it will always occur immediately following these conjunctions and pronouns instead of where it would tend to occur in any imperative or orienter phrase that also occurs in these clauses. Examples: Ara oun, adelphoi, stēkete... 'Therefore, brothers, stand firm...' (2 Thess. 2:15); Hēmeis de, adelphoi, aporphanisthentes aph' humōn pros kairon hōras 'But we, brothers, when torn away from you for a short time' (1 Thess. 2:17).

2.7 adelphoi with impersonal verbs/phrases

When adelphoi occurs with impersonal verbs or verbal constructions that are similar to impersonal verbs, adelphoi occurs directly after the impersonal verb. There are four occurrences of this type of construction with adelphoi in the data. Examples: ou xre, adelphoi mou, tauta outōs qinesthai. 'It ought not, my brothers, to be this way.' (Jas. 3:10b); Ti to ophelos, adelphoi mou, ean pistin legē tis exein... 'What does it profit, my brothers, if a man says he has faith...' (Jas. 2:14).

In three occurrences of this construction there is no form of the second person plural pronoun in the clause or sentence.

2.8 Residue

Of interest, are the six occurrences of adelphoi at the very beginning of the sentence. Three of these have already been described under the imperative as very difficult to account for.

Two of the remaining three do not have any form of the second person plural nor the conjunctions as described in 2.3 so this may be the reason for adelphoi occurring clause/sentence-initial. The other occurrence is difficult to explain. Example of clause with no second person plural form: Adelphoi, kata anthrōpon legō homōs anthrōpou kekurōmenēn diathēkēn. Following, is the sixth sentence-initial adelphoi clause, it has a second person plural pronoun: Adelphoi mou, ean tis en humin planēthē apo tēs alētheias kai epistrepsē tis

auton... 'My brothers, if any of you err from the truth and one convert him...' (Jas. 5:19).

Also of interest, are the two occurrences of adelphoi at the end of complete sentences, one a rather long one. Except for these two instances, adelphoi tends to occur early in the sentence. The one in Philemon 7 is the longer one, while Galatians 6:18 is much shorter. In both sentences, however, adelphoi occurs immediately after the second person pronoun. Xaran gar pollēn esxon kai paraklēsin epi tē agapē sou, hoti ta solaqxna tōn hagiōn anapepautai dia sou, adelphe. 'Your love has given me great joy and encouragement because you have refreshed the hearts of the saints, brother.' (Phlm. 7); Hē xaris tou kuriou hēmōn Iēsou Xristou meta tou pneumatos humōn, adelphoi. amēn. 'The grace of our Lord Christ be with your spirit, brothers. Amen.' (Gal. 6:18).

The six remaining occurrences of adelphoi in the data are quite different from one another and do not fall neatly into any of the above categories, though in all but one adelphoi occurs following either the second person plural pronoun, or a verb with an ending that refers to the recipients.

3. Conclusion

Generally speaking, the vocative adelphoi 'brothers' in the epistles tends to occur immediately following some surface structure form that refers to the same people as adelphoi does; that is, the recipients of the epistle. There are, however, some exceptions to this, notably the occurrence of adelphoi after certain conjunctions and clause-initial pronouns.

Time has not permitted me to discuss what might be some of the semantic reasons for the positioning of adelphoi in the clause. Certainly, adelphoi acts with other forms and constructions to signal the beginning of new units in discourse on various levels. It also seems to reinforce conjunctions such as hōste and ara oun when they introduce commands that are HEAD propositions in paragraphs and higher units. Adelphoi appears to function with other topic markers in signalling the topic of a discourse unit. Further investigation needs to be carried out to determine all the roles adelphoi is playing on the semantic level.

NOTE

¹From here on, in the paper, adelphē will be treated under the general designation, adelphoi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Blass, F. and Debrunner, A. 1970. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. (A translation and revision of the ninth-tenth German edition incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by Robert W. Funk.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Callow, John and Kopesec, Michael F. 1982. A Semantic Structure Analysis of Second Thessalonians. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Friberg, Timothy. 1982. "New Testament Greek Word Order in Light of Discourse Considerations." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota.
- Robertson, A. T. 1923. A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. Fifth Edition. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc.