Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics

Volume 10 — 1998

"WHAT'S WRONG WITH MY WORD ORDER?" TOPIC, FOCUS, INFORMATION FLOW, AND OTHER PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF SOME BIBLICAL GENEALOGIES*

Nicholas A. Bailey

ABSTRACT

Genealogies of the sort found in the first chapter of Matthew afford an ideal context for examining a certain kind of word order phenomenon, namely topics changing very quickly from one sentence to the next. How to render successfully these changing topics in translation can be problematic. As background to this translation problem and word order phenomenon, the present article summarizes some recent functional-typological literature discussing topic, focus, and information structure, and the related notions of given (presupposed) and new (asserted) information. Theological concerns of the genealogies of Jesus (Matthew 1 and Luke 3) and their cultural significance for one particular receptor language are also briefly discussed. Then translations of Matthew 1 from several languages are compared, and it is shown that, despite the great divergence in basic word order structures (SOV, SVO, VSO) in these languages, there is a strong tendency across languages for given (topical) information to be followed by new (asserted) information in the genealogy. Also discussed is the notion of topical discontinuity and the general principle that language (which of course includes good translation) functions at its best when it only attempts one pragmatic job at a time (akin to Chafe's 1987 principle that in spoken discourse utterances are limited to presenting only one new idea at a time).

Introduction

The Problem from the Perspective of the Kurmanji-Kurdish Translators

"What's wrong with my translation of the genealogy?" asked the Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish translator[1] who was defending his rendering of Matthew 1:2–17.

---

*The original version of the article was prepared for and presented to the Summer Institute of Linguistics West Eurasia Group Word Order Colloquium on January 27, 1995. I am thankful to that group for their interaction. I would also like to thank John Callow, Ger Reesink, Denise Bailey, and especially Doris Payne for their comments on subsequent drafts of the article.

[1] Kurmanji-Kurdish (also called Northern Kurdish) belongs to the Indo-European family of languages, classifed within the Western subgroup of the Iranian branch. There are probably at least twelve to fifteen million Kurmanji speakers in the world. The majority of the speakers live in West Asia, though many are scattered throughout the globe.

The four other Kurmanji translators looked again at the text in front of them:

(1) Matthew 1:2 word order phenomenon

İshaq	*kur-ê*	*Birahîm*	*bû*	*Yaqûb*	*kur-ê*	*İshaq*
Isaac	son-of	Abraham	be.past.3s	Jacob	son-of	Isaac

bû	*Cihûda*	*kur-ê*	*Yaqûb*
be.past.3s	Judah	son-of	Jacob

'Isaac was the son of Abraham, Jacob was the son of Isaac, Judah was the son of Jacob'

"I'm not sure exactly what's wrong, but something seems funny to me," answered the second translator who had reviewed the translation. "The clauses seem like clothes that have been put on upside down or inside out. They don't quite fit together."

"Or maybe they are like a caravan of camels trying to walk backwards," added another.

"I don't see what's wrong with it," responded the translator of the passage. "It has the same structural pattern as the Turkish translation [*İncil* 1990] which was recommended I use as my source text. Everyone agrees that the Turkish[2] is a good, natural translation."

(2) Matthew 1:2 *İncil* (GEN = genitive suffix or form)

İshak	*İbrahim-ın*	*oğlu-ydu*	*Yakup*	*İshak-ın*
Isaac	Abraham-GEN	son.GEN-was	Jacob	Isaac-GEN

oğlu-ydu
son.GEN-was

'Isaac was the son of Abraham, Jacob was the son of Isaac'

Then the third translator made a suggestion: "I think it would sound better this way:

[2] I am especially grateful to Mahmut Solgun for his assistance with the Turkish data and for all the stimulating talks.

(3) *Birahîm* *bav-ê* *Ishaq* *bû* *Ishaq* *bav-ê* *Yaqûb*
Abraham father-of Isaac be.past.3s Isaac father-of Jacob

bû
be.past.3s
'Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac was the father of Jacob'

"Or in my dialect you could also say:

(4) *Mizgînîya Îsa Mesîh' li gora Metê*
(Ji) *Birahîm* *re* *Ishaq* *bû* *(ji)* *Ishaq* *re* *Yaqûb*
(to) Abraham to Isaac be.past.3s (to) Isaac to Jacob

bû
be.past.3s
'To Abraham was born Isaac, to Isaac was born Jacob'

"Either one would put the emphasis on the fathers, which, by the way, seems to fit this passage better since it is talking about fathering. Then your clothes would be right side out and all your camels would be pointed in the right direction."

"But that's not our normal idiom," responded the first translator.

"That's right," added the fourth, in his support. "When we tell our own genealogies, we use the word "son", not "father". For example, if you wanted to know in detail who I was, I would say:

(5) *Ez* *kur-ê* *Mûsa* *me* *Mûsa* *kur-ê* *Silêman* *e* *Silêman*
I son-of Moses am Moses son-of Solomon is Solomon

kur-ê *filankes*
son-of so-and-so
'I'm the son of Moses, Moses is the son of Solomon, Solomon is the son of so-and-so'

"Or we often just use the genitive construction and drop the word son altogether.[3] That makes things even simpler.

[3] Genitive construction: technically the *izafe* construction.

(6) *Mûsa-yê* *Silêman* *Silêman-ê* *filankes*
'Moses-of Solomon Solomon-of so-and-so'"

"Wait a second," interrupted the fifth translator who himself belonged to a genealogical list, that is, a famous line of Kurdish nobility. "If I begin with myself, that's right, I have to say it one of the ways you just mentioned, which emphasizes me being one son in a series of sons. The way you have done it, talking about a series of sons, fits better in Luke 3 where Jesus' line is described going backward in time."

Two versions, 7 and 8

(7) Luke 3:23–24 according to former Soviet Union standard of Kurmanji
Mizgîniya Îsa Mesîh li gora Lûga û Karên Şandiyan

ew	*kur-ê*	*Ûsiv*	*bû*	*Ûsiv-ê*	*E'lî*	*E'lî-yê*	*Metat*
he	son-of	Joseph	be.past.3s	Joseph-of	Heli	Heli-of	Matthat

Metat-ê	*Lêwî*
Matthat-of	Levi

'he was the son of Joseph, Joseph of Heli, Heli of Matthat, Matthat of Levi'

(8) Luke 3:23–24 according to standard Kurmanji (*Încîl*) *Mizgîniya Îsa Mesîh ligor Lúga*

ew	*yê*	*Ûsiv*	*yê*	*Elî*	*yê*	*Metat*	*yê*	*Lêwî*
he	of	Joseph	of	Heli	of	Matthat	of	Levi

'he [was the son] of Joseph, [son] of Heli, [son] of Matthat, [son] of Levi'

"But if I begin with one of my ancestors," continued the fifth translator, "and want to talk about his descendants, then I have to say:

(9)

Dawid	*bav-ê*	*Saladîn*	*bû*	*Saladîn*	*bav-ê*
David	father-of	Saladin	be.past.3s	Saladin	father-of

Mehmed	*bû*
Mehmed	be.past.3s

'David was the father of Saladin, Saladin was the father of Mehmed' and so on."

Then the third translator added: "It's a matter of perspective and the natural way of saying things. Beginning with yourself, you go backward in time—you could say uphill—and talk about who you're the son of. But if

you want to begin at some point of time in the past and describe a chain of fathers, then you must go forward in time—or downhill, if you like. There are then two different perspectives and the natural emphasis must change accordingly. We are not questioning whether or not the Turkish version is natural; it is just that in Kurmanji it won't work that way."

✦ ✦ ✦

The preceding dialogue roughly represents the real discussions of five Kurmanji-speaking translators. It is based on notes I took on three actual discussions which various ones had with one another during 1994. The final discussion occurred when all five met together in August 1994.

In the course of the dialogue the Kurmanji translators put their finger on a particular problem in the original translation. The problem itself can be traced at least partially to a certain amount of interference caused by the Turkish source text. For reasons of its own (see section on text structure, information flow) the Turkish text employs a different idiom (X was the son of Y) than the Greek. And although this idiom is also natural in Kurmanji in some contexts, the other translators felt that in the larger context of this particular genealogy it was not appropriate. There was thus a clash of linguistic interests at a certain level: the correct or most common idiom versus the correct emphasis. And having the correct emphasis was deemed in this context to be ultimately more important.

What was of special interest to me, however, was the way in which the other translators described the problem. Using nontechnical terminology, they described it in terms of emphasis, perspective, and the natural way of saying things. This scenario may be familiar to others who have been involved in translation committee meetings. Despite the slippery nature of such concepts as emphasis, perspective, and the natural way of saying things, translators readily discuss them, even if they must resort to imprecise terms and definitions. It is a fact that linguists are still struggling with these notions; at least the terminology relating to emphasis, focus, and topic does not present a united front in the linguistic literature (Downing 1995:17–8; Givón 1988:245; Chafe 1976:27–8).

To a large degree, the problems of emphasis, focus, and topic that these translators were facing involved word order. While these translators have approached these problems using intuition as their guide, it would be in the best interest of Bible translators if clearer theoretical guidelines and explanations could be provided as to the nature of such problems and their solutions. An adequate theory of translation should ultimately handle as many formal features of language as possible, including word order. And since word order so often can bear a significant amount of the pragmatic

meaning of the linguistic code, it is of particular importance in the translation of written texts. When language is reduced to writing, a lot of pragmatic meaning that is normally borne by the intonational and prosodic structure is lost. Readers, whether they are reading aloud or not, must supply this lost information themselves. Word order strategies, however, survive this process by which language is reduced to the abstract and minimal form of language we call writing.

In this article I try to explain in more technical terms, primarily from a functional-typological linguistic perspective, the nature of the problem and why certain solutions like (3) and (4) in the foregoing narrative are more satisfactory than the others like (1) both for Kurmanji and some other languages. In particular, this article illustrates the importance of word order in the translation of a genealogical list and how the pragmatic notions of topic, focus, information flow, and topical (dis)continuity are the keys to understanding the problem. The nature of genealogical lists like that of Matthew 1 affords an ideal environment for dealing with a particular kind of topic, that is, topics that change rather quickly. The linguistic data dealt with in this paper are from several languages which differ in varying degrees in their basic word order structures. Kurmanji-Kurdish, Turkish, and Candoshi (a north Peruvian jungle language) are, to different extents, basically SOV in structure; Koine Greek is a so-called free word order language; Biblical Hebrew is a VSO language (or V1 language); German may be described as something in between VSO and SVO (called a V2s language by Dik 1980:152 because something must occur before the finite verb in most types of independent clauses); and English is SVO. I will begin my discussion by first presenting some brief notes about the function and theological purposes of the genealogies and their potential significance within Kurdish society.

The Functions and Theological Purposes of the Genealogies of Jesus and Some Reflections on their Significance in Light of Kurdish Society

Although Biblical genealogies are seen to be relatively unimportant by modern Western audiences, they are quite often of great significance to other modern audiences just as they were to their original ancient ones. What exactly was the significance of the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew 1 and Luke 3?

Despite the debate over the centuries about the differences between the two genealogies (Marshall 1978:157–65), it is safe to say that both genealogies serve to anchor Jesus' social position to the past. Matthew,

whose primary original intended audience is assumed to be Jews, specifically links Jesus with King David and the patriarch Abraham, thus substantiating his candidacy as messianic King of Israel and as "heir of the promises made to Abraham" (Marshall 1978:160). Luke, whose intended audience is assumed to be more international than Matthew's, also traces Jesus' line back to David and Abraham, but he does not stop there. Luke shows that Jesus' line reaches all the way back to Adam and ultimately to God, thus emphasizing that "Jesus has his place in the human race created by God" (ibid., 161). That Jesus' line is traced back to Adam as "son of God" may also allude to the contrast between the disobedient son of God, Adam, and the obedient Son of God, Jesus—a theme which appears to be rather Pauline-sounding (ibid.). For others, the fact that Jesus' line is traced back to God is part of the proof of Jesus' divine sonship, a theme which is asserted in the immediately preceding and following episodes, Luke 3:22 and 4:3, 9 (Johnson 1969, 1982; Fitzmyer 1981:491–8, 504).[4] This has been the view of one of the Kurmanji translators as well. (Marshall especially, however, emphasizes that the assertion or proof of Jesus' divine sonship for Luke must rest primarily on the authority of divine declaration—1:35 and 3:22—and on the miracles associated with his birth.) For still others, tracing Jesus' line back to God through various intervening prophets substantiates "the prophetic office of Jesus" (Harrison 1982:427; Johnson 1969).

Although it may be difficult to conclude decisively what exactly Luke meant by tracing his genealogy back to Adam and God (I find Marshall's views more convincing than the others'), it is relevant to point out the significance these facts can have for Kurds. Especially meaningful is this last claim, that the line extends back to God through various intervening prophets in order to substantiate "the prophetic office of Jesus." For Kurds, who as a people have been significantly influenced by Islam, the notion of prophetic office has considerable cultural meaning. A person's claim to a prophetic or related spiritual office must normally be substantiated by reference to heritage. In Kurdish society there exists something which may appear culturally parallel to the NT genealogies. In mystical Islam of the Sufi orders, every Sufi master or sheik has a "spiritual pedigree", called a *silsila* (or *silale*). A *silsila* is a kind of genealogy or list of lineage which functions to justify a master's claim to spiritual authority and power. The spiritual mantle of a master can be passed on to either a son or to a

[4] See Bailey 1994:274–5, for a comparable passage in Genesis, where the greater concerns of the narrative have been interwoven into genealogical material. Two genealogies of Shem *šem* (10:21–31 and 11:10–32) sandwich the story of the Tower of Babel, which in turn mentions the homophone *šem* 'name' as an ironic play on words.

disciple, so the *silsila* need not be only a blood genealogy. Typically, a *silsila* begins with God (the ultimate spiritual authority of the particular master), then it lists the angel Gabriel (God's medium of spiritual authority to man), then Mohammed (the last great prophet), then someone who was close to Mohammed (e.g., his nephew Ali). Then it continues with more names of important saints and masters in the line (less important ones may be dropped from the list in the course of time), one of whom somewhere in the chain is the founder of the particular order; finally it ends with the current Sufi master himself (van Bruinessen 1978:264–75).

Thus both genealogies of Matthew and Luke could be seen to resemble the *silsila*, functioning as a kind of apologetic for Jesus' claim as Messiah and prophet. Luke's genealogy resembles the *silsila* in one important respect in that it refers to God, albeit at the beginning rather than at the end of the line. Matthew's genealogy, however, resembles the *silsila* in that it begins in the past and moves forward in time. That the *silsila* moves forward in time would support the argument of the majority of translators that for Kurds a genealogical-like list could in fact begin at either end of the line. But in light of the Christian message, one of the translators felt strongly that Luke's primary purpose was to show that Jesus was the son of God. This translator actually wanted to make the subtitle for Luke's genealogy, "Jesus Is the Son of God." He reasoned that Luke certainly was not trying to show that Adam was a son of God, nor that Jesus was part of a normal biological chain of people, which a subtitle like "The genealogy of Jesus" could imply. The translator as a Christian was sensitive to the issues raised for Muslim readers by the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and he thus wanted to avoid confusing them.

Apart from these cultural details, there is another basic difference between the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. Although it may appear obvious, some of the translators found it necessary to remind the original translator that on the level of the individual clauses Matthew's genealogy emphasizes fatherhood while Luke's emphasizes sonship. Missing this discourse theme was perhaps the primary source of the original translator's problem. The linguistic formula in Matthew, "Abraham begot Isaac," signifies the act of fathering. It echoes the Hebrew idiom and its Greek translation in the Septuagint used in Genesis—see example (18). In contrast, Luke's formula is a string of genitives where the word *son* is only mentioned in the first phrase, in Luke 3:23, "Jesus was the *son*, as supposed, of Joseph, of Heli..." and then implied in the remaining genitives (Marshall 1978:162).

Topic, Focus, and Information Structure

In this section I shall begin by clarifying the terms and notions related to focus, topic, and information structure as I use them. In the somewhat extended discussion of these terms that follows I shall be summarizing insights especially from the broader field of functional-typological studies.[5] My aim here is that this general summary, while presenting more detail than necessary for the problem at hand, will be useful for Bible translators as a general introduction. My main purpose will be to show that the problem concerning what the translators call emphasis and the natural way of saying things in the genealogy of Matthew 1 does not concern the linguistic category of focality (also known as emphasis) but rather that of topicality. By the end of this section it should be clear that all the clause-initial elements in the Greek, as well as in the preferred Kurmanji and Turkish versions of Matthew's genealogy, are examples of topics, rather than of focus (or of anything else).

Following Dik, topicality "characterizes those elements 'about' which information is provided or requested in the discourse" (1989:266); focality characterizes "the most...salient parts of what we say about the topical things" (ibid., 264). A topic is typically (but not always) a given concept (also called old) or a known concept. If it is given, it is something that is assumed by the speaker to be activated in the consciousness of the hearer at the time of the utterance, that is, something he is presently thinking about; if it is not activated, then it must be something that can be easily accessed mentally (that is, inferred) from either the linguistic or nonlinguistic context (Chafe 1987:25–31, 1992b:271, 1994:53–6, 71–81, 86–7; Lambrecht 1987:221, 1994:99–100; Gundel 1988:212). Similarly, a known concept, something that is considered to be common knowledge between the speaker and hearer, is something that can usually be easily accessed. Focal information, however, is typically (but again, not always) new or newsworthy. It often presents a comment about the topic thereby adding some new idea or aspect. More precisely, focus refers to the piece of propositional information which the speaker wants his hearer to take for granted by the end of the utterance (Lambrecht 1994:207, 1987:221; Dik 1989:278). The term *focus* is actually shorthand for "focus of the assertion" (Lambrecht 1987:221, 1994:58, 213).

[5] There have been many approaches to *topic* and *focus* and related notions in the linguistic literature. The Prague school (Daneš 1974; Firbas 1964) and Halliday's systemic theory (1967) have represented two important approaches. Both of these, however, could be said to be limited in scope on account of their language specific concerns (primarily Slavic languages and English). In contrast to these approaches, I present insights from the broader, but related, field of functional-typological studies.

Related to the notions of focus and topic are those of (pragmatic) assertion and its corollary, (pragmatic) presupposition. When a speaker says something, he assumes the hearer already knows or is willing to take for granted certain facts. These facts are the set of propositions which are evoked or implied by the sentence uttered, and are said to be presupposed. On the one hand, the proposition that is expressed by the sentence which the hearer is then expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence is the assertion. The most salient part of the assertion is the focus—that which normally receives the main phonological accent of a sentence (Lambrecht 1994:51–8). The topic, on the other hand, is part of the presupposition.

Now let's take an example. If Abraham is someone who has already been introduced into the discourse, as is the case in Matthew 1:1, then the clause "Abraham begot Isaac" in verse 2 presents focal information (that is, a comment) about the topic Abraham. In terms of the flow of information, this clause displays the structure of given (or old) information followed by new information. That is, the presupposed topic Abraham, whom it is assumed we are willing to take as a given in this clause, is followed by an asserted comment "begot Isaac". In a context like that of Matthew 1 it is the name Isaac that would receive the main stress of the sentence, Isaac thus counting as the focus of the assertion.

This order, given followed by new information, is in fact a very common one in most languages of the world. Its frequency goes hand in hand with the universal fact that (as the unmarked[6] order of clause elements) subjects, which are typically given information, more often than not precede parts of the sentence which present new information, that is, predicate elements (either object or verb or both). Although the reader may be willing to take this tendency as a given fact, it is actually not entirely clear why this tendency is so. Some, however, think that the reasons can be elucidated in the experimental research on cognition. Gernsbacher and Hargreaves, for example, argue that "comprehension involves building coherent, mental representations or structures" (1992:87). Their

[6] The way in which a particular word order can be said to be marked or unmarked in a language depends on many factors. A particular order could be either syntactically, cognitively, or pragmatically marked (see D. Payne 1992a:1–3). Often more than one of these factors is operating in a given linguistic form. See also Longacre 1995b who discusses word order variation as either a grammatical device or pragmatic strategy. Also see Dryer 1995 on the use of the term *markedness* in relation to word order in language and on the various kinds of markedness. Although in this present article it is not essential to focus on these differences, it is ultimately very important to be able to distinguish word order variations that are basically grammatically or syntactically driven from those that are pragmatically or cognitively governed.

experimental research and claims are based on English, though it is very likely that their claims can find support in data from other languages.

Doris Payne (1995:450–1) summarizes the schema of Gernsbacher and Hargreaves as follows:

> [They] refer to the first part of this building process as *laying a foundation*. On the basis of experimental data, they argue that information which occurs first in a phrase, clause, sentence, or passage gains privileged, foundational status in comprehenders' minds. Another cognitive process is *mapping*, whereby incoming information that coheres or relates to previous information is integrated into the developing structure. If the incoming information is less coherent or less related, a third process occurs: comprehenders automatically shift and develop a new substructure. Most mental representations of discourse thus consist of branching substructures.

D. Payne (ibid.) then suggests that there is a connection between their "foundation" of a mental representation and the functional notion of theme or topic. "Whatever a comprehender takes as the foundation for a mental structure can linguistically be referred to as the *thematic* concept or referent of that structure." And since language production is constrained by real time and must be produced linearly, it is those foundations or topics which occur to the speaker first (for whatever reason) that are most likely to be placed first in a sentence (Gernsbacher and Hargreaves 1992:108). Of course, there may be language specific constraints which work against this tendency for more accessible or topical items to occur first (D. Payne 1992a; Downing 1995:14–5). However, all things being equal, we would expect this tendency to be prevalent. There will be more on this topic in the section on structure and information flow.

It is important also to emphasize the relational nature of topic and focus. Lambrecht, for example, says that information is conveyed "by *relating* something new to something that can already be taken for granted" (1994:51). Similarly, he warns against simply segmenting sentences into new and old information (ibid., 49–52, 208–13). In Lambrecht's framework:

> [T]he focus of a sentence, or, more precisely, the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context, is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion *differ* from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech.

> It is the *unpredictable* or pragmatically *non-recoverable* element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion

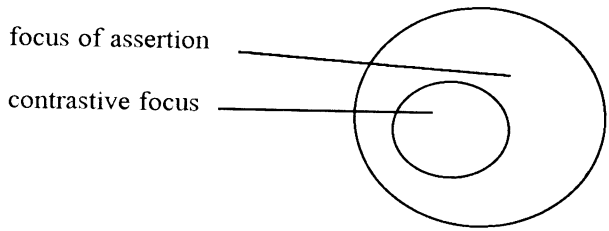
(ibid., 207, see also 1987:220–1; and Gundel 1988:211–3). See the discussion of example (10) for more clarification of this relational nature.

Given that topic and focus are essentially two very different things, it will now be helpful to talk about why and in what contexts they may be confused. In this respect Dik (1989:348) points out that "there is a universally relevant clause-initial position" which he calls P1 "used for special purposes, including the placement of constituents with topic or focus function." For some exceptions and problems about the universality of this and related assumptions, see D. Payne 1992a and Downing 1995:14–5. It is no coincidence actually that a single position, such as at the beginning of the clause, may coincide with both pragmatic functions, topic and focus. The pragmatic dimensions of topic and focus overlap in many contexts, as Dik claims, "[C]ertain topical elements may at the same time be focal to the communication" (1989:266). This is the case with a clause element that comes under contrastive focus (discussed in more detail below (Givón 1990:699–700). Another case concerns the interplay between clauses. What is presented in one clause as new focal information, may in the very next clause be established as a topic to be talked about (Dik 1989:269). For example, Abraham is asserted as new information in Matthew 1:1 and then in verse 2 established as the topic about which we are told that Isaac was born to.

Another point of confusion involves the difference and similarity between focus of assertion and contrastive focus. Givón, for example, in talking especially about English, is careful to distinguish these two (see also Chafe 1976:33–8 for distinguishing contrastive focus from new information, and Chafe 1994:76–8 for how a contrastive element may be either given, accessible, or new). Contrastive focus normally involves the speaker countering something he thinks the hearer believes, and it generally occurs in highly marked constructions: phonologically it receives the highest pitch and stress (ibid., 61) and syntactically it may be marked by a special word order, as in a cleft[7] sentence (10c). While every occurrence of

[7] A cleft construction is a kind of equative clause *predicate nominal* of the sort X is Y (many languages of course do not employ *to be*). It consists of a noun phrase (NP1) and a relative clause whose relativized noun phrase is coreferential with NP1. It is termed clefted because in many languages NP1 usually occurs to the left of the rest of the clause (Thomas Payne 1997:238–9). English has a variety of kinds of clefts including straightforward ones ("Home is where the heart is"); it-clefts ("It was Isaac whom Abraham begot"); and other so-called pseudo-clefts ("Isaac is the one whom Abraham begot" and "Whom Abraham begot was Isaac").

contrastive focus is also one of focus of assertion, not every focus of assertion is contrastive, that is, marked (Givón 1990:699–703; Dik et al., 1981:58). This unequal relationship can be illustrated by the following diagram:



For the sake of illustration consider the following question and answer in English:

(10a) question	*Whom* did Abraham beget?
(10b) answer	(Abraham begot) *Jacob*.
(10c) correction (cleft sentence)	No, no. It was *Isaac* whom Abraham begot, not Jacob.

The question (10a) entails a special marked word order: the question word *whom* occurs clause initially as the focused element in the clause (Dik 1989:280; Givón 1990:720–2, 724). However, the question word *whom* is not contrastive (nor actually focus of assertion since nothing is actually asserted). In the response (10b) everything is presupposed (given) information except for the actual answer itself, "Jacob." (In spoken language this presupposed information is typically not even uttered—hence the parentheses.) The question and answer presuppose that "Abraham begot somebody." What makes the answer "Jacob" informative is the fact that the hearer has established a relationship between the person "Jacob" and the object in the presupposed proposition "Abraham begot somebody" (Lambrecht 1994:211). The answer, on the one hand, then is asserted information, but, again, not contrastive. The cleft sentence (10c), on the other hand, entails asserted information which is specifically contrastive (Isaac, not Jacob—which Dik et al., 1981:59–65 and Dik 1989:281–5 would further categorize as replacing contrastive focus; the speaker attempts to replace wrong information with correct information in the mind of the hearer. For more discussion on etic types of contrastive focus, see also D. Payne 1992b). Note that the above claims are specifically made about English. Although in other languages a specific form (i.e., cleft) may have the same or similar function, generalizing cross linguistically must be

done very cautiously as the forms of each language must ultimately be analyzed within their own system.

Another confusion involving what topic is stems from the fact that many approaches to topicality treat it as a matter of discourse, not just of the clause (see Tomlin et al., 1997). For Givón topicality entails "two aspects of referential processing, one anaphoric, the other cataphoric" (1990:740). In other words, a referent in a discourse (normally) bears some relationship to both its preceding and following contexts. In a similar vein Dik 1989:266–77 proposes the following types of topics: discourse topic (a concept which a discourse or paragraph can be said to be about); new topic (a concept having just been introduced now being talked about); resumed topic (a concept that had previously been talked about, then abandoned for other things, and now being revived or reintroduced back into the discourse); given topic (a concept that is well established in the discourse and being talked about, often referred to pronominally); and subtopic (a concept that is inferable from context).

The approaches of Tomlin[8] and Chafe also treat topicality as a matter of discourse, yet for them the notion of topicality is ultimately seen as a reflex of cognition and consciousness. Chafe, for example, approaches topicality in discourse from the perspective of the degree to which he believes we can say an idea or concept is activated in one's consciousness (1987:25–31, 1994). What others would call a new topic he sees as an idea that has just been activated in a person's consciousness. Once activated the idea may remain active in the mind, during which time it constitutes what others would call *given*. Ideas however "do not immediately become fully inactive but remain for a time in a peripheral consciousness, during which time they may be termed semi-active" (1992a:21). A semi-active (or accessible) idea is one that a person has a background awareness of and may be easily inferred. It is akin to Dik's *subtopic*.

To exemplify the discourse nature of topics, consider the following scenario: A referent may be a new participant in a discourse which is being mentioned for the first time and will potentially be talked about for a while; this new participant will likely be introduced in the focus position of a clause ("once there was a boy"). Once introduced, the referent is considered given or active and may from then on be referred to

[8] For Tomlin the theoretical weakness and subsequent vagueness of definitions of topic (or theme) are because such definitions are only getting at something indirectly (through the linguistic code) which is actually going on in the mind. Such definitions can never be foolproof because they are generally correlational or actuarial rather than causal. In Tomlin's view one should either do away with the terms *topic* and *theme* or entirely redefine them according to their cognitive status. A clause-level topic, for example, in his terms would be defined as "the referent which is focally attended at the moment of utterance formulation" (1995:545).

pronominally ("he lived in a forest"). Other ideas which may be inferred from context may appear without introduction on the discourse stage as definite nouns ("his mother warned him of the dangers of the forest"—boys have mothers and forests in fairy tales are often dangerous places). After a break where a topic has only been semi-active, it must be reintroduced back into the discourse as a full noun phrase ("meanwhile, the boy was making a plan to break his way out of the dungeon").

Now at this point I will mention two related linguistic forms of which the latter is especially relevant to this article: left-dislocation and fronted clause-initial elements. (Givón 1990:705–6 uses the names *contrastive topicalization* and *Y-movement* to refer to topics that have been moved to the clause-initial position.) Both involve a clause-initial element and are normally (in Givón's terms) anaphorically topical (they are usually definite—that is, they have already occurred in the preceding discourse—if not generic (Gundel 1988:213–14). In Dik's schema left-dislocated topics fit into the P2 position. A left-dislocated topic is set off (or dislocated) by pause intonation from the rest of the clause and is usually not grammatically part of the clause—case marking, if any, is neutralized. Thus in many languages a left-dislocated element must be referred to again by a resumptive pronoun in the main clause. For example, in (11) the left-dislocated element is "as for Joseph" and the resumptive pronoun is "he":

(11) Jacob had twelve sons. As for Joseph, he had two. (The topic changes to Joseph.)

Dik's P2 position (left-dislocation) is linearly followed by his P1 position in his schema of functional positions in a clause (P2, P1 (V) S (V) O (V), P3). As mentioned above, he claims that there "is a universally relevant clause-initial position P1, which is used for special purposes, including the placement of constituents with topic" function. Such topics normally come under the same intonational contour as the rest of the clause and are grammatically part of the clause (Givón 1990:754; see also D. Payne 1995:454–6).

Left-dislocation typically functions as a delimiting component. It limits the main predication that follows to a certain restricted domain (Dooley 1982:310; D. Payne 1990:192, 1995:454–5). For example, it sets a "spatial, temporal or individual domain" (Chafe's wording on "Chinese style topics" 1976:50; see also the notion of a "point of departure for communication" in Beneš 1962). According to Givón, left-dislocation in English, for example, typically reintroduces a topic after a long absence (the topic has not been referred to for maybe ten or more clauses in the

preceding discourse). A fronted clause-initial topic (Givón's Y-movement and Dik's P1), however, commonly refers to a topic that has been mentioned usually quite recently—within the last two or three clauses. It is typically used "when a referent is contrasted with another of roughly the same semantic class" (Givón 1990:752)—hence the alternate name, *contrastive topicalization*. The contrastive nature of such fronted clause-initial topics, however, is much weaker than that of contrastive focus discussed above.

Now let's return to our genealogical data. The topicalized adpositional phrases in example (4) repeated below are examples of just such fronted topics (adpositional phrases in Kurmanji involve either a preposition or a postposition or both):

(4)	*(Ji)*	*Birahîm*	*re*	*Ishaq*	*bû*	*(ji)*	*Ishaq*	*re*	*Yaqûb*
	(to)	Abraham	to	Isaac	be.past.3s	(to)	Isaac	to	Jacob

bû
be.past.3s
'To Abraham was born Isaac, to Isaac was born Jacob'

Each clause-initial element has just been introduced in the immediately preceding clause, within the limit of three clauses that Givón predicts. (Abraham had already been introduced in verse 1: "The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham"). The word order in (4)—adpositional phrase followed by subject and then verb—is said to be marked since subjects normally precede adpositional phrases (SOV). Thus in a context where "Isaac" was the topic and "to Abraham" was the assertion a Kurmanji speaker would say:

(4a)	*Ishaq*	*(ji)*	*Birahîm*	*re*	*bû*
	Isaac	(to)	Abraham	to	be.past.3s

'Isaac was born to Abraham'

The Turkish so-called Catholic translation of this passage likewise reflects the same marked word order; that is, it portrays the same pragmatic information structure in the individual clauses:

(12) Catholic translation *İncil: Müjde*

İbrahim-den	*İshak*	*oldu*	*İshak-tan*	*Yakup*
Abraham-from	Isaac	was	Isaac-from	Jacob

'From Abraham was [came into existence] Isaac, from Isaac [was] Jacob'

Even though German is structurally quite different from Kurmanji and Turkish, the German *Gute Nachricht* reflects a similar structure and information flow. In main declarative clauses in German, every clause must begin with a P1 element (i.e., some constituent such as subject, object, or adverbial) which is then followed by a main, finite, conjugated verb (Dik 1980 calls it a V2s language):

(13) *Gute Nachricht*
von Abraham stammte Isaak von Isaak Jakob und von
from Abraham descended Isaac from Isaac Jacob and from

Jakob stammte-n Juda...
Jacob descended-pl Judah
'From Abraham descended Isaac, from Isaac Jacob, and from Jacob descended Judah'

Koine Greek is considered to have so-called free word order—presumedly with a weak but basic VSO structure (Levinsohn 1992:18, 75). Once again, even though it is structurally very different from the SOV languages, Kurmanji and Turkish as well as the V2 language German, there is the same pragmatic distribution of information in the Greek as in the other languages. In the Greek of Matthew each clause begins with a topic, that is a clause-initial subject followed by new information (see Levinsohn 1992:20–2; for fronted subject + *de* as new topic, ibid., 32–3):

(14) *Ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν*
Abraham begot det[9] Isaac Isaac and begot det

Ἰακώβ
Jacob

Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰούδαν
Jacob and begot det Judah

What is interesting to compare here is that, even though in (14) it is the subject that occurs initially (SVO) and in (4), (12), and (13) it is the adpositional phrases (AdP) that occur initially (AdP S V), all four versions reflect the same pragmatic distribution of information: the father as clause-initial topic in each case is what is being commented on.

[9] det. = determiner

Consider now the *Müjde* Turkish translation which presents the same pragmatic distribution of information as (4), (12), (13), and (14):

(15) *Müjde*

İbrahim	*İshak-ın*	*baba-sı-ydı*	*İshak Yakub-un*	*baba-sı*
Abraham	Isaac-GEN	father-GEN-was	Isaac Jacob-GEN	father-GEN

'Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac [was] the father of Jacob'

What is interesting about example (15) is that here we have SOV order, which is in fact the normal unmarked order for Turkish.[10] As is often the case in languages where the subject normally precedes the verb (SV), so here the clause-initial element is both the (grammatical) subject and the (pragmatic) topic. Thus even though we here have unmarked word order—unlike the marked order in (4), (12), (13), and (14)—we still have the same pragmatic distribution of information with the fathers occurring as the clause-initial topic.

In the end the same comments about information structure can be made for the Kurmanji example (3) as well as for the following two English versions:

(16a) 'Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac was the father of Jacob, Jacob the father of Judah'

(16b) 'Abraham begot Isaac, Isaac begot Jacob, Jacob begot Judah'

Even Kurmanji examples (1) and (5) and the Turkish example (2) reflect the same pattern, except in these cases the topic in each clause is a son, not a father. The problems with (1) and (2) will be discussed in more detail below in the section on structure and information flow. Example (5) fits nicely in the context in which it occurs.

Last of all, consider Matthew 1:2 in Candoshi, a north Peruvian jungle language, where each subsequent father, as topic of the clause, comes clause initially.

(17)

A'para'marin	*vipa-a*	*Isa'karini-a*	*iparinaragiya*
Abraham	his-son-ACC	Isaac-ACC	he-engendered

Isa'karin-sha	*Ako'parini-a*	*iparinaragiya.*	*Ako'parin-sha*
Isaac-SWT	Jacob-ACC	he-engendered	Jacob-SWT

[10] For an in-depth description of word order in Turkish, see Erguvanli 1994.

Ota'sarini-a *iparinaragiya*
Judah-ACC he-engendered

While unmarked word order in Candoshi is actually SOV,[11] it is noteworthy that Candoshi utilizes additional morphological marking to indicate change of topic in the second and third clauses. As the topic changes from one father to the next, the suffix *-sha* 'SWT' or switch topic is attached to each new father. This use of a topic-switching suffix in Candoshi may to a certain extent be functionally comparable to the use of δε in Greek.

Topicality, Discontinuity, and the 'One-Job-at-a-Time' Principle

What is the effect within a discourse like this genealogy of beginning each successive clause with a new topic? In this section I shall argue that clauses in genealogies like Matthew 1 are topically presented rather than temporally, and are thus topically discontinuous. We have just seen data from Candoshi which specifically employ a particle (*-sha* 'SWT' or 'switch topic') in this genealogy in order to indicate a change of topic, that is, topic discontinuity.

Consider now a similarly structured genealogy in the Hebrew (a clearly VSO language) of Genesis 4:18:[12]

(18) Genesis 4:18b–d
(18b) *wĕ-îrād* *yālad* *'et-mĕḥûyā'ēl*
and-Irad he begot direct object marker-Mehujael

(18c) *ûmĕḥîyyā'ēl [mĕḥûyā'ēl]* *yālad*
and-Mehujael he begot

'et-mĕtûšā'ēl
direct object marker-Methusael

[11] Special thanks goes to John Tuggy for the Candoshi data and for his helpful E-mail discussions. For the sake of simplicity, I have glossed the main content morphemes (names and verbs) with the exception of ACC (accusative) and SWT (switch topic). Although Candoshi is SOV, question words generally occur clause initially.

[12] For another similarly structured genealogy, see also Genesis 10:24–5.

(18d) *ûmĕtûšā'ēl* *yālad* *'et-lāmek*
and-Methusael he begot direct object marker-Lamech
'And Irad begot Mehujael, and Mehujael begot Methusael, and Methusael begot Lamech'

Just as in the different versions of Matthew 1 seen so far, here we have the same pragmatic distribution of information. Each clause begins with a clause-initial (fronted) topic.

As in other strong VSO languages, in classical Hebrew verb-initial syntax often corresponds with temporal succession (Myhill 1992; Quakenbush 1992; Longacre 1990:177, 1995a). In Hebrew narrative, for example, the main successive events of the story are reported by verb-initial clauses which employ the special *wayyqtl* verb form. I describe the function of *wayyqtl* clauses elsewhere as signaling continuity of situation (like Givón's "discourse continuity" and "action continuity" 1983:7–8); that is, "the same basic storyline is being developed, and no sudden change or discontinuity in the spatio-temporal setting or in the cast of participants is indicated" (Longacre's story line or backbone of narrative 1989:64–5; see Bailey and Levinsohn 1992:194; Levinsohn 1987:66). However, when a topical element precedes the verb, such as a participant or a temporal phrase, there is discontinuity in the story line, whether individual, temporal or otherwise, and a successive verb form like *wayyqtl* cannot occur. Hebrew must thus code either temporal continuity or topical discontinuity, but not both.

Chafe (1987:22–3, 1992a:20–2, 1992b:268–72, 1994:53–70, 108–19) claims that in casual, spoken language, an intonational unit ("spurts of vocalization into which spoken language seems naturally to segment itself") expresses no more than one new idea (see also Downing 1995:12–3; Givón 1975:202, 1984:258–63; and Du Bois 1987:826). This restraint does not apply to written language where a communicator has the liberty to take his time and construct more complex sentences (Chafe 1992b:288–9). The reason for this one-new-idea-at-a-time restraint is probably that the human mind seems capable of focusing on only a small amount of information at one time. Chafe (1994:53) compares consciousness of the human mind to vision. I therefore would like to suggest that here in the case of Hebrew we have a similar principle operating, that, at least in regard to the pragmatic structure of Hebrew a single clause is limited to doing one job at a time: either temporal continuity or topical discontinuity, may be encoded, but not both. I will pick up this idea of one job at a time in a related matter in the next section.

What is therefore interesting about Genesis 4:18 is that, even though the events obviously occur sequentially in real life and we might have expected

the *wayyqtl* form to have been used, the narrator has nevertheless chosen to relate the clauses to each other topically, that is, by means of clause-initial topics. A genealogy like this is essentially a description of a series of topics (fathers). What is topical is not the sequence but rather fatherhood. Such a genealogy is thus a descriptive discourse, not a story with a plot (Bailey 1994:277–8). As each new clause puts forward a new participant as agent, the topic changes from one to the next.

To conclude this section, I would like to suggest that translators bear in mind when translating passages like Matthew 1 and Genesis 4:18 that on a pragmatic level there is actually topic discontinuity. Different languages will of course handle this in different ways, but it is likely that some form that indicates a change of topic will be required. In Candoshi a nominal suffix which indicates a change of topic is natural. In VSO languages, if they are like classical Hebrew, fronting of a noun to indicate topical discontinuity will be the natural choice. I would be surprised to find a VSO language where although fronting of noun phrases is routinely used to indicate a change of topic, in the translation of Matthew 1 verb-initial clauses are used.

Text Structure, Information Flow, and One Job at a Time

In the translation-meeting scene narrated at the beginning of this article, some of the Kurmanji translators especially complained about the organization of information and the idiom used in the original translator's rendering of Matthew 1.

In regard to the idiom they made an important point when they said that the emphasis of Matthew 1 should be on fathering. Abraham therefore should be presented as given information in the first clause, not Isaac; thus "Abraham was the father of Isaac." The structure of the translator's original version (1) which emphasized the sons (Z was the son of X) they said would fit better, if at all, in Luke 3, which begins with Joseph and goes backward in time.

The other important complaint which the translators voiced about version (1) concerning the organization of information was that the clauses did not fit together naturally. What was it exactly that they seemed to be reacting to? I will claim here that what they were reacting to was a cognitively heavy clause and text structure. The versions that the translators preferred followed a more natural text structure, one that was cognitively easier to process.

(3) *Birahîm* *bav-ê* *Isha bû* *Ishaq* *bav-ê* *Yaqûb*
Abraham father-of Isaac be.past.3s Isaac father-of Jacob

bû
be.past.3s
'Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac was the father of Jacob'

The effect of such a genealogy is to produce a chainlike succession of topic and focus:

new topic1—focus2, new topic2—focus3, new topic3—focus4

Once a participant has been introduced as focal information, that is, it has been activated in the mind of the hearer, it is then readily set up as a new topic to be commented upon in the next clause.[13] Even if this kind of clause combining be considered monotonous, it is very easy to process mentally and to keep track of the participants: focus2 and new topic2 of the two successive clauses refer to the same person and there is nothing that occurs between them which can interfere with identification.[14]

As to why clauses should begin with a topic (given) information at all, I would refer the reader back to the discussion in the section on focus and information. There I present at least one reason why the order given information followed by new information is universally so common in the world's languages. Namely, it appears to be cognitively more natural for given information to be mentioned first (as a mental foundation) before new information (which is then mapped onto the foregoing foundation).

This is not to say that new information cannot precede given information. Languages often reserve mentioning new or surprising or emphatic information (things that attract focus of assertion) clause initially (Dik 1989) as a special marked pragmatic strategy. It is one thing, however, occasionally to present new before given information, for

[13] It appears to be a mere artifact of the nature of such a genealogy that the end effect resembles what Longacre and others have called a tail-head structure. The focus of the first clause which comes at the tail-end of the clause is picked up as the topic or head of the next clause. On the tail-head linkage see Longacre 1983:9.

[14] On factors affecting topic availability, Givón says, "[I]f no other topics are present in the immediately preceding discourse environment, i.e., the short-term erasable file, topic identification is *easiest*" (1983:11). However, suppose that having first said "Abraham begot Isaac," where Abraham is topic, the speaker wanted to continue to talk about Abraham (Dik's given topic) and say, for example, that "he also had another son, Ishmael." Then depending on the language specific rules, Abraham would likely be referred to in some abbreviated way such as pronominally (like "he" in English), or as a zero morpheme (ellipsis), and only marked on the verb.

whatever pragmatic reason, and still quite a different thing to present new before given, clause after clause. Consider carefully the following two short texts, (19) and (20), which I constructed for test purposes:

(19) In my garden there used to be an apple on my apple tree. A worm ate the apple, a bird ate the worm, a fox ate the bird, and a bear ate the fox. Now there is a bear in my garden.

(20) In my garden there used to be an apple on my apple tree. The apple was eaten by a worm, the worm was eaten by a bird, the bird was eaten by a fox, and the fox was eaten by a bear. Now there is a bear in my garden.

By far the majority of the people that I have given these two texts to read say that (20), which entails the pragmatic order given followed by new information like the preferred translation, is easier to read and follow than (19), which patterns after the translator's original version (1). Some people in fact find that they must read parts of or all of (19) more than once before they can really follow it.

Examples (1) and (2), however, are pragmatically organized in the reverse order, that is, the clauses display the order of new followed by given information:

(2) Matthew 1:2 *İncil*

İshak	*İbrahim-ın*	*oğlu-ydu*	*Yakub*	*İshak-ın*	*oğlu-ydu*
Isaac	Abraham-GEN	son GEN-was	Jacob	Isaac-GEN	son GEN-was

'Isaac was the son of Abraham, Jacob was the son of Isaac'

Here the coherence between clauses is not so transparent. There is much more topical interference (Givón 1983:11). Having begun with Isaac the hearer must process two other referents, Abraham and Jacob, before he encounters Isaac again. It appears therefore that here it is the clause-initial element in each clause that is trying to do two pragmatic jobs at once. Each initial element qualifies for being the topic or point of departure for the clause (job one) while at the same time presents new information (job two). The cumulative effect of this, clause after clause, is taxing.[15]

[15] See also Gundel 1988:229. In light of her study of topic-comment construction in thirty languages, she concludes that "of the four logical possible orders of comment (focus) relative to old or new topic, i.e., old topic before comment, new topic before comment, comment before old topic, and comment before new comment...there is apparently no language which has a construction whose primary function is to place new topics at the end of a sentence"; i.e., the

Thus the majority of the renderings of this passage in Kurmanji, Turkish, English, and Greek and the similar passage of Genesis 4:18 in Hebrew (and its Septuagint translation) on the one hand, display the pragmatic order given followed by new information. The word order of the Kurmanji example (1), on the other hand, was rejected by the majority of the translators as unnatural in this context. One would therefore be inclined to question the naturalness of the Turkish (2) as well.

Conclusion

To sum up, these findings would suggest a strong tendency across languages for topical information in sentence pairs like those found in the genealogy of Matthew to be organized in the following manner:

new topic1—focus2,
new topic2—focus3

All of the languages cited employ the information order given followed by new information as the easiest to process cognitively. Furthermore, topic discontinuity as a rule is implied in each successive clause, even though languages vary to the degree to which they have unique grammatical structures that indicate topic discontinuity. This consistent preference in information order among these languages is especially noteworthy in light of how these languages otherwise diverge in their basic word order structures (SOV, SVO, VSO, etc.). Nevertheless, I am not claiming that all languages in such contexts must follow this pattern, since there may be language specific grammatical structures that prevent this. If a reader of this article can provide data from other languages of genealogies or other similarly structured texts that would appear exceptional to the dominant pattern presented here, I would be very interested in seeing it.

Both Bible translators and linguists find topic, focus, and information flow to be slippery notions. Like many aspects of language, people might handle them competently at a subconscious level while finding them difficult to talk about precisely. When all is said and done, many translators will be tempted just to follow their intuition. Nevertheless, when translators are equipped with an adequate awareness of these notions, they can more consistently have their figurative clothes right side out and all their camels pointed in the right direction.

---

last possible order does not occur as a regular construction. This order is, however, what is seen in examples (1) and (2).

BIOGRAPHY

Nicholas Bailey, a Californian, received an M.A. in linguistics from the University of Texas at Arlington.

REFERENCES

Bailey, Nicholas A. 1994. Some literary and grammatical aspects of genealogies in Genesis. In Biblical Hebrew and discourse linguistics. Edited by Robert D. Bergen. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bailey, Nicholas A. and Stephen H. Levinsohn. 1992. The function of preverbal elements in independent clauses in the Hebrew narrative of Genesis. Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics 5(3):179–207.

Beneš, E. 1962. Die Verbstellung im Deutschen, von der Mitteilungsperspektive her betrachtet. Philologica Pragensia 5:6–19.

Bruinessen, van, Martin M. 1978. Agha, shaikh and state: On the social and political organization of Kurdistan. Ph.D. diss. Utrecht University, Utrecht.

Chafe, Wallace. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In Subject and topic. Edited by Charles N. Li. New York: Academic Press.

———. 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Coherence and grounding in discourse Typological Studies in Language 11. Edited by Russell Tomlin. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1992a. Information flow in speaking and writing. In The linguistics of literacy. Typological Studies in Language 21. Edited by Pamela Downing et al., Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1992b. The flow of ideas in a sample of written language. In Discourse description: Diverse linguistic analyses of a fund-raising text. Pragmatics and Beyond 16. Edited by William C. Mann and Sandra A. Thompson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1994. Discourse, consciousness, and time. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Daneš, František. 1974. Functional sentence perspective and the organization of the text. Papers on functional sentence perspective. Edited by František Daneš 106–128. The Hague: Mouton.

Dik, Simon C. 1980. Studies in functional grammar. London: Academic Press.

———. 1989. The theory of functional grammar: Part I: The structure of the clause. Dordrecht: Foris.

Dik, Simon C, Maria Hoffmann, J. R. de Jong, Sie Ing Djiang, Harry Stroomer, and Lourens de Vries. 1981. On the typology of focus phenomena. In Perspectives on functional grammar. Edited by Teun Hoekstra et al., Dordrecht: Foris.

Dooley, Robert A. 1982. Options in the pragmatic structuring of Guarani sentences. Language 58:307–331.

Downing, Pamela. 1995. Word order in discourse: By way of introduction. In Word order in discourse. Typological Studies in Language 30. Edited by Pamela Downing and Michael Noonan. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dryer, Matthew S. 1995. Frequency and pragmatically unmarked word order. In Word order in discourse. Typological Studies in Language 30. Edited by Pamela Downing and Michael Noonan. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Du Bois, John. 1987. The discourse basis of ergativity. Language 68:805–855.

Erguvanli, Eser Emine. 1984. The function of word order in Turkish grammar. Berkeley: University of California.

Fitzmyer, Joseph. A. 1981. The gospel according to Luke I–IX. The anchor Bible. New York: Doubleday.

Firbas, Jan. 1964. On defining the theme in functional sentence analysis. Travaux Linguistiques de Prague 1:267–80. Prague: Academia.

Gernsbacher, Morton and David Hargreaves. 1992. The privilege of primacy: Experimental data and cognitive explanations. In Pragmatics of word order flexibility. Typological Studies in Language 22. Edited by Doris L. Payne. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, Talmy. 1975. Focus and the scope of assertion: Some Bantu evidence. Studies in African Linguistics 6:185–205.

———, ed. 1983. Topic continuity and discourse: Quantified text studies. Typological Studies in Language 3. Edited by Talmy Givón. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1984. Syntax: a functional-typological introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1988. The pragmatics of word-order: Predictability, importance and attention. In Studies in syntactic typology. Typological Studies in Language 3. Edited by Michael Hammond et al., Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1990. Syntax: A functional-typological introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gundel, Jeanette K. 1988. Universals of topic-comment structure. In Studies in syntactic typology. Typological Studies in Language 3. Edited by Michael Hammond et al., Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1967, Notes on transitivity and theme in English. Journal of Linguistics 3:37–81; 199–244.

Harrison, Roland K. 1982. Genealogy. In The international standard Bible encyclopedia, vol. 2. Edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, et al., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Johnson, Marshall D. 1969. The purpose of the genealogies (with special reference to the setting of the genealogies of Jesus.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1982. Genealogy of Jesus. In The international standard Bible encyclopedia, vol. 2. Edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley et al., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1987. On the status of SVO sentences in French discourse. In Coherence and grounding in discourse. Typological Studies in Language 11. Edited by Russell Tomlin. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1994. Information structure and sentence form. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1987. Textual connections in Acts. Society of biblical literature. Monograph Series 31. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

———. 1992. Discourse features of New Testament Greek: A coursebook. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Longacre, Robert E. 1983. The grammar of discourse. New York: Plenum Press.

———. 1989. Joseph, a story of divine providence: A text theoretical and textlinguistic analysis of Genesis 37 and 39–48. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

———. 1990. Storyline concerns and word order typology in East and West Africa. Studies in African linguistics. Supplement 10. Los Angeles: University of California.

Longacre, Robert E. 1995a. Left shifts in strongly VSO languages. In Word order in discourse. Typological Studies in Language 30. Edited by Pamela Downing and Michael Noonan. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1995b. Some interlocking concerns which govern participant reference in narrative. Language Research 31:697–714. Seoul: Seoul National University.

Marshall, I. Howard. 1978. The gospel of Luke: A commentary on the Greek text. Reprint 1983. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Myhill, John. 1992. Word order and temporal sequencing. In Pragmatics of word order flexibility. Typological Studies in Language 22. Edited by Doris L. Payne. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Payne, Doris L. 1990. The pragmatics of word order: Typological dimensions of verb languages. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

———, ed. 1992a. Pragmatics of word order flexibility. Typological Studies in Language 22. Edited by Doris L. Payne. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 1992b. Towards a more adequate approach to "focus" phenomena. Journal of African Languages and Linguistics 13:205-17.

———. 1995. Verb initial languages and information order. In Word order in discourse. Typological Studies in Language 30. Edited by Pamela Downing and Michael Noonan. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1992. Word order and discourse type: An Austronesian example. In Pragmatics of word order flexibility. Typological Studies in Language 22. Edited by Doris L. Payne. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tomlin, Russell. 1995. Focal attention, voice, and word order. In Word order in discourse. Typological Studies in Language 30. Edited by Pamela Downing and Michael Noonan. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tomlin, Russell S., Linda Forrest, Ming Ming Pu, and Myung Hee Kim. 1997. Discourse semantics. In Discourse as structure and process. Edited by T. van Dijk. London: Sage.

Bible Translations

Candoshi

Candoshi New Testament. Revised edition. 1993. South Holland, Ill: La Liga Büblica; Las Sagradas Escrituras para Todos.

German

Die Gute Nachricht des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Die Bibel in heutigem Deutsch. 1982. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

Kurmanji-Kurdish

Mizgînîya Îsa Mesîh' li gorê Metê (Încîl). 1993. Stockholm: Institute for Bible Translation.

Mizgîniya Îsa Mesîh li gora Lûga û Karên Sandiyan (Încîl). 1996. Stockholm: Institute for Bible Translation.

Mîzgînî (Încîl) Mizgîniya Îsa Mesîh ligor Lûga. 1996. Istanbul: Kitabi Mukaddes Şirketi.

Turkish

Catholic translation: İncil: Müjde. 1986. Ankara: Imprimi Potest Louis Pelatre: Pierre Dubois.
İncil: Çağdaş Türkçe Çeviri. 1990. Istanbul: Kitabı Mukaddes Şirketi.
Müjde: İncil'in Çağdaş bir Çevirisi. 1987. Istanbul: Yeni Yaşam Yayınları.

MARK'S GOAL–ORIENTED PLOT STRUCTURE

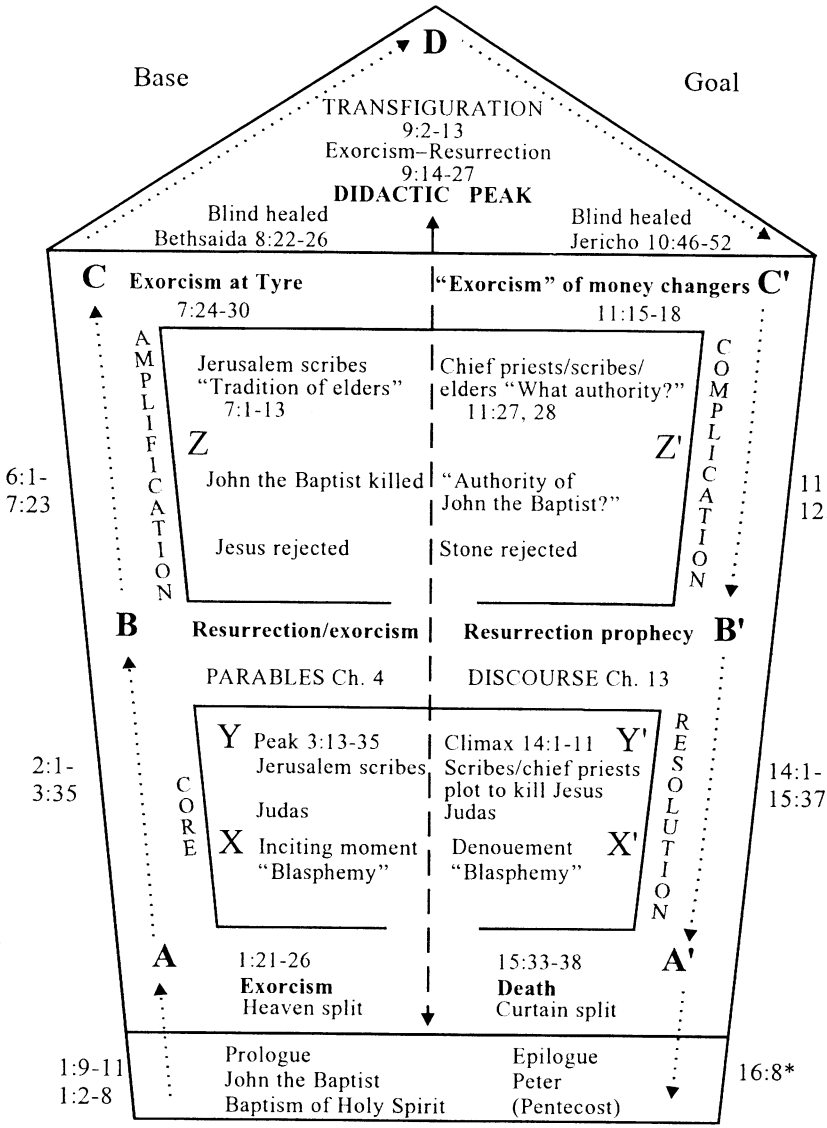
Ethel E. Wallis

ABSTRACT

In this overview of Mark's gospel, discourse evidence is presented for a bifurcated narrative in which the chiastic structure is viewed as a base with a corresponding goal. The Transfiguration constitutes a portmanteau apex/divider located between the two sides of the discourse. The plot consists of a complex of events characterized by the verbal conflict of Jesus with his religious enemies, occurring first in Galilee and culminating in Jerusalem. The plot is embedded in a thematic matrix consisting of four exorcisms in the base, echoed in the goal by figurative exorcisms, the last of which is represented iconically by the empty tomb, a figure of the exorcism of death itself. Participant and participant role are crucial factors in the plot development: Mark presents Jesus as Lord and Son of Man, roles highlighting his deity. The early clash at the end of chapter 3 constitutes the first peak in the narrative when all of the major participants appear on stage in a climactic conflict. In that context Judas Iscariot is introduced as the one "who betrayed him," a proleptic disclosure of the role switch from a member of Jesus' "family" to that of an ally of the religious hierarchy. In contrast, Peter is placed in focus with a special message from the angel at the tomb. The surprise ending corresponds to the prophetic words of John the Baptist in the prologue, "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit," a clear reference to Pentecost, an event in which Peter would play a major role.

Although many books and essays have been written about the gospel of Mark, few have focused upon this gospel as an example of narrative genre in the context of discourse analysis. Several authors have recently presented evidence for Mark's use of chiasmus, or parallelism, in his gospel. In the following discussion I propose to consider Mark's story as an example of narrative discourse, using basically the guidelines developed by Longacre 1996. However, in an attempt to explain Mark's unique format, I have incorporated ideas gleaned from recent cognitive studies, specifically insights from *Referent Management in Olo* by Staley (1995), based upon his research in a language of Papua New Guinea.

Table 1: Mark's Goal-Oriented Plot



*NIV: "[The two most reliable early manuscripts do not have Mark 16:9-20.]"

The Function of Mark's Prologue and Epilogue

In evaluating the function of the opening words of Mark many commentators focus upon the role of John the Baptist, overlooking Isaiah's prophecy which precedes it. Thus the first main clue to Mark's purpose is ignored. "Prepare the way of the Lord" (1:2) is the first clear designation of Mark's hero, Isaiah's Lord of Glory who is also the perfect servant. This reference to the deity of Jesus presents a clear contrast to the introduction of the main participant in the other three gospels.[1] Matthew presents Jesus as ruler (king), with a genealogy focused upon King David. Luke traces Jesus' lineage back to Adam, with a long introduction focused upon the birth and childhood of the prophet or teacher.[2] Although lacking a specific genealogy, John declares that the Word was "made flesh," a reference to his earthly origin. In contrast, Mark's hero makes his debut as a mature person, ready for baptismal entry into service as the Lord, whose way has been prepared by John the Baptist.

The end of the prologue is marked by a prophetic statement, "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit" (1:8), a reference to the Pentecost event. Mark's prologue is matched by an epilogue in which an angel at the empty tomb commissions the women to "tell the disciples and Peter" (16:7) that Jesus is risen from the dead. This reference to Peter, a main participant at Pentecost, links Mark's epilogue back to the prologue (see bottom of table 1).

As Mark tells his story, the dramatic balance between the two halves of his narrative becomes evident: he has his eye upon the Transfiguration as the halfway marker, the climax of a dramatic account. In the following discussion the events of the first half of the narrative, from the appearance of John the Baptist to the Transfiguration, will be referred to as the base of the discourse. The corresponding final half, from the Transfiguration to the angelic appearance at the tomb, will be referred to as the goal of the discourse (see table 1).

Among the commentators who have noted the structural similarity between the opening and closing of Mark's gospel is M. Philip Scott who entitled his article "Chiastic Structure: A Key to the Interpretation of

---

[1] In "Contrastive Plot Structure of the Four Gospels" I state reasons for the emphasis on the deity of Christ in Mark (Wallis 1971).

[2] In "Thematic Parallelism and Prominence in Luke-Acts" I discuss the prophet-apostle linkage (Wallis 1979).

Mark's Gospel."[3] He states that 9:7 is "the pivot of the chiasmus... The transfiguration story is at the center of Mark's gospel in a way in which it is not at the center of Matthew's and certainly not of Luke's."[4]

Another article on a type of chiastic structure in Mark's gospel, by Augustine Stock, deals with "Hinge Transitions in Mark's Gospel."[5] Two of his hinges, 8:22–6, and 10:45–52,[6] coincide with my identification of these passages as iconic representations of aperture and closure or the didactic peak (see table 1). Stock's insights are helpful; however, the placement of the "hinge" transitions in a display of the discourse structure would have enhanced those insights, in my opinion.

The Plot in a Thematic Matrix

The plot consists of four discrete units, stretches of the discourse labeled on the base side of table 1 as the core (X and Y) and amplification (Z), with corresponding units on the goal side of table 1, complication (Z') and resolution (Y' and X'). These units consist of episodes in which reported speech in the form of confrontational dialogue of Jesus with his religious enemies forms the backbone of Mark's plot.

The plot is embedded in a thematic matrix which is marked by four exorcism events in the base, with corresponding figurative "exorcism" events in the goal. This matrix is designated in table 1 as A B C D in the base, and D C' B' A' in the goal, where the term D represents the head of the chiasmus, the portmanteau didactic peak.

In the following discussion the core and resolution will be considered together as constituting the nucleus of Mark's whole narrative. The corresponding thematic sections (A and A') will be included in this nuclear portion of the discourse.

Three major events dominate the narrative recorded in 1:9–45, the first section of the thematic matrix (A in table 1): the baptism of Jesus when heaven was "torn open", the calling of Peter, and the exorcism of the demon in the synagogue at Capernaum. The 'tearing open' (*schizō*) of heaven (1:10) is matched by the 'tearing of' the curtain in the temple (15:38) in which the same Greek verb is used. In 1:12 the Spirit 'drove' (*ekballō*) Jesus into the wilderness to be tempted of Satan, but his victory over the enemy is dramatized by his subsequent expulsion of the demon in

[3] Scott (1985:17–26).
[4] Ibid., 22.
[5] Stock (1985:27–31).
[6] Ibid., 29.

the synagogue of Capernaum who knew who he was, "the Holy One of God" (1:24b). The demoniac's question, "Have you come to destroy us?" provides a hint of Jesus' final victory over Satan; his resurrection is final proof of the great "exorcism."

Mark's brief summary of the final events of Jesus' life stands in contrast to the other three gospels in which full details are given. Even more unusual is the symbolic representation of the Resurrection, "See the place where they laid him" (16:6). Mark's message is focused on the empty tomb as a sign of victory over death and Satan, foreshadowed in the first exorcism in chapter 1.

The plot core (2:1–3:35) is represented in table 1 by two episodes, (X and Y). These episodes consist of confrontational dialogue between the scribes and Jesus. Although the priests constituted the upper echelon of the ruling body of Jewish society, the scribes were the theologians whose verdicts were critical in decisions made by the high priest and chief priests. According to Jeremias (1968:237), "The knowledge of scriptural exegesis was the determining factor in judicial decisions." Their esoteric teaching gave them quasi-prophetic status. "Such, for example, is the teaching on the saviour *bar naša* 'son of man' a fact of considerable importance in understanding the message of Jesus...Their words had sovereign authority."[7]

In Capernaum when Jesus speaks forgiveness of sins to the paralytic, the scribes' thoughts are perceived by him: "He's blaspheming! Who can forgive sins but God alone?" (2:7). Jesus' response, "The Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins," seals his doom as the scribes continue to persecute him to the death. This accusation of blasphemy represents the inciting moment (X in table 1) and initiates a dramatic escalation of controversy with the scribes.

The verbal clash at the healing of the palsied man in Capernaum is followed by a series of clashes with the scribes and Pharisees, involving references to fasting and observances of the Sabbath. In attacking the disciples for eating grain on the Sabbath, the accusers come face to face with Jesus who defends his followers, citing the precedent of David and his men eating bread consecrated for the priests. In his defense Jesus states that "the Sabbath was made for man"—but by whom? In an elliptical statement Jesus implies that he himself is the creator of the Sabbath, for he says, "Therefore the Son of Man [having created the Sabbath] is Lord even of the Sabbath" (2:28). Here Jesus applies to himself two of the designations for deity which Mark places in focus at critical points in the narrative. This

[7] Ibid., 239, 243.

series of clashes is climaxed by the healing of a man with a shriveled hand at the synagogue in Capernaum where the first exorcism occurred.

A political collusion follows, in which the Pharisees and Herodians begin to plot how they can kill Jesus. Although this represents an escalation of tension, no confrontational dialogue is reported; the Pharisees answer with sullen silence when Jesus challenges them about the purpose of the Sabbath.

Following the healing in the synagogue Jesus withdraws with his disciples to the nearby lake and continues his ministry of healing and exorcism. Then going to a mountainside he calls to himself the Twelve Apostles, giving them authority to preach and cast out demons. In listing their names Mark focuses on the first, "Simon, to whom he gave the name Peter" (3:16), and the last, "Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him" (3:19).

With his disciples Jesus then enters a crowded house where eating is impossible. His family hears of the critical situation. At this point in the story the scribes who had "come down from Jerusalem" (3:22) to investigate the mounting tension take control. Their pronouncement is twofold: "He is possessed by Beelzebub," and "[B]y the prince of demons he is driving out demons" (3:22). In direct reply Jesus counters, answering the second accusation first: it is illogical for Satan to oppose himself to rout the enemy. Then looking directly at his opponents: "I tell you...whoever blasphemes the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven" (3:28, 29). Mark as author then makes explicit their accusation: "He said this because they were saying 'He has an evil spirit'" (3:30).

By this time his mother and brothers have arrived. Upon being notified of his family's arrival, he asks a surprising question: "Who are my mother and brothers?" (3:33). He then declares that those seated around him are his true family, those who "do God's will" (3:34, 35).

The conflict initiated by the scribes who have come down from Jerusalem forms the climax of the conflict begun by the scribes in Capernaum at the healing of the paralytic. Now the conflict reaches a climactic peak. Mark underscores the importance of this confrontation by doubling the mention of all the sets of participants, resulting in a chiasmus which places the scribes and Jesus at the center in verbal clash. The full stage of participants and the encounter are displayed in table 2. The center of the chiasmus focuses on the blasphemy of the Holy Spirit, and so underscores the gravity of the situation. The special emphasis on the Holy Spirit is encoded in a unique Greek expression which may be translated, the 'Spirit, the Holy Spirit' (3:29). The second article emphasizes *hagion* 'holy' in contrast to *akatharton* 'evil' (3:30).

Table 2: Chiastic Structure of Mark 3:13–35

A Twelve Apostles chosen
Simon, to whom he gives the name Peter
Judas Iscariot, who betrays him
B Jesus' family arrives
C Scribes from Jerusalem accuse Jesus
a He is possessed by Beelzebub
b He drives out demons by the prince of demons
C' Jesus responds
b' How can Satan drive out Satan?
a' Whoever blasphemes the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven
B' Jesus asks, "Who are my mother and my brothers?"
A' Jesus declares: "Here are my mother and my brothers. Whoever does God's will is my brother and my sister and my mother."

Several clues are given by Longacre (1996:39–43) for identifying the peak in a discourse. The "crowded stage" is one important sign. In the clash of Jesus and his enemies, all of the main participants are on stage. "Rhetorical underlining" is one important clue. This is exemplified by the doubling of information concerning the participants in the chiastic structure. "Heightened vividness" is achieved by direct discourse at the heart of the conflict. The "shift to a more specific person" can mark a peak. Jesus' words, "I tell you" exemplify this characteristic. Mark's final evaluation of Jesus' words is an example of "rhetorical underlining": "He said this because they were saying, 'He has an evil spirit'" (3:30).

The focus upon one particular participant in this peak episode merits special attention. Judas Iscariot is introduced by his full name with the information that he was the one who "betrayed him." This startling statement surely represents a proleptic leap to the climax, in the resolution of the plot. How can this fast-forwarding in the action be accounted for? An answer may be provided by Staley's discussion of "Goal-Oriented Activation Model" (1995:8):

> In this approach the language producer adjusts the activation of the different participants in the discourse, building not only on the current activation level but also according to what the producer wants to do in the rest of the discourse with the particular participant...how active

> the speaker wants this referent to be *vis à vis* all other participants.

Inasmuch as Judas Iscariot is not mentioned again until the final conflict with religious leaders in Jerusalem (chapter 14), the curious reader would be tempted to jump to the end of the story to see how the betrayal is carried out. Because of this goal-oriented motivation centered on Judas, the peak designated Y in table 1 is linked to the peak marked Y' in the resolution. In this stretch of the discourse (14:1–52), the participation of Judas in all of the main events is crucial: the account of the anointing of Jesus at Bethany is climaxed by Judas going to the chief priests to betray Jesus; at the Lord's Supper Jesus predicts the betrayal by one of the Twelve eating with him; the poignant scene at Gethsemane is climaxed by the words of Jesus, "Here comes my betrayer!" in which Judas is now designated only by his role name. Thus Judas serves as a discourse bracket, unifying the climactic events in the resolution, up to the delivery of Jesus to the Sanhedrin, beginning at 14:53.

Mark's strategy appears to be the selection of Judas as the catalytic link between the first peak (Y) to the climax (Y') (see table 1). The verdict of the Sanhedrin, "Blasphemy" in the denouement (X') answers to the accusation of the scribes in Capernaum when they accuse him of blasphemy.

According to Staley:

> When a speaker begins to tell a story he has a mental model of the events he wants to relate...The telling of a story is often used to influence the audience to see the world in the same way as the speaker. The speaker has...a viewpoint. This viewpoint is manifested in the selection of which of the events to be retold as well as the choice of what participants to give background information on. It is my contention that the choice of referential forms is also influenced by this viewpoint. A given participant may be made more prominent...by judicious choice of referential forms.[8]

Not only by judicious choice but also by strategic placement of the referential form in the discourse can the speaker influence the reaction of his audience. Judas is introduced as a betrayer in the first peak (3:13–35), and this role is consummated in the climax (14:2–50). His participation in

[8] Ibid., 108.

the plot to kill Jesus places him strategically close to the denouement in which the accusation of blasphemy is the cause for the condemnation of Jesus. Mark's goal has been achieved by role designation and by strategic placement of the participant in the plot. Thus Staley's final instruction for "basic activation" has been followed: "raise the activation of the referenced participant."[9]

The appearance of Jesus before Pilate in the civil trial is portrayed by Mark as a sham, inasmuch as the accusers are still the chief priests who determine the final action: "But the chief priests stirred up the crowd to have Pilate release Barabbas instead" (15:11). "Wanting to satisfy the crowd, Pilate released Barabbas to them. He had Jesus flogged and handed him over to be crucified" (15:15).[10] Thus in Mark's account the final decision is made by the Sanhedrin, with a perfunctory civil trial appended. As Jesus hangs on the cross, the chief priests and scribes are still maligning him as a blasphemer.

Mark's Intercalation Strategy

The four narrative units of the discourse in which Mark recounts the clashes of Jesus and his enemies (core, amplification, complication, and resolution) are bound by nonconfrontational events involving (a) the instruction of his disciples and (b) highlighted exorcism events. The first of these is an extended speech event in which he teaches his disciples by parables (chapter 4). He admonishes them for failing to understand the "secret of the kingdom," again using the words of Isaiah; they were "blind" and "hardened in heart." They fail to see that he is the secret of the kingdom, the incarnation of God with them. When words fail, he dramatically demonstrates his deity by miraculously stilling a storm. Even this does not convince them, for they ask in wonder, "Who is this?" (4:41).

Later in the narrative, in Jerusalem, as Jesus warns his disciples about the duplicity of the scribes with whom he has clashed (chapters 11 and 12), he takes them aside and instructs them in his Olivet discourse (chapter 13). The clash with his enemies is resumed in chapter 14, at the Passover, which marks the beginning of the final conflict.

The parallel function of these two speech boundaries is indicated by their location in table 1, on the base side following the core and on the goal side immediately preceding the resolution. Juxtaposed are "exorcism"

---

[9] Ibid., 107.

[10] In "Four Gospels 'Four Discourse Genre'" I refer to the trial as evidence of "true climactic narrative structure" (Wallis 1983).

events, B on the base side, and B' on the goal side. Similarly, C and C' represent "exorcism" events on the base side and goal side respectively.

In chapter 5 three "resurrection" events are recounted (B in table 1): (a) the restoration of a suicidal demoniac, (b) the healing of a dying woman, and (c) the raising of a dead girl, the climactic finale of the three events witnessed by Peter, James, and John. Although the exorcism of the suicidal demoniac is long and recounted in graphic detail, the resurrection of a dead person represents a climactic finale in this trio of miracles.

Structurally corresponding to these events is a passage concerning resurrection (12:35–44) (B' in table 1). While teaching in the temple courts Jesus challenges the behavior of the scribes who taught about the Son of David, using the familiar words in Messianic Psalm 110:1. In Mark's account Jesus emphasizes the deity of the person referred to by repeating the title "LORD" three times, and by declaring that David spoke "by the Holy Spirit" when he made the prophecy concerning the resurrection of the Lord. "Until I put your enemies under your feet" graphically pictures the "exorcism" of Satan, and death itself. Thus the exorcism theme is placed by Mark at a strategic location in the narrative, preceding the final events in Jesus' life. He concludes his teaching by warning the disciples of the hypocrisy of the scribes in their ostentatious and hypocritical giving. (The prophetic teaching on resurrection–"exorcism" is followed immediately by the Olivet discourse.)

Plot amplification (Z in table 1) is composed of a cluster of events in 6:1–7:23, in which rejection is the common denominator: Jesus is rejected in his hometown; John the Baptist is rejected and killed, recounted in a flashback narrative; Jesus is challenged and rejected by Pharisees and scribes who have come from Jerusalem, perhaps the same ones who had come previously to accuse him, in chapter 3. But in the events recorded in 7:1–23, the accusation centers upon the disciples' violation of the "tradition of the elders" in ceremonial washing. Though less severe than the previous accusation, the animosity toward Jesus is growing, fomented by the scribes from Jerusalem, and now involving the elders, who will later join the pact of death.

Between the account of the death of John the Baptist and the attack of the scribes from Jerusalem, Mark turns again to the disciples, to whom Jesus reveals his deity by two miracles, the feeding of the five thousand and walking on the water. Again they do not understand; their hearts are hardened by unbelief.

The attack of the Pharisees and scribes who have come from Jerusalem (7:1–23) is the final clash of the religious hierarchy with Jesus in Galilee. With blunt denunciation Jesus answers their accusation concerning the disciples eating with "unclean hands," breaking the "traditions of the

elders." He calls them "hypocrites" (v. 6), people who honor God with their lips but whose "hearts are far from me."

Plot amplification (Z) in the base is matched by complication (Z') in the goal (table 1). The latter unit of the plot (11:28–12:12) contains details of the clash of Jesus with the chief priests and scribes at the expulsion of the money changers. This event is followed by a full cast of opponents—chief priests, scribes, and elders—who challenge his authority: "Who gave you authority to do this?" (11:28). In a counterquestion Jesus demands to know from where comes the authority of John the Baptist—was it from heaven or from men? (11:30). This challenge wedges the accusers into a corner of no escape—they have no answer. Jesus' refusal to identify the source of his authority represents the last link in the complication phase of the plot. The rhetorical closure of the complication is represented by Jesus' narration of the parable of the tenants, in which the owner of a vineyard sends servants to collect the fruit, but they are all killed. Then the owner sends his beloved son, who is likewise killed. The accusers, knowing that the parable speaks of them, try to arrest Jesus, but fear of the crowd deters them. The quotation concerning the rejected stone in Psalm 118:22, "The stone the builders rejected has become the capstone," a clear reference to his own identity, represents a claim to deity which the religious hierarchy deny. This clash is an echo of his rejection in his hometown as recorded in 6:1–6, when Jesus said he was a "prophet without honor" (6:4) (Z table 1).

Thematic Exorcisms

Following the final clash with the religious enemies in chapter 7, Mark's narrative takes an abrupt turn; from 7:24, when "Jesus left that place and went to Tyre," to 11:18 when in Jerusalem "the chief priests and scribes...began looking for a way to kill him," there is no conflict with the religious leaders, who are now in Jerusalem plotting his death. Rather, Mark now turns his attention to two exorcism events: the exorcism of a demon in Tyre, and the exorcism-resurrection miracle performed following the Transfiguration. These events are indicated in table 1 as C and D in the base.

In 7:24–30 the exorcism of a demon from the daughter of a Syro-Phoenician woman in Tyre is recorded. In calling Jesus "Lord" (v. 28) as she, a foreigner, implores him, she demonstrates her humility and faith. Jesus not only rewards her, but commends her for her courageous act. This miracle is followed by the healing of a deaf-mute and the feeding of the four thousand. At this time Jesus warns his disciples of the "yeast" of the

Pharisees and Herod, who are conniving to kill him. Still blind and deaf to the incarnate Deity who has performed miracles, the disciples are again reprimanded.

Mark now turns in his narrative to Bethsaida where Jesus heals a blind man in a unique two-stage miracle. This event is indicated in table 1, at the boundary between C and D in the base. The Bethsaida miracle is matched on the goal side at the boundary of D and C' by a miracle at Jericho where blind Bartimaeus is healed (10:46–52) by Jesus before he and his disciples enter Jerusalem.

The first major event in Jerusalem after the triumphal entry is the "exorcism" of the money changers from the temple (11:15–18). In expelling them Jesus declares, "My house will be called a house of prayer for all nations" (v. 17). This outreach to all people had been foreshadowed by the faith of the Syro-Phoenician woman at Tyre; Jesus had gone into a foreign area outside Israel where he found faith alive in one woman. Thus Mark's exorcism theme continues, with a climactic event in Jerusalem.

Thematic Peak

The narration after the healing at Bethsaida begins with the historic confession of Peter declaring Jesus to be the Messiah. This event marks the beginning of the didactic peak, as indicated in table 1. This unit of the discourse is characterized by the teaching of Jesus centered upon his role as the Son of Man. He predicts his death as the Son of Man (8:31) preceding the Transfiguration, the climactic point of the whole gospel, which also marks the halfway division between equal parts of the narration.

Following the Transfiguration Jesus performs an exorcism, the physical manifestations of which are similar to the one recorded in 1:21–6. In 9:26, "the spirit shrieked, convulsed him violently, and came out"; in 1:26 "the evil spirit shook the man violently and came out of him with a shriek." However, in the post-Transfiguration exorcism the boy who had been possessed was declared to be "dead." Following the exorcism "Jesus took him by the hand and lifted him up to his feet, and he stood up" (v. 27). This exorcism-resurrection event is surely meant by Mark to echo the inaugural exorcism event in chapter 1, and to prefigure the resurrection of Jesus in chapter 16, the "exorcism" of death itself.

Following the Transfiguration the narration is characterized by a series of teaching modules in which Jesus emphasizes the need of humility in following the example of the Son of Man. The disciples are obtuse, continually failing to understand the message.

This lack of comprehension is placed in high focus in 9:32, where the verb 'did not understand' (*agnkoeō*) occurs. This is the only occurrence of this verb in the gospel. In 4:13 where Jesus challenges the disciples concerning their understanding of the parables the verb *oida* 'I know' is used. Later, they do not understand who he is at the feeding of the five thousand, and his walking on the water: "They had not understood about the loaves; their hearts were hardened" (6:52). Likewise they fail to comprehend his deity in the feeding of the four thousand and his admonition to "watch out for the yeast of the Pharisees and that of Herod" (8:15). "Do you still not see or understand? Are your hearts hardened?" (8:17). This crescendo of rebukes is climaxed in 8:21 "Do you still not understand?"

The unique occurrence of the two-phased healing of the blind man at Bethsaida (8:22–6) follows the series of rebukes, and marks the onset of the didactic peak, in which Jesus focuses his attention on the disciples. In this long section of the gospel there is no major conflict with the religious enemies, who will eventually succeed in their plot to kill him; he is teaching his disciples.

The singular occurrence of the verb "to understand" in 9:32 is immediately preceded by the first prophecy of Jesus' betrayal, "The Son of Man is going to be betrayed into the hands of men" (9:31). Later the prophecy is made more specific, "The Son of Man will be betrayed to the chief priests and the teachers of the law" (10:33). These oblique references to Judas in the didactic peak connect the activity of Judas to the plot core, where he is introduced as the betrayer. As one of the Twelve Judas hears the predictions concerning betrayal, but he is not present at the Transfiguration, where only Peter, James, and John witness the supernatural events—the high point of Mark's narrative. However, the emphatic declaration concerning the disciples' lack of understanding (of who he is) may well be considered the peak of the didactic peak.

Peter, James, and John, his closest allies, are consistently self-seeking. Finally Jesus says, "Whoever wants to be first must be the slave of all. For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many" (10:45). This statement is the didactic peak emphasizing the humility of the Son of Man, linking back to 8:31 when he "began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer."

The long didactic peak (8:27–10:45) is characterized by the chain of references to the Son of Man. Outside this section of the gospel, the Son of Man title occurs only in the plot core and resolution, in contexts involving clashes with the scribes and the Sanhedrin. In the final confrontation, when Jesus applies to himself an expanded version of the Danielic title, the official verdict of "blasphemy" is pronounced: "You will see the Son of

Man sitting at the right hand of the mighty one and coming on the clouds of heaven" (14:62). Thus from the first to the final clash with the religious leaders the declaration of his deity is the cause of conflict. This singular focus characterizes Mark's gospel, and contributes heavily to its distinctive narrative shape.

Was Mark an Epic Poet?

For more than a century critics of Mark's gospel have written at length concerning the purpose and style of his composition. Hugh Anderson in his introduction to his commentary on Mark summarizes the substance of three notable critics:

> W. Wrede contended that Mark's record was not determined by historical but by dogmatic or doctrinal considerations belonging to the theology of the early church...A. Schweitzer demonstrated that none of the gospels provided materials for a life of Jesus in any biographical sense...Finally, K. L. Schmidt sharpened and sustained the insights of Wrede and Schweitzer, maintaining that all Mark had at his disposal for the writing of his Gospel was isolated fragments, disconnected sayings and stories. These he assembled and around them built his own little opening and closing connecting links and occasionally also inserted brief summary statements of Jesus' activities...The Evangelist could thus be likened to a child threading pearls on a string.

Anderson (1976:6) then seeks to relate the "historical" sequence of events in the gospel to the "method of Gospel research commonly called redaction criticism."

A third opinion is to consider Mark's gospel as having a unified plot, as I have suggested in the base-goal diagram in table 1. In this approach the purpose of the author to place events and speech events in a quasi-poetic format seems appropriate.[11] The author is doing more than "threading pearls on string"; he is crafting an exquisitely designed necklace. The crown jewel of Mark's literary creation is the deity of Jesus. The divine

[11] In "Aristotelian Echoes in Luke's Discourse Structure" I note similarities to Greek drama (Wallis 1988). In "The First and Second Epistles of Luke to Theophilus" the classical chiastic structure is extended to include Luke's two books (Wallis 1992).

hero needs no genealogy—he simply appears incarnate, ready for baptism and the empowering of the Holy Spirit. As the Lord of Glory he raises the dead, expels demons, feeds thousands with a creative touch, and walks on water—which he has created. But Mark reserves his coup de grâce for an offstage encounter, where neither his divine hero, Jesus, nor the human object of special love, Peter, appears. Only a mediating angel speaks at the empty tomb, "Tell the disciples—and Peter."

The Translator's Challenge

Because of its brevity as compared with the other three gospels, Mark is frequently chosen as the first book to be translated in pre-literate language areas. However, there is fairly general agreement among translators that Mark is not easily translated; there is more to this gospel than meets the eye.

If my bilateral format is a fairly accurate mapping of its structure, a parsing of its balanced constituents could provide a helpful approach to dynamic translation. As I have indicated in my discussion of the form of the gospel, there is strong indication that Mark—contrary to the opinion of some of his critics—was aware of the contemporary Greek poetry which had shaped the literary climate of his time. An overarching sense of balance and symmetry pervaded the dramatic literature of his time. His gospel shares these characteristics.

The translator should analyze the form of traditional legend and song to determine the way in which recurrent cultural themes are reiterated and celebrated. Careful attention to the introductory credentials of Jesus as "The Son of God," in the title of the book (1:1) and as "The Lord" in the Isaiah quotation (1:3) can prepare the uninitiated hearer for the supernatural activity to be narrated. The key for this authority is the voice from heaven at the baptism, "This is my Son." The same voice is heard at the Transfiguation. The translator should seek for natural ways to link these key events.

The translator should exploit the target language for nuances of the verbs to "understand," "comprehend," "perceive," and such expressions, for lexical ways of underscoring one of Mark's major themes. Peter is singled out as the disciple most "blind" to the true identity of his leader. The climactic moment of his "healing" at the cockcrowing deserves special attention. His tears of repentance must be linked to his final and complete comprehension of the deity of Jesus.

BIOGRAPHY

Ethel Wallis has a B.A. in English and Latin from the University of California in Los Angeles. She also received training in linguistics and anthropolgy there and took further linguistic courses at the University of Michigan. She studied Spanish at the National University of Mexico. Her work with SIL began in 1941, working in translation and literacy among the Mezquital Otomi in Mexico. During the early 1970s she began work on another language and translation project. She has been on the SIL teaching staff many times and has written numerous books and articles.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Hugh. 1976. The gospel of Mark. In the New century Bible commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Cook, John G. 1995. The structure and persuasive power of Mark: A linguistic approach. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Cranfield, C.E.B. 1972. The gospel according to Saint Mark. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hendriksen, William. 1975. Exposition of the gospel according to Mark. Grand Rapids: Baker.

Jeremias, Joachim. 1969. Jerusalem in the time of Jesus. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Longacre, Robert E. 1994. The dynamics of reported dialogue in narrative. Word 45:125–43.

———. 1996. The grammar of discourse. New York: Plenum Press.

Scott, M. Philip. 1985. Chiastic structure: a key to the interpretation to Mark's gospel. Biblical Theology Bulletin 15.

Staley, William E. 1995. Referent management in Olo: A cognitive perspective. Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon.

Stock, Augustine. 1985. Hinge transitions in Mark's gospel. Biblical Theology Bulletin 15.

Wallis, Ethel E. 1971. Contrastive plot structure of the four Gospels. Notes on Translation no. 40:3–16.

———. 1979. Thematic parallelism and prominence in Luke-Acts. Notes on Translation no. 75:2–6.

———. 1983. Four Gospels, 'four discourse genre'. Notes on Translation no. 94:3–16.

———. 1988. Aristotelian echoes in Luke's discourse structure. Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics 2(2):81–8.
———. 1992. The first and second epistles of Luke to Theophilus. Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics 5(3):225-51.

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN ISTHMUS MIXE NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Julia Irene Dieterman

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the forms and functions associated with participant reference in Isthmus Mixe narrative discourse. Means of encoding participant reference in Isthmus Mixe include noun phrases, pronouns, and agreement markers on verbs. I apply a methodology described by Levinsohn 1994 in *Field Procedures for the Analysis of Participant Reference in a Monologue Discourse.* Analyzing participant reference as related to the discourse as a whole is necessary to provide an adequate description of the language, and a number of discourse features are shown to be relevant to this determination. The results of my analysis reveal specific patterns in the ways participant references are encoded in various contexts. Knowledge of these patterns is of great importance in order to produce translated literature that is more easily understood because it follows the same patterns of participant reference with which the speakers of the language are already familiar.

Introduction

Purpose. The purpose of this study[1] is to describe the patterns of participant reference in Isthmus Mixe narrative discourse. In order to communicate with others it is necessary for the speaker or writer to understand the discourse structure because communication of anything beyond the simplest message involves connected discourse. One of the basic elements of discourse is participant reference. For the purposes of this study, participant reference is defined as the means used by a language to indicate animate participants. I restrict the use of participant reference to animate participants because the overwhelming majority of subjects and objects in the clauses of the Mixe narrative texts I examined are animate participants. In Isthmus Mixe the indicators of participants are noun phrases (NPs), pronouns, and agreement markers on verbs.

Accounting for participant reference by analyzing constituent parts of clauses or sentences may show us what forms the language uses to identify participants, but it is inadequate to reveal the patterns that explicate the actual usage of these forms. Analysis of participant reference in relation to the discourse as a whole is necessary to provide an adequate description of

[1] This article is a summary of part of my thesis (Dieterman 1995b). Please refer to that manuscript for a fuller discussion of the topic. Many explanatory details have been omitted here due to space limitations.

the relationships of one part of the discourse to other parts. Implications from results of this study have direct application to the creation of more normal-sounding and functional translations.

Language classification. Isthmus Mixe is one of the Mixe languages in the Mixe-Zoque family. According to Grimes' *Ethnologue* 1992:88, there are eight Mixe languages, all spoken in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Isthmus Mixe is listed as having 15,000 to 18,000 speakers. The major city in the area is San Juan Guichicovi, so the language is also referred to as San Juan Guichicovi Mixe. Hereafter, Isthmus Mixe will simply be called Mixe.

Theoretical background. The research methodology used in my clause-level analysis is based on tagmemic theory as proposed by Kenneth L. Pike (1977, 1982), and my discourse analysis is based on more recent developments of tagmemic theory by Robert E. Longacre (1983, 1994). The specific methodology I employ in tracking participants follows *Field Procedures for the Analysis of Participant Reference in a Monologue Discourse* (Levinsohn 1994). The works of other linguists[2] provide additional insights on the topic.

Grammatical Description

General language features. Mixe is an SOV language with prepositions, genitives, and demonstratives before noun heads, and relative clauses after the heads. The language is characterized by long verbs comprised of several morphemes and affixes. The clause is the basic information unit, typical sentences consisting of one to three clauses. Example (1) illustrates the SOV word order in a one-clause sentence.

(1) *manit ha muʃʲ ha tiˈˈŋ øjaʰnahijiˈnaʰʃʲ*
then the dove the worm 3P-fly__down-CNJT
Then the dove flew down to the worm. (MNT 3:NS 3)[3]

Although the unmarked word order is SOV, the object may be permuted to follow the verb when the subject occurs preceding the verb or there is no

[2] See Dieterman 1995b chapters 2 and 3 for a discussion of the theoretical background.
[3] Examples taken from tales in thesis appendix (ibid.).
MNT = Mixe narrative text
NS = narrative sentence
QS = quotation sentence

overt subject. The subject may be permuted to follow the verb when no object occurs. Permutations from the unmarked order are used to indicate emphasis or contrast. Word order is important in identifying the referent as subject or object since there are no case markers in Mixe.

Adverbs may occur clause initially, medially, or finally. They may occur between the subject and verb or between the object and verb. No example has been found of an adverb occurring between the subject and object when both of these precede the verb. Locative phrases usually occur following the other clause elements.

Participant reference indicators. Participant reference in Mixe is by NP, personal pronoun, and agreement marker on the verb. Agreement markers indicate either subject or object, but not both in the same clause. An agreement marker may occur without the presence of an NP or pronoun. This is also known as zero pronominalization, zero anaphora, or null reference. I refer to this phenomena as *agreement marker only* to avoid confusion with *zero encoding* of the subject, which may occur in certain clause types (described below). It is possible to have no overt subject indicator when the agreement marker indicates the object and no NP or pronoun indicates the subject.

Phonology. A detailed analysis of Mixe phonology has not yet been completed. In this article the orthography used is morphophonemic. Voiced stops and affricates are written although they are often allophonic. However, since the morphophonemic rules that explain their distribution have not been worked out yet, I have simply written the voicing wherever it occurs. Standard IPA symbols are used. The consonant phonemes or allophones are: *p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, t͡s, d͡z, z, f, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, j.* Palatalization is written: ^{j}. There are six contrastive vowels: *i, ɨ, u, e, o, a.* Each of these vowels may occur in the syllable nucleus as follows: *o* = short length; *o*ˉ = midlength; *o*ː = long length; *o*^{h} = aspirated; *o*^{ʔ}*o* = re-articulated; and *o*^{ʔ}= checked. Whether these syllable nuclei are completely phonemic has not yet been ascertained.

Clauses

Isthmus Mixe generally demonstrates the same clause types, person markers, and clause-type tense/aspect markers as described in *A Hierarchical Sketch of Mixe as Spoken in San José El Paraíso* (Van Haitsma and Van Haitsma 1976), of which I am co-author. In both languages there is a system of six conjunct/nonconjunct clause-nucleus types. A clause

nucleus is the obligatory element (verb phrase) in the clause; optional elements are noun phrase specifiers (NPs, pronouns) and periphery (adverbials, introducers, ligatures). The following description and table 1 are adapted from Van Haitsma and Van Haitsma.

Table 1

Grammatical Markers Related to
Conjunct/Nonconjunct Clause-Nucleus Types

	NONCONJUNCT	
Actor Oriented	**Goal Oriented**	**Subject Oriented**
Agreement markers *n-* First person *m-* Second person *i* Third person	Agreement markers *ʃi* First person *ʃi* Second person *ø-* Third person	Agreement markers *ø-* First person *m-* Second person *ø-* Third person
Tense / Form of last morph / Tense/aspect Timeless / Basic / *-p*^{j} Past / Basic / *ø-*	Tense / Form of last morph / Tense/aspect Timeless / Basic / *-p* Past / Basic / *ø-*	Tense / Form of last morph / Tense/aspect Timeless / Basic / *-p* Past / Basic / *ø-*
	CONJUNCT	
Actor Oriented	**Goal Oriented**	**Subject Oriented**
Agreement markers *n-* First person *m-* Second person *ø-* Third person	Agreement markers *ʃ-* First person *ʃ-* Second person *ø-* Third person	Agreement markers *n-* First person *m-* Second person *i* Third person
Tense / Form of last morph / Tense/aspect Timeless / Alternate / -^{j} Past / Basic / -^{j}	Tense / Form of last morph / Tense/aspect Timeless / Alternate / -^{j} Past / Basic / -^{j}	Tense / Form of last morph / Tense/aspect Timeless / Alternate / -^{j} Past / Basic / -^{j}

Conjunct and nonconjunct clause-nucleus types. The term *conjunct*[4] means conjoined or attached to something. This term is used because in the conjunct clause a word occurs preceding the verb which determines a set of grammatical markers on the verb. The word may immediately precede the verb, or other words or phrases may intervene. Many adverbs and conjunctions trigger conjunct clauses. Common conjunct trigger words in narrative discourse include *manit* 'then', *ku'* 'when', *ʔana^{h}t^{j}* 'then', *ka'bi* 'NEG', and other forms of negatives. The first two conjunct trigger words mentioned, *manit* 'then' and *ku'* 'when', indicate chronological movement in Mixe narrative discourse. Therefore most of the clauses in the narrative sections of the texts are of the conjunct type.

Nonconjunct-clause types lack a trigger word preceding the verb and therefore are considered not joined or attached to anything. Most of the nonconjunct clauses in narrative discourse are seen in direct quotations. A different set of grammatical markers occurs on nonconjunct verbs than occurs on conjunct verbs. The sets of conjunct/nonconjunct grammatical markers are shown in table 1. Some of the grammatical markers overlap, so it is not always clear which set is being utilized.

Many Mixe verbs and some verbal suffixes have two forms, basic and alternate. What is termed the *timeless tense* in the conjunct clause-nucleus set requires the alternate form of the last morpheme of the verb. The past tense conjunct and both the timeless and the past tense nonconjunct require the basic form.

Grammatical markers on the verb. An agreement prefix and a tense/aspect marker suffix on the verb are obligatory in the conjunct/nonconjunct clause-nucleus types. First person (1P) clauses will often include another 1P morpheme (suffixes *-i͡tsʲ* and *-im* or the pronoun) in addition to the agreement prefix. 1P subject markers are *n-* or *ø-* (zero); the second person (2P) subject marker is *m-*, and third person (3P) subject markers are *ʲ-* (palatalization of the initial verb consonant) or *ø-* (zero). The 1P and 2P object marker is *ʃʲ-*. 1P objects are usually distinguished from 2P objects by the other 1P morpheme which occurs in the clause. The 3P object markers are palatalization or zero, depending on the specific clause type. See table 1 for the distribution of the person markers as marked overtly or as a zero.

[4] The terms *conjunct* and *nonconjunct* were first used by Shirley Lyon (1967) for Tlahuitoltepec Mixe clause-nucleus types.

Hierarchy of importance of markers. There is a hierarchy of importance[5] that determines whether the subject marker or the object marker will occur on the verb. The ranking is: first person, second person, third person of greater importance, third person of lesser importance. Example (2) shows the 1P object ranking over the 3P subject. The subject is zero encoded since no subject NP occurs. The immediately preceding context informs us that the devil is the one who has been talking to Country Boy. Therefore the subject of this clause is the devil and the object is Country Boy. The agreement marker *ʃʲ-* refers to 1P object.

(2) *niˈmiʦʲ tiˈ ʃʲnimaʔajʲ*
thus-1P COMP 1P-tell-CNJT
"Thus [he] told me." (MNT 1:QS 65)

It is not common for both the subject and the object to be expressed by NPs. In the goal-oriented clauses in my data there is only one example with both subject and object NPs. It is shown in example (3). The subject is *ʔuʃʲp* 'alligator' and the object is *ha kraˈ* 'the guy'. The agreement marker on the verb refers to the object. The verbal suffix *-i* '3PGO' is obligatory for 3P goal-oriented clauses. 'The guy' outranks all the other participants in this particular story, and therefore outranks the 'alligator' also. In this example the permutation to OSV is an exception to the usual SOV order.[6]

(3) *manit ha kraˈ ʔuʃʲp ʲ-maʰʦ-*
then the guy alligator 3P-grab-3PGO
Then the guy was grabbed [by an] alligator. (MNT 6:NS 11)

Most goal-oriented clauses occur with the object NP but not the subject NP. Therefore they are translated by the English passive. However, they are not considered to be passives in Mixe grammar.

---

[5] Other authors have used the terms *salience hierarchy*, *agency hierarchy*, and *animacy hierarchy* for this phenomenon.

[6] Since the completion of my thesis, I have reanalyzed the transitive and intransitive clauses here labeled as actor-oriented, goal-oriented, and subject-oriented according to the models described by Givón (1994). Transitive clauses are divided into direct (active) and inverse. The unmarked direct-transitive clause word order is SOV, but the unmarked inverse-transitive clause word order is OSV. Actor-oriented is labeled as direct-transitive, goal-oriented is labeled as inverse-transitive, and subject-oriented as intransitive. I have not incorporated these label changes into this article.

Orientation of the clause nuclei. Because of the hierarchy of importance, transitive clauses are divided into two orientations: actor-oriented and goal-oriented. In actor-oriented clauses the agreement marker refers to the subject. In goal-oriented clauses the agreement marker refers to the object. Intransitive clauses are subject-oriented.[7] This is described in Van Haitsma and Van Haitsma (1976:57).

> The choice between actor-oriented or goal-oriented is determined by a hierarchy of importance. The ranking is: first person, second person, third person of greater (relative) importance, third person of lesser (relative) importance.
>
> When the first person is the actor and the second or third person is the recipient of the action, the clause nucleus is actor-oriented. When the first person is the recipient of an action by either the second or third person, then the clause nucleus is goal-oriented. Reflexive first person is subject-oriented.
>
> When the second person is the actor and the third person is the recipient of the action, the clause is actor-oriented. When the second person is the recipient of an action by a third person, the clause is goal-oriented. Reflexive second person is subject-oriented.
>
> In the same way the third persons determine the clause-nucleus type by relative importance. However, the possessor always outranks the person or thing possessed. Third person reflexive is subject-oriented. Third person passive is also subject-oriented.

Tense/aspect markers though not directly related to participant reference are included in table 1 since they are important in distinguishing conjunct from nonconjunct clause-nucleus types. These types in turn have consequences for agreement marking. The two tense categories are labeled "timeless" and "past." The timeless tense does not indicate any tense. The tense of the clause is determined by adverbs which have a time orientation. Past tense indicates a completed action, without the need for adverbs of time. "Form of the last morph" refers to the basic or alternate form of the last morpheme of the verb as described above. Tense/aspect markers are suffixes on the verb. The palatalization morpheme, written -*j*, does not occur

[7] The terms *actor-oriented*, *goal-oriented*, and *subject-oriented* were originally used by Shirley Lyon (1967).

as a separate phoneme; it palatalizes the final consonant of the verb. Tense/aspect suffixes *-p* and *-p^{j}* are voiced following nasals. The 3P goal-oriented clause nuclei require the verbal suffix *-i* '3PGO'.

Table 1 shows some agreement markers as O 'zero.' This zero is considered to be a morpheme manifested by zero. Apart from this zero morpheme, there is a zero encoding of a subject if the subject is lower on the hierarchy of importance than the object. In that case, the agreement marker on the verb refers to the object. If the subject is not encoded by an NP or pronoun, then a zero encoding results. Thus the subject is implied by the context only. In the following sections where the zero subject is mentioned, it is the zero encoding that is intended, not the zero morpheme.

There are other clause types which are not part of the conjunct/nonconjunct clause system. These types, such as imperative and verbless clauses, do not incorporate agreement or tense/aspect markers. Illustrations of the imperative clause-nucleus type are found in examples (6) and (7).

A verbless adverbial clause-nucleus consists of an adverbial word and an NP or pronoun, in that order. Examples of verbless clauses are given in examples (8–10).

Noun Phrases

NPs that indicate participants are most typically composed of a determiner and a noun word, in that order. In unmarked occurrences numerals that modify the noun also precede it. However if the first mention of a participant is accompanied by *tuʔuk* 'one', then in this introductory use of the numeral, *tuʔuk* 'one' follows the noun. Moreover, postposed numerals are also found when the numeral has some special significance.

Possession of nouns is indicated by the same morphemes that indicate subject of the verb (except for the zero markers): *n-* '1P', *m-* '2P', *ɻ-* '3P'. A noun referring to the possessor may precede the possessed noun. In example (4) the noun *mikuʔu* 'devil' is the possessor of *ɻ-tiʰk* 'his house'. The possessor marker is obligatory on the possessed noun whether a noun referring to the possessor occurs or not.

(4) *kuˑ hiːb ʲ-gɨdaˑkˑ* *maˑ mikuʔu ʲ-tiʰk-in*
when there 3P-with-arrive-CNJT at devil 3P-house-LOC
When he arrived there at the devil's house (MNT 1:NS 23)

Plural may be indicated by the word *ʔaʰʃʲ*. This word can be part of an NP, used to pluralize a pronoun, or it can be used alone. When *ʔaʰʃʲ* 'PLRZ' is used alone, the plural referent will have already been introduced in the discourse. Its function in participant reference is triggered by semantic considerations, i.e., whether the entity referred to is singular or plural. As a pluralizer *ʔaʰʃʲ* most frequently refers to 3P, but it is occasionally used in 1P and 2P contexts also. It can indicate either a plural subject or object. The use of *ʔaʰʃʲ* 'PLRZ' is not obligatory; therefore it may be omitted when the context indicates plurality. Example (5) shows the use of *ʔaʰʃʲ* 'PLRZ' alone, that is, without an NP or pronoun. In the context, the mother and the children are the participants on the scene. But the mother has just abandoned the children in the forest. The reference then is to the children.

(5) *manit* *ʔaʰʃʲ* *ʲ-t͡sɨgɨʼj-bɨʰk-nɨ*
then PLZR 3P-afraid-take-RSLT
Then they got scared. (MNT 2:NS 38)

Determiners and pronouns. Mixe encodes proximal and nonproximal determiners and 3P pronouns. Proximal indicates references close to the speaker or to the listener. Nonproximal refers to references more distant from speaker and listener, or references where the distance is not relevant. No neutral 3P forms exist. Therefore if a determiner or a 3P pronoun occurs, it must be either the proximal form or the nonproximal form. Mixe uses the demonstrative determiners to indicate referents that are identified. In this way demonstrative determiners function much like articles function in other languages.

The Mixe proximal determiner is *jɨ* and the nonproximal determiner is *ha*. The 3P proximal pronoun is *jiʔi* and the nonproximal is *heʔe*. The determiners are always unstressed, while the pronouns receive stress equivalent to that accorded to full NPs. In narrative sections the nonproximal form is the most common. In the texts under study proximal forms are found more often in direct quotations than in narrative sentences.

Mixe has no gender or plural distinctions in determiners and 3P pronoun forms. 3P plural is indicated by the addition of the word *ʔaʰʃʲ* 'PLZR'. There are no means to give gender distinction to the determiners and pronouns.

1P pronouns are *ʔiːd͡ʒʲ* (sing), *ʔiʰt͡s* (pl). 2P pronouns are *miːd͡ʒʲ* (sing), *miʰt͡s* (pl). Occasionally *ʔaʰʃʲ* 'PLZR' is used with singular 1P and 2P pronouns as an alternate to the plural forms.

Discourse Approach to Participant Reference

The concept of new information as being handled differently from known (also referred to as old or given) information in discourse and its implications for choice of referring expressions has been extensively discussed for many years. The following authors approach participant reference from somewhat different perspectives, but all agree on its importance to discourse analysis.

Givón. Givón (1983:11) introduces a method for statistically measuring topic/participant continuity in discourse, and ultimately for correlating degrees of continuity with different forms of reference. He lists the following major factors which affect the degree of difficulty for a hearer in identifying a topic in discourse: (1) length of absence from the register, (2) potential interference from other topics, (3) availability of semantic information, and (4) availability of thematic information. Since there are degrees of difficulty or accessibility, there is thus a continuum along which a particular encoding of the topic/participant is found. Coding points along the continuum can be assigned values which will show the relative order of the coding means.

Based on statistical counts in a number of languages, Givón (18) asserts a basic principle of *iconicity*: "The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more *coding material* must be assigned to it." My own study of six folktale-type Mixe narratives demonstrates the validity of his claim (Dieterman 1995a). However, Givón's statistics do not take into account the larger discourse structure. For that we must turn to a further development of Givón's method by Levinsohn.

Levinsohn. Levinsohn (1994:111) "presents a methodology for identifying how different factors affect the *amount* of encoding material used" in eight simple steps. These eight steps are listed subsequently. By using this method, one can establish patterns of default encoding. Examples of encoding which do not follow the default patterns are indicated as marked forms. These marked forms can then be examined as to possible motivations for their use. Levinsohn has found that "common motivations for marked encoding include the presence of a discontinuity and the highlighting of information" (ibid., 120). This leads directly into the necessity for analyzing the texts on the discourse level in order to relate marked encoding to the constituent parts of the discourse. For this, we turn to Longacre's discourse analysis procedures.

Longacre. Longacre (1983:8) discusses various cohesive elements in discourse structure. This study focuses on participant reference, which is one of the major cohesive elements. "Every discourse finds a further principle of unity in terms of participants and/or themes. The surface structure correlates of participant/theme reference are largely found in the interplay of noun, pronoun, and null reference."

Application. My study seeks to discover the patterns of the use of NP, pronoun, agreement marker only, and the hierarchy of importance in reference to participants in relationship to the various constituents of the discourse as described by Longacre.

Methodology

In the following section I turn specifically to the tracking of participants and the distribution of the various means of participant reference in Mixe narrative discourse using a methodology developed by Levinsohn. The data base for this study consists of nine folktale-type stories. The clause count is based on the number of independent and dependent[8] clauses in both the narrative and the direct quotations. There is a total of eight hundred sixty-eight clauses.

For the purposes of this study, participant reference is defined as the means used by the language to indicate animate participants in the narration. In tracking participant references, I counted references in both independent and dependent clauses. Each clause has a subject, and most of the subjects refer to animate participants. Objects which refer to animate participants are also counted, although not all clauses contain objects. Relative clauses, locational clauses, and *that* complements were not counted as separate clauses, since they are considered to be embedded within the independent and dependent clauses.

I analyzed participant reference in direct quotations as well as in the narrative portions of the texts. According to Longacre (1994:125):

> A crucial feature of the definition of narrative is the reporting of a chain of sequential punctiliar happenings (which are, for the most part, casually connected): actions, motions, cognitive events, contingencies, and last but not least *speech acts*. A story line may be advanced as much,

[8] Most commonly, dependent clauses begin with *ku>* 'when', in a 'when'...'then' relationship with an independent clause.

> if not more, by reported speech acts as by the recital of other sorts of happenings.

An analysis of Mixe which omitted the direct quotations would be leaving out an essential part of the narrative. However, I have separated direct quotations from narrative sections, presenting quantitative results in chart form. Wherever relevant, I have indicated the interrelationship between narration and quotations with respect to participant reference.

Vocatives are common in direct quotations but are not discussed in this study. This is because vocatives are not arguments of the verbs, thus are not considered part of the participant reference system. However, they do form part of the context which helps to identify the referents, especially in direct quotations.

Levinsohn's Methodology

In this study I adapt the field procedures proposed by Levinsohn (1994:109–21) to facilitate my analysis of the Mixe data. His method identifies the factors which influence the amount of encoding that is used when participants are referred to throughout a discourse. He bases his procedure on Givón's principle of iconicity. Levinsohn's methodology consists of eight steps:

1. Drawing up an inventory of the different ways that references to participants are encoded in the language
2. Preparing a chart of how participants are referred to in a text in the language
3. Tracking all references to individual participants in the text
4. Proposing default amounts of coding for various contexts
5. Identifying the context in which each reference to a participant occurs
6. Inspecting the text for instances in which the amount of encoding is less than or more than predicted
7. Incorporating any modifications to the proposals of step 4
8. Determining the motivations for the remaining deviances from default encoding

Step 1 is the drawing up of an inventory of the different ways that references to participants are encoded in the language. In Mixe we find NPs, pronouns, and agreement marking on the verb as indicators of

participants, and also a zero encoding (i.e., of the subject in goal-oriented clauses or imperative clauses).

In Mixe there is no distinction made between what in English is a direct object or an indirect object. "He hit me" and "he gave it to me" would both have the 1P object agreement marker on the verb and a zero subject encoding in a goal-oriented clause. For this reason I have labeled as simply object in Mixe what in English would be two kinds of objects.

In actual analysis, I followed steps 2–6 of Levinsohn's methodology with some language and data specific modifications. Levinsohn uses the term *default value* to refer to what one would normally expect to find in the indicated context. The default value is the unmarked occurrence of the encoding of the participant reference. He uses the term *nondefault* to refer to marked occurrences. I use the more familiar term *marked* throughout the article, except where quoting Levinsohn. Step 7 (incorporating modifications into the procedure) is discussed later, and step 8 (determining motivations for deviances) is part of the section on results.

Subjects and Values

Subject contexts. From Levinsohn (1994:115–6) the default values for encoding subjects are:

S1 subject is the same as in the previous sentence
S2 subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence
S3 subject is involved in the previous sentence in a nonsubject role other than the addressee
S4 other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3

These contexts are illustrated by the following sentences. Small caps are used to indicate the reference which fits the context.

S1 The stranger entered the kitchen. HE stole the foot.[9]
S2 The boys asked the stranger, "Are you a thief?" HE replied...
S3 Hunger afflicted the stranger. HE went to look for food.
S4 While they were eating, THE STRANGER said...

[9] Apprarently a goat had just been slaughtered, and this refers to the carcass.

S1 also includes contexts in which the subject and nonsubject of the previous sentence combine to form a single, plural subject:

> The stranger said to the boy, "Let's go to your house!"
> THEY went.

Subject default values. Based on my previous knowledge of Mixe (without doing a statistical count), I proposed the following default values for subjects in the above contexts:

S1 obligatory agreement marker on the verb only
S2 obligatory agreement marker on the verb only
S3 NP and obligatory agreement marker on the verb
S4 NP and obligatory agreement marker on the verb

Nonsubject contexts. Levinsohn (1994:116) identifies the contexts for nonsubject default values as:

N1 referent occupies the same nonsubject role as in the previous sentence
N2 addressee of a reported speech is the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence
N3 referent is involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2
N4 other references to nonsubjects than those covered by N1-N3

Levinsohn illustrates these contexts in the following sentences:

N1 He stole the foot. When he stole THE FOOT...
N2 He said to them...The children answered HIM...
N3 Shame filled them. The stranger said to THEM...
N4 The stranger said, "Give me the foot." The woman said to HER HUSBAND...

Nonsubject default values. Based on my previous knowledge of Mixe, I proposed the following default values for nonsubjects in the above contexts:

N1 NP
N2 zero encoding (implied by context only)
N3 NP
N4 NP

Language-specific contexts and values. I applied the methodology explicated above to three of the Mixe texts. However, after tracking the participants in the above contexts and assigning the values shown, I found that the results were not detailed enough to be of significant value. The first three subject contexts, S1, S2, S3, seemed appropriate for the data, but the fourth context, S4, became a catch-all for everything that did not fit into the first three. From this, I determined that the hierarchy of importance that occurs with transitive clauses necessitates some change in the nonsubject contexts. According to step 7 of the methodology, "[I]t may be appropriate to modify the list of contexts for which default encoding amounts are proposed" (Levinsohn 1994:119). Therefore I proposed several language-specific modifications in both subject and nonsubject contexts for Mixe narrative discourse. These are shown in tables 2 and 3 and explained in the following paragraphs.

The first modification was to add subject contexts which are more specific than Levinsohn's S4 context. Because of the special importance of first references, I added a context especially designated as first reference, S1. The second one I added is a subject context related to the hierarchy of importance, S2. Three more contexts were added which relate to direct quotation material, S3, S5, S6. Levinsohn proposes only one subject context related to direct quotations, S2, which I have retained as S4, making a total of four subject contexts related to direct quotations in Mixe. S5 and S6 indicate an interrelationship between narration and quotation. I combined Levinsohn's S1 and his note which follows the listing[10] into one context, S7. I slightly modified Levinsohn's S3, which became S9 in the Mixe subject contexts. I also added S8 and S10, which would have been included in Levinsohn's S4 context. In all, I have ten subject contexts in contrast to Levinsohn's four.

Another modification is a change in labels. What Levinsohn calls *nonsubject* are all objects in Mixe. Since there are no other kinds of nonsubject references related to this study in the Mixe data, I use the more specific term *object*.

In the object context category, I added one context designated as first reference, Ob1, and two contexts that specifically deal with referents in goal-oriented clauses, Ob2, Ob3. I combined Levinsohn's N1, N2, and N3 into one context, Ob4, because in Mixe the default value is the same for all three, and the contexts are related to the role of the object in the previous clause. Levinsohn's N4 was replaced by Ob5.

[10] "S1 also includes contexts in which the subject and nonsubject of the previous sentence combine to form a single, plural subject (ibid., 115)."

Both the subject contexts and the object contexts were ranked so that beginning with S1 or with Ob1, if that context fit, then the corresponding value was assigned even if a context farther down the list also fit. Some clauses will fit more than one context, therefore ranking is necessary.

Table 2

Mixe Subject Contexts and Default Values

	Mixe Subject Contexts	Mixe Subject Default Values
S1	Subject is mentioned for the first time in the discourse	NP and agreement marker on the verb
S2	Subject is lower on the hierarchy of importance than the object	Zero encoding (implied by context only)
S3	Subject is speaking about himself singularly or in the plural inclusive in a direct quotation	Agreement marker on the verb only
S4	Subject is the addressee in a direct quotation	Agreement marker on the verb only
S5	Subject is the speaker of the immediately previous direct quotation	NP and agreement marker on the verb
S6	Subject is the addressee of the immediately previous direct quotation	NP and agreement marker on the verb
S7	Subject is the same as in the previous clause or the subject of the previous clause combined with a previously mentioned participant to form a plural	Agreement marker on the verb only
S8	Singular subject is preceded by a plural subject in which it was included	NP and agreement marker on the verb
S9	Subject is involved in the previous sentence in a nonsubject role	NP and agreement marker on the verb
S10	Subject is not mentioned in the previous clause	NP and agreement marker on the verb

Table 3

Mixe Object Contexts and Default Values

	Mixe Object Contexts	Mixe Object Default Values
Ob1	Referent is mentioned for the first time in the discourse	NP
Ob2	Referent is the 1P/2P object of a goal-oriented clause	Agreement marker on the verb only
Ob3	Referent is the 3P object of a goal-oriented clause	NP and agreement marker on the verb
Ob4	Referent is involved in the previous sentence in the same or in a different role	NP
Ob5	Referent is not mentioned in the previous sentence	NP

Mixe subject contexts and subject default values. Table 2 displays the modified Mixe subject contexts and subject default values. A code letter and number for reference purposes precede each set of contexts and default values.

After tracking the participants in MNT 1 and MNT 3 using Levinsohn's methodology, step 3, I did a statistical count to determine the most usual means of encoding references to the participants in each context. On the basis of this statistical count of two texts, I proposed the default values for subjects in contexts S1 through S10 as displayed in table 2.

Mixe object contexts and object default values. Table 3 displays the Mixe object contexts and object default values. A code letter and number for reference purposes precede each set of contexts and default values. Like the subject contexts, they are also ranked, beginning with Ob1. I proposed the default values for objects in contexts Ob1 through Ob5 on the same basis as that I described for Mixe subject default values immediately above.

Results

Distribution of clause types and encoding of participant references. In analyzing the data, I separated the narrative sections from the direct quotation sections. Narrative clauses are those contained in the narrative sections. The average percentage of narrative clauses to the total number of clauses is 69%. (The other 31% are direct quotation clauses.) Of the total narrative clauses, 96% refer to participants. The high percentage of clauses that refer to participants is characteristic of narrative discourse in general.

Ong (1982:37) asserts that primary oral languages are "additive rather than subordinative." Therefore there will be a predominance of independent clauses. This is true of these Mixe data; an average of 91% of the clauses that refer to participants are independent and only 9% are dependent. Separating the independent clauses from the dependent clauses, the percentage is still 96% that contains references to participants whether independent or dependent.

Table 4 shows the distribution of clause types and encoding of participant references in the 868 clauses of the data. As mentioned above, the first row shows the percentages of narrative and direct quotation clauses. The second row indicates the columns of independent and dependent clauses under narrative clauses and direct quotation clauses. The third row shows the percentages of independent to dependent clauses in each of the two major divisions (narrative and direct quotation clauses).

Table 4

Distribution of Clause Types and Encoding of Participant References

% of Total Clauses in Data	**Narrative Clauses** 69%		**Direct Quotation Clauses** 31%	
Clause types	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent
% Related to clause types	91%	9%	94%	6%
Clauses w/partic	96%	96%	89%	95%
Total Clauses/Subj	485	54	251	14
Subj NP	61%	60%	25%	14%
Subj pron	3%	2%	6%	3%
Subj agreement marker	30%	25%	47%	60%
Subj zero	6%	13%	22%	23%
Marked subj	21%	26%	24%	21%
Total Objects	83	5	45	6
Obj NP	63%	67%	45%	25%
Obj pron	2%	0	6%	25%
Obj agreement marker	35%	33%	49%	50%
Marked obj	24%	40%	4%	0

Row 4 shows the percentages of clauses which directly refer to animate participants in each clause type. The fifth row, total clauses/subj, shows the total number of clauses that refers to participants. Every clause has a subject (even if zero encoded), so the total number of clauses and the total number of subjects is the same. The preceding rows have shown percentages but this row shows the actual number of clauses. Percentages are always shown with the % sign. Subjects may be encoded by NPs, pronouns, agreement markers only, or zero. The next four rows show the percentages of these types of encodings. Since this is all-inclusive, these percentages add up to 100%. The last row shows the percentage of marked subjects for each clause type.

The rows relating to objects follow the same pattern as for subjects. A relatively small number of clauses contains overt objects. No attempt was made to infer the presence of objects as zero pronominals. There are some clauses with a nonparticipant object NP, but those were not included in the percentages.

Because of space limitations, I will only make a few comments regarding table 4. Direct quotation clauses make up 31% of the total number of clauses in comparison to 69% narrative clauses. Direct quotations are often used to highlight the peak[11] (climax) of the narrative. In some texts direct quotations occur in the episode preceding the peak as the tension builds (developing conflict in the notional structure) and in the episode following the peak (denouement). The degree to which direct quotations are used to highlight the peak and the other episodes in the discourse is a stylistic choice of the narrator.

In independent direct quotation clauses, the percentage of clauses referring to participants is 89%, whereas in clauses referring to participants in narrative sections the percentage is 96%. The lower percentage of clauses that refers to participants in direct quotations is characteristic of the way Mixe speakers respond when told something with *ʔoj hadu^{ʔ}n* 'that's okay' or *tɨ'jʔa^{h}t hadu^{ʔ}n* 'that's true'. The subjects of these clauses do not refer to participants.

There are a total of 804 subjects occurring in all clause types in the data. Of these 804 subjects, 177 (22%) are marked. Therefore the average default percentage of subjects is 78%. This high average supports the assignment of the default values presented above. Marked subjects are those references that do not pattern according to the default values.

The greater percentage of subjects encoded by zero in independent clauses in direct quotations as compared to subjects encoded by zero in

[11] Terms used by Longacre 1983.

independent clauses in narrative clauses (22% and 6% respectively) is explained by the occurrence of imperative clauses in independent clauses in direct quotations. These are grammatically conditioned references (discussion following). Imperatives make up 20% of the average of 22%. Therefore only 2% are the kind of zero encoding which occurs in narrative clauses.

The subject of independent clauses in direct quotations is encoded by a pronoun twice as often as is the subject of independent clauses in narrative sections. These averages are 6% and 3% respectively. There are two occurrences in the corpus of subjects in direct quotation clauses encoded by a pronoun. These are 1P and 2P pronouns used as subjects of verbless clauses. As noted earlier, regarding the subjects of imperative clauses, these are grammatically conditioned. Overall there are relatively few occurrences of a pronoun as subject or object, especially in narrative clauses. This supports the assertion that pronouns are marked when used as subjects or objects.

The average percentage of subjects encoded by agreement marker only is much higher for independent clauses in direct quotations (47%) than for either independent (30%) or dependent (25%) clauses in narrative clauses. The reason for the higher percentage in direct quotations is that many of the clauses are either the referent talking about himself or herself or talking about the addressee. In both these circumstances the default value is the agreement marker only. The only other choice is the use of the pronoun, since the subject of these clauses is a 1P or 2P referent.

The average percentage of subjects encoded by agreement marker only is higher for dependent clauses in direct quotations (60%) than for either independent (30%) or dependent (25%) clauses in narrative clauses. This follows the tendency noted in the independent clauses in direct quotations that the referent is talking about himself or herself or is talking about the addressee.

As mentioned earlier, a relatively small number of clauses contain overt objects. The percentages of marked objects vary widely, due more to the small number of objects than significant representation. There are 139 objects occurring in all clause types in the data, and 24 are marked. The average default percentage of objects in all clause types is 83% in comparison to 78% for subjects. The high average supports the assignment of the default values presented above. The 17% of the references that did not pattern according to the default values are considered marked.

Reasons for Deviance from Default Encoding

Marked occurrences. The final step in Levinsohn's methodology as discussed here is determining the motivations for deviance from default encoding. In Mixe these marked occurrences of participant reference are especially related to discourse structure, although some are related to grammatical conditioning. This section discusses grammatically conditioned references and other contexts of occurrences of marked NPs (both plus values and minus values) and marked pronouns (which are always considered to be plus values in these contexts).

Grammatically conditioned references. The relatively high number of marked subjects in independent clauses in direct quotation sections is directly related to the presence of imperatives in those clauses, in which the subject is grammatically zero encoded. All of the imperatives are marked as minus encodings. Imperative clauses have only an implied subject with no agreement marker on the verb, as shown in examples (6) and (7). In example (7) the object is expressed by an NP.

(6) *nɨkʃ* *ʔiʃwow*
go abandon
"Go abandon [them]." (MNT 2:QS 3)

(7) *jaʰ-kaj* *ʔɨda:* *kraˈ*
CAU/PAS-eat this guy
"Feed this guy." (MNT 6:QS 7)

Although the zero encoding comes out as marked, it is normal for imperative clauses. This is an artifact of the analysis, which identifies discourse contexts as conditioning factors, rather than grammatical conditioning. Imperatives make up 95% of the average of subjects encoded by zero in the direct quotation clauses.

The subjects of verbless clauses are obligatorily encoded by a pronoun in 1P and 2P references. Therefore 1P and 2P subjects are grammatically conditioned (but there are only two occurrences in the corpus). Example (8) shows a pronoun encoding the 2P subject ("grandmother" is used here as a vocative). In 3P references the default encoding is an NP, and the use of the pronoun is marked. Example (9) shows an NP as the subject of a 3P verbless clause. Example (10) is an illustration of the marked use of the 3P pronoun in a verbless clause. This is the only occurrence of a 3P pronoun in a verbless clause in the entire corpus.

(8) *ta^{h}ʔok* *ma·* *mi:d͡ʒ^{j}*
grandmother where 2P-PRON
"Grandmother, where [are] you?" (MNT 6:QS 6)

(9) *ʃi:b* *m-da^{h}ʔok* *tigo·t^{j}*
there 2P-grandmother inside
"There [is] your grandmother inside." (MNT 6:QS 3)

(10) *ʃi:* *ʔa^{h}ʃí* *hɛ^{ʔ}e*
there PLZR 3P-PRON
"There they [are]!" (MNT 2:QS 16)

Noun phrases. Most of the plus encodings use an NP in S7 context (the subject is the same as in the previous clause or the subject of the previous clause combined with a previously mentioned participant to form a plural). The default value is the obligatory person marker on the verb only. In MNT 3, five of these occurrences are in the first nine clauses of the text. There are three participants introduced in these clauses. In example (11), taken from this story, the second (11b) and third (11c) lines of text are S7 contexts, but both encode the subject by an NP. The second line (11b) can be explained in terms of a normal referential progression from the indefinite NP in the first clause, which is the first reference to the participant, to the definite NP in the second clause. In the third clause (11c) there is potential interference from having mentioned another participant as the object in the second clause. Thus in order to avoid ambiguity, a marked NP is used.

(11a) *hi:m* *t͡ʃji:d* *ʔana^{h}t^{j}* *ɻko^{ʔ}ona^{ʔ}aj-^{j}*
there cat then 3P-lie-down-CNJT
There was a cat lying down. (MNT 3:NS 6)

(11b) *ku·* *ha* *t͡ʃji:d* *ha* *mu:ʃ^{j}* *ø-ʔi^{h}ʃ-^{j}*
when the cat the dove 3P-see-CNJT

(11c) *manit* *ha* *t͡ʃji:d* *ɻnijma·jbida·k-^{j}*
then the cat 3P-pretend-sleep-CNJT
When the cat saw the dove, then the cat pretended to be asleep.
(MNT 3:NS 7)

The next two plus marked occurrences in MNT 3 are in the peak section, and the participant is performing the most climactic action of the story. To offset this potential reason for encoding with more material than usual, the next action, also climactic, is encoded with less than the default. However, there is no ambiguity as to the subject, since the context makes it very clear. These occurrences are shown in example (12). The first sentence refers to a preceding direct quotation and is an S4 context in which the NP is the default encoding. The following two sentences, (12b) and (12c), are S7 contexts since the subject is mentioned in the previous clause. Both are plus encoded by NPs. In (12d) the focus switches to the dove as the object of a goal-oriented clause. Although the last clause of this example (12e) is an S9 context where the default encoding is NP and agreement marker, the encoding is the agreement marker only. However, the context gives unambiguous evidence of the subject since doves fly and cats don't.

(12a) *ni'm ha t͡sji:d ˩mina'n-ʲ*
thus the cat 3P-say-CNJT
Thus the cat said. (MNT 3:NS 15)

(12b) *manit ha t͡sji:d ha mu:ʃʲ ø-naʰt͡smad͡ʒi'j-ʲ*
then the cat the dove 3P-let-go-CNJT
Then the cat let the dove go. (MNT 3:NS 16)

(12c) *manit ha t͡sji:d ˩nikʃ-ʲ kiʔi-buʰ-pi*
then the cat 3P-go-CNJT hand-wash-GER
Then the cat went to wash his hands. (MNT 3:NS 17)

(12d) *ku' ha mu:ʃʲ ˩naʰt͡smad͡ʒi'j-i*
when the dove 3P-let-go-3PGO

(12e) *manit ˩juhaji'j-ʲ kɛpʲ ʔaʔʃ-kiʃp*
then 3P-fly-CNJT tree branch-upon
When the dove was let go, then she flew up [in the] tree branches.
(MNT 3:NS 18)

Some plus encoding by NPs is accounted for by repetition. One form of repetition in Mixe narration is the repetition as a dependent clause of the previous independent clause in tail-head linkage. If the subject of the independent clause is encoded by an NP, then the subject of the dependent clause will also be encoded by an NP. In example (13) the NP and part of

the locationals of the first clause (13a) are repeated in the following dependent clause (13b).

(13a) *manit ha mu:ʃʲ hi:m ˩nikʃi:j-ʲ ma· ha tʂʲi:d*
then the dove there 3P-go-along-CNJT where the cat

ʔanaʰtʲ ʲ-koʔonaʔaj-in
then 3P-lie^down-LOC
Then the dove went over there where the cat was lying down.
(MNT 3:N S8)

(13b) *ku· ha mu:ʃʲ hi:m ˩meʰtʂ-ʲ ma· ha tʂʲi:d-in*
when the dove there 3P-arrive-CNJT to the cat-LOC

(13c) *manit ha tʂji:d ha mu:ʃʲ ø-maʰtʂ-ʲ*
then the cat the dove 3P-grab-CNJT
When the dove got there to the cat, then the cat grabbed the dove.
(MNT 3:NS 9)

If it were not repeating the previous clause, the subject of the dependent clause would be expected to follow the default encoding of an agreement marker only. This is shown in example (14). The subject of the first sentence (14a) is in an S10 context and follows the default encoding by an NP: *ha kra·* 'the guy'. The first clause of the second sentence (14b) is a dependent clause, and the subject is in an S7 context and follows the default encoding by agreement marker only.

(14a) *manit ha kra· ˩wi·mbit-ʲ ho·tma·jʔaʰtip hadiʔo·k*
then the guy 3P-return-CNJT worried again

ma· ʲ-toʔoʃʲiʰk-in
to 3P-woman-LOC
Then the guy returned to his wife, worried again. (MNT 1:NS 68)

(14b) *ku· hi:m ˩ko·t-ʲ*
when there 3P-come^up-CNJT

(14c) *hi:m ʲ-toʔoʃʲiʰk ʔanaʰtʲ ˩ʔa·ʔiʃ-ʲi*
there 3P-woman then 3P-wait-for-?
When he got there, his wife was waiting for him. (MNT 1:NS 69)

Agreement markers only. Most subject-minus encodings omit the NP in the S10 context: the subject is not mentioned in the previous clause. Generally the context disambiguates the referent. Most object-minus encodings omit the NP in the Ob2 context: the referent is the 3P object of a goal-oriented clause. In these occurrences it is again the context which disambiguates the referent. In example (15) the devil has just been telling Country Boy what he must do the following morning. This statement is given as a conclusion to the quotation section. Since the devil has been speaking to Country Boy, the zero encoded subject of this sentence must be the devil and the agreement marker on the verb refers to the object, which is Country Boy.

(15)	*nɨ·m*	^{j}*-nɨma·j-ɨ*
	thus	3P-tell-3PGO

Thus he was told. (MNT 1:NS 67)

Pronouns. All pronouns used as subjects and objects of the verb in conjunct/nonconjunct clause types are considered plus encoding. However, in 1P and 2P verbless clauses, pronouns are grammatically conditioned. Pronouns also occur in other contexts, such as in relative clauses or in locative phrases. Since referent tracking is limited to independent and dependent clauses in this study, these other contexts are not discussed here.

In example (16a) a pronoun occurs in the S2 context: the subject is speaking about himself singularly or in the plural inclusive in a direct quotation. The speaker of the direct quotation, the cat, is asserting that he is not going to follow the customs of humans again. He uses the 1P pronoun in addition to the obligatory person marker on the verb to contrast more forcefully his situation with that of humans. Having thus established the contrast, the following clause (16b) follows the default encoding of the agreement marker only. This occurs in the denouement of the discourse.

(16a)	*ʔɨ:d͡ʑ*^{j}	*hajwɨ·n-ɨt͡s*^{j}	*n-gaj-a*^{ʔ}*an-*^{j}
	1P-PRON	first-1P	1P-eat-DES/FUT-CNJT

(16b)	*manɨt-ɨt͡s*^{j}	*n-gɨ*^{ʔ}*ɨ-bu*^{h}*-h-a*^{ʔ}*an-*^{j}
	then-1P	1P-hand-wash-TRNS-DES/FUT-CNJT

I will eat first, then I will wash my hands. (MNT 3:QS 11)

In MNT 2 there are five pronouns in independent clauses that refer to participants.[12] In three cases pronouns are used to express subject prominence. In the other two, pronouns are used instead of the default NPs. Three of the five pronouns occur in the peak, one in the episode preceding the peak, and one in the episode following the peak. The same pattern of pronouns clustered in or near the peak of the discourse is seen in other stories in the data.

Example (17) shows the use of the pronouns to express subject prominence. The children had been abandoned in the forest by their mother. They have found their way back home and these sentences tell of their arrival. Use of the 3P pronoun in (17c) emphasizes that it was the children who arrived. This occurs in the peak of the discourse.

(17a) *pero* *kuˈ* *weˈnʰti* *ɻʔitʲ*
but when a-little 3P-be-CNJT

(17b) *jaː* *ha* *ɻʔuːŋ* *ʔaʰʃʲ* *ni-meʰt͡ʃk-i* *ɻmeʰt͡ʃʲ*
here the 3P-child PLZR together-two-? 3P-arrive-CNJT
But when a little while passed, here the children, both of them, arrived. (MNT 2:NS 49)

(17c) *ø-meʰt͡ʃ-ø* *ʔaʰʃʲ* *heʔe*
3P-arrive-NC PLZR 3P__PRON
They arrived! (MNT 2:NS 50)

Discourse Factors

In the following subsections on discourse factors, I discuss major and minor participants, first references, the relationship of marked references to episodes and peaks, and other contextual factors that condition referential choice.

Participants, major and minor. In analyzing these stories, I made a distinction between major and minor participants. Major participants were distinguished from minor ones by more frequent appearances and by more active roles in the narration. This is a relative difference, established in each text individually. No absolute figures as to number of appearances required for a major participant can be given since the texts vary greatly in length.

[12] 3P pronouns can also be used to refer to nonparticipants such as things or words; nonparticipants are not discussed in this study.

One distinction between major and minor participants is related to first references. This is discussed below.

Introducing major participants. Distinct introductory patterns have been observed in the first mention of 54% of the major participants but in only 17% of the minor participants in these Mixe texts. There are two distinct kinds of first reference in Mixe. The first introduces major participants by means of a verbless introductory-type clause. A participant introduced in this way is presented in an NP without a determiner (article) but with the word *tuʔuk* 'one' following the NP. Out of 28 occurrences of major participant first reference, 29% are of this kind.

Besides using a verbless clause to introduce the participant, the speaker may introduce additional information about the participant in verbless clauses also. In example (18) the referent is first mentioned in a verbless clause (18a), which is followed by another verbless clause (18b) presenting more information about the referent. In example (19) the participant is first introduced in (19a), and then in (19b) and (19c) additional information is given in two verbless clauses.

(18a) *hiː hijaʔaj ʔanaʰtʲ tuʔuk*
there person then one

(18b) *tɨgiːg ˩ʔuːŋ ʔanaʰtʲ*
three 3P-child then
[Once] there [was] a person, [who had] three children. (MNT 8: NS 1,2)

(19a) *hiː kraˑ ʔanaʰtʲ tuʔuk*
there guy then one

(19b) *jaːmk majdiʰk ʔanaʰtʲ*
orphan poor then

(19c) *kab-ɨk ˩taʰ ˩teːdʲ ʔanaʰtʲ*
no-RPOR 3P-mother 3P-father then
[Once] there [was] a guy [who was a] poor orphan, without mother [or] father, so they say. (MNT 6:NS 1,2,3)

A second kind of first reference to a major participant is as the subject of an intransitive clause and either with the use of the word *tuʔuk* 'one' following the NP or with the absence of a determiner. Of the 28

occurrences of major participant first mentions, 25% are of this kind. Even when the first reference is not encoded in one of these two distinct ways, a clause containing a first reference NP will not allow a second NP to occur. Therefore if a first reference to a participant occurs as an object in the clause, then the subject will not be encoded as an NP.

The remaining major participants (46%) are not introduced in any special way. Some of these can be assumed as naturally accessible from mention of a participant that has been formally introduced by one of the means described above. In the data these include a man's wife and a married couple's children. A man normally has a wife and married couples usually have children. Certain participants might also be so well known as not to need introducing. For example, in one story the devil is introduced, but he or she is not introduced in another one. The speaker or the writer of the story is free to make some choices in these instances.

Another explanation for the lack of a formal introduction when one might be expected is that the participants were already present in the mind of the speaker or writer. When I recorded other stories not analyzed here, the narrator did not always introduce the participants. Since we had already been talking about the story that the narrator was going to record on tape, he or she usually did not bother to go back to the very beginning and repeat everything we had already discussed.

Introducing minor participants. There are twelve minor participants in the texts. Only two minor participants are introduced with the word *tu²uk* 'one' (without a determiner) following the noun phrase. One participant is the subject of an intransitive clause and the other one is the object of a transitive clause. All of the rest are brought into the narration with no apparent special device, occurring as subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses, objects, or in locative phrases in about equal distribution. They can be considered as part of the assumed script or as inferables. In example (20) this is the first reference to the thief's mother. It naturally would be assumed that someone has a mother to go to unless it has already been mentioned that she is not on the scene.

(20) *pos* *nikʃ* *ha* *m-daʰ* *ʔawa·ni*
well go the 2P-mother notify
"Well, go notify your mother." (MNT 5:QS 12)

After being introduced, nouns referring to both major and minor participants are usually preceded by the nonproximal determiner in the

narrative parts of the texts. See example (11) for the use of the nonproximal determiner *ha* 'the'.

There are very few marked references to minor participants. If a marked reference does occur, it follows the pattern of marked references in general. In a story about an armadillo and a rabbit, the tiger is considered to be a minor participant since there are only two references to him as an incidental participant. In example (21a) the tiger is introduced. In the following clause, example (21b), the tiger is again encoded by an NP which is a plus S7 value. This example follows the same progression from indefinite to definite NP as was illustrated for major participants.

(21a) *ka: ʔana^{h}t^{j} ˩nijʔap-ʔa^{h}t-p^{j}*
tiger then 3P-husband-VBZR-AONC
[A] tiger was her husband. (MNT 8:N S2)

(21b) *manit-ik ha ka: ˩to^{ʔ}oʃɨ^{h}k ˩ʔiʃma^{h}t͡s-^{j}*
then-RPOR the tiger 3P-wife 3P-leave-CNJT
Then, so they say, the tiger left his wife. (MNT 8:NS 3)

Relationship of references to episodes and peaks. I analyzed a subset of the texts following the method set forth by Longacre (1983) for discourse analysis in order to account for the marked values (with the contexts). I especially looked at references occurring at the transitions from one major element of the discourse to the next, and at the peak. Longacre distinguishes notional structure elements of climactic narratives as: exposition, inciting moment and developing conflict, climax, denouement, final suspense, and conclusion. These are encoded by surface structures, such as episodes and peak. Some generalizations can be stated in relating the marked occurrences of subject references in the Mixe narrative texts to these elements of climactic narratives. However, there are exceptions to these generalizations; they are not hard and fast rules.

There are few minus marked occurrences at the beginning of a new episode. There is often a switch in the subject, and the default encoding of an NP in that context occurs. Sometimes the two participants on stage at the time the new episode begins are both mentioned in the first sentence, e.g., one as subject and the other as object.

The number of marked references in the peak is related to the number of clauses in the peak. MNT 1 has a double peak which contains 43% of the total clauses in the text which refer to participants, and 52% of the marked references. The peak in MNT 2 contains 14% of the total clauses, and 19% of the marked references. In MNT 3 the peak is 39% of the total

clauses, with 33% of the marked references. This indicates that the distribution of marked references in the peak is proportional to the entire text, rather than there being a noticeably greater concentration of marked references at the peak than elsewhere.

It is notable, however, that more than half of the pronouns occur in the peak. Four of the six pronouns in MNT 1 occur in the double peak, and three of the five pronouns in MNT 2 occur in the peak.

Context. Mixe often depends on context to disambiguate 3P references. Since there are no case markers to denote subject or object, when just one NP occurs in a transitive clause, the context alone indicates whether the NP refers to the subject or to the object. In example (22) the NP *ha ˩to$^{?}$oʃʲi^{h}k* 'his wife' (22a) is the object. The direct quotation which immediately follows (22c) shows that it is the man talking to his wife. In example (23) the NP *ha miku$^{?}$u* 'the devil' (23a) is talking to the subject. We know this because the direct quotation which immediately follows (23b) is the speech of the devil. The verb *˩nima·jˉʲ* '3P-tell-CNJT' is identical in both (22a) and (23a).

(22a) *manit ha ˩to$^{?}$oʃʲi^{h}k ˩nima·jˉʲ*
then the 3P-woman 3P-tell-CNJT

(22b) *ku· hi:m ˩ko·tˉʲ*
when there 3P-come^up-CNJT
Then he told his wife, when he arrived there, (MNT 1:NS 17)

(22c) *to$^{?}$oʃʲi^{h}k ti-ʦ-ʲ ø-tu:ŋ-ba:dˉʲ*
woman COMP-1P 1P-work-find-CNJT
"Woman, I've found work." (MNT 1:QS 11)

(23a) *manit ha miku$^{?}$u ˩nima·jˉʲ*
then the devil 3P-tell-CNJT
Then the devil told [him], (MNT 4:NS 8)

(23b) *pet ja:m kwa·jˉnigiʃʲ*
climb here horse-upon
"Get up here on [the] horse." (MNT 4:QS 8)

Drama and direct quotation. Mixe climactic narrative texts contain direct quotation material which elaborates the story line. Longacre (1983)

includes direct quotations and drama among typical attention-getting devices to highlight the climax. Many times the speech formula (e.g., "the guy said") is missing, so that drama or free direct speech encodes the tension-building material. In these instances the only clue that tells us who is saying what comes from the context. The identity of 1P and 2P referents, which occurs frequently in direct quotations, can only be ascertained by context.

The discourse factors related to participant reference described above reveal the importance of analyzing the discourse as a whole in order to understand adequately basic elements of Mixe. Although this study is limited to narrative discourse, it is an important step in a more complete analysis of the language since the methodology has extensive applications.

Conclusions

One of the practical applications of the results of this kind of study is to produce translated literature that is more easily understood because it follows the same patterns of participant reference with which the speakers of the language are already familiar. This will involve special introductory patterns for first references, appropriate use of the grammatical strategies available to refer to participants following first references, ways to express contrast or emphasis most naturally, a comfortable ratio of dependent to independent clauses, the most fitting use of direct quotations, and other patterns appropriate to the context.

In Mixe, narratives often begin with the introduction of a major participant. Therefore appropriate first references according to introductory patterns for major participants set the tone of the entire story. As mentioned above, the verbless introductory clause is used for major participants in 29% of first references in the data. Another 25% are introduced as the subject of an intransitive clause and either with the use of the word *tu²uk* 'one' following the NP or with the absence of a determiner. The remaining major participants (46%) are not introduced in any special way. Suggestions as to why 46% of the major participants are not introduced have been given. Before translation is undertaken, the linguist must determine the appropriate contexts for the uses of the two special introductory patterns mentioned.

Concerning patterns of participant reference, table 4 shows that the breakdown of the use of NP, pronoun, agreement marker only, or zero to express subject references is quite different between narrative clauses and direct quotation clauses. Marked subjects are consistently in the low-to-mid

20th percentile. The translator can refer to table 2, which displays the subject contexts and default values. Application of the patterns revealed by these contexts and values to translated materials will quickly show whether the translated stories fall within acceptable ranges in each category described.

A translation needs not only to be accurate, but also to sound natural. Table 4 summarizes much of the important information needed to produce a natural-sounding translation of a simple narrative in Mixe. Rounding numbers, one sees that there are about 70% narration to 30% direct quotations. Less than 10% of either narration or direct quotation clauses are dependent clauses.

The eight steps of Levinsohn's methodology (1994:109–21) can be adapted to any language and all its discourse types. The patterns revealed by this kind of language analysis can then be applied to translated literature so that a truly functional equivalent translation may be produced.

ABBREVIATIONS

CAU/PAS causative/passive
CNJT conjunct clause marker
COMP completive
DES/FUT desiderative/future
GER gerund
LOC locative
MNT Mixe narrative text
NC nonconjunct marker
NEG negative
NP noun phrase
NS narrative sentence
PLZR pluralizer
PRON pronoun
QS quotation sentence
RPOR reportative
RSLT end result
TRNS transitional phoneme
1P first person
2P second person
3P third person
3PGO 3P goal orientation

BIOGRAPHY

Julia Irene Dieterman has an M.A. in linguistics from the University of Texas at Arlington, and is enrolled in the doctoral program there. She worked among the Mixe of San José El Paraíso from 1967 to 1978 and began work among the Isthmus Mixe in 1994.

REFERENCES

Dieterman, Julia I. 1995a. Participant reference and continuity in Isthmus Mixe. Unpublished manuscript.

_____. 1995b. Participant reference in Isthmus Mixe narrative discourse. Master's thesis. University of Texas.

Givón, Talmy, ed. 1983. Topic continuity in discourse: a quantitative cross-language study. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

_____, ed. 1994. Voice and inversion. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grimes, Barbara R., ed. 1992. Ethnologue: languages of the world. 12th edition. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1994. Field procedures for the analysis of participant reference in a monologue discourse. In Discourse features of ten languages of West-Central Africa. Edited by Stephen H. Levinsohn. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Longacre, Robert E. 1983. The grammar of discourse. New York: Plenum.

_____. 1994. The dynamics of reported dialogue in narrative. Word 45:125–43.

Lyon, Shirley. 1967. Tlahuitoltepec Mixe clause structure. International Journal of American Linguistics 33(1):25–33.

Ong, Walter J. 1982. Orality and literacy: Technologizing of the word. London: Methuen.

Pike, Kenneth L. 1977. Referential verses grammatical hierarchies. In Discourse structure: some new dimensions for linguists, Edited by Robert DiPietro and Edward Blansitt. Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press.

Pike, Kenneth L. and Evelyn G. Pike. 1982. Grammatical analysis. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Van Haitsma, Julia D. and Willard Van Haitsma. 1976. A hierarchical sketch of Mixe as spoken in San José El Paraíso. Norman, Okla: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

COHERENCE IN JAMES 1:19–27

C. John Collins

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is first to present the flow of thought in these verses from James 1 (which is interesting in its own right); and second to illustrate how a bit of detailed lexical study can lead to a perception of thematic coherence in paragraphs that are frequently seen at best as only loosely related.[1] This perception of coherence will in turn affect how we read the individual components of these paragraphs.[2]

James 1:19b consists of what is commonly considered "the citation of a proverb, a quotation of a familiar thought from Jewish oral or written paranetic tradition" (Davids 1982:91): *ἔστω δὲ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι, βραδὺς εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι, βραδὺς εἰς ὀργήν* 'let everyone be quick for hearing, slow for speaking, slow for anger'.[3] Note that this is called a citation in spite of the failure to identify the actual "original" of the

[1] Greenlee (1993:11, 13, 32, 41, 48, 49, 52, 56, 65) documents considerable divergence among his sources as to the segmentation and relationships of these paragraphs. Commentators who find little or no connection include Davids (1982); Moo (1985); Laws (1980:79; "there is no clearly developing argument"); Sidebottom (1967); Tasker (1957); Oesterley (1910); Knowling (1904); Plumptre (1890); Calvin (1979); compare Forbes (1972:151); Francis (1970:118, 121). Johnson (1995) groups vv. 13–21 and vv. 22–27 separately, and does not articulate any connection between them; while Fry (1978) groups vv. 19–25 as "the test of genuine obedience" and vv. 26–27 as "the test of genuine religion." Those who group these verses together and thus apparently see some unity, e.g., Martin (1988); Adamson (1976); Motyer (1972); Reicke (1964); Dibelius (1975); Schlatter (1956); and Carr (1930), are somewhat vague as to what it is. Hauck (1926:73) finds "God's word" a unifying factor between 19–21 and 22–25, but leaves out 26–27; Mußner (1981) sees practical religion as the unifying factor (although he does not find a well-ordered structure); this article offers a more specific unity. However, Pretorius (1994:548); Vouga (1984:63); Cantinat (1973); and Huther (1887) (compare Crotty 1992:50) see a continuity which is somewhat similar to that argued here, although not as thoroughly applied as this article attempts to apply. Some modern versions that use section headings group these verses together, but the basis for the perceived coherence is not stated.

[2] This is thus what practitioners of textlinguistics would see as an exploration in the relation between a *bottom-up* approach (understanding the particulars leads to understanding of the whole) and a *top-down* one (grasp of the whole governs interpretation of the particulars). Neither of those is by itself adequate; rather, an interaction between them is called for (sometimes called the *hermeneutical circle*); hence the position of Black (1995:18), "[B]ecause macrostructures dominate the composition and structure of texts, discourse is to be analyzed from the 'top down'," is an overstatement and not a requirement of discourse analysis.

[3] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the author's and are deliberately literal. This is not intended to preempt consideration of the philological questions presented in this passage, but only to allow us to move on.

proverb.[4] In any case, even if James is quoting a piece of conventional wisdom, the interpretive questions should really focus on whether he is using it in a specific application to a particular kind of quickness to hear, slowness to speak, and slowness to get angry.[5]

After explaining in v. 20 that "man's anger does not work God's righteousness," he applies the "saying" in v. 21: *διὸ ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ περισσείαν κακίας ἐν πραΰτητι*[6] *δέξασθε τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν* 'therefore having put off[7] all filth and excess of badness, in meekness receive the implanted[8] word that is able to save your souls'. Commentators on this verse spend most of their attention on the difficulties presented by the expressions *περισσείαν κακίας* 'excess of badness' and *ἔμφυτον λόγον* 'implanted word', and very little on the phrase *δέξασθε τὸν...λόγον* 'receive the...word'. I find, however, that this phrase is the key to perceiving the message of the whole section.

The verb *δέχομαι* 'receive' with an object denoting a message or doctrine (especially *λόγος* 'word') appears a number of times in the NT: in each case it refers, not simply to "attention to the knowledge of God's will" (Ropes 1916) in general, but to a positive response to the public ministry of the

---

[4] Davids (1982:92) is representative in citing many potential parallels from the Hebrew Bible, the Apocrypha (especially Ben Sira) and other Jewish literature (mainstream and sectarian), as well as from heathen authors. However, none of these is exactly like James' own wording. Those that connect hearing or speech and anger do not use *ὀργή* to denote 'anger', they use θυμός and cognates. For example, one would expect to find the closest parallel in a work like Ben Sira; compare 5:11 γίνου ταχὺς ἐν ἀκροάσει σου, καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ φθέγγου ἀπόκρισιν 'be quick in your hearing, and in patience [slowness to anger] speak an answer' (compare also Eccl. 7:10). Strack and Billerbeck (1954) have a list of possible rabbinic parallels.

[5] E.g., Dibelius (1975) contends that "our saying is self-explanatory and need not, because of some alleged connection, be restricted to the hearing of the word of God or to the hearing of instruction." This may be so, but it ought to be supported, not merely asserted. If it could be established that James is indeed citing a well-known proverbial saying, then one could argue that he is evoking for his audience the general associations of such a proverb; however, even if he is, one could also argue that he is limiting his application of that proverb to a specific issue. The context of James' argument is the decisive factor, which is the basis of the discussion here.

[6] While the editors of UBS^3/N^{26} (but not N^{25}) insert a comma here and connect "in meekness" with what comes before, I agree with, e.g., Davids (1982); Mußner (1981); Dibelius (1975); and Huther (1887); (compare Peshitta, NRSV, NIV, GNB, NASB, Delitzsch, Modern Israeli, Bambas, Vellas, Luther's, and Segond) in taking it as an adverb modifying "receive".

[7] NIV interprets this as an imperative participle ("get rid of"); but I do not see that such an interpretation is necessary.

[8] For this meaning of ἔμφυτος, rather than something like 'innate', cf. Davids (1982:95) or Johnson (1995:202). That this is, as these authors say, a reference to the gospel message which James' audience had believed (cf. v. 18) will be unmistakable from the idiom with δέχομαι 'receive', discussed below.

word.[9] This immediately ties in, then, with the contrast of vv. 22–25, between *ἀκροαταί* 'hearers' and *ποιηταί* 'doers': the hearers are those who listen to the public ministry of the word in church, but fail to act upon its demands; while the doers "look intently into the perfect law that is characterized by liberty and persevere," going on to put it into practice.[10] The doers are those who genuinely "receive the word in meekness," and find themselves blessed in their actions of doing the work of obedience.[11]

We note that v. 21 belongs with vv. 19–20:[12] the connector *γάρ* 'for' makes v. 20 an explanation of v. 19b; and *διό* 'therefore' makes v. 21 a conclusion of vv. 19–20. But we notice further that the paragraph vv. 22–25, while cohesive in itself (the sustained contrast between hearers and doers), connects with vv. 19–21: not simply by the transition particle *δέ* 'but', but also by the reference to "hearing" in vv. 19, 22 (v. 19 *εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι* 'for hearing'; v. 22 *ἀκροαταί* 'hearers'). This strongly suggests that James has particularly in mind the behavior of his audience when they are

---

[9] Compare Luke 8:13; Acts 7:38, 8:14, 11:1, 13:48 (where NT manuscript D has ἐδέξαντο 'they received' for ἐδόξαζον 'they were glorifying'), 17:11; 1 Thess 1:6, 2:13; with cognate ἀποδέχομαι 'receive', Acts 2:41; with παραδέχομαι 'receive, embrace', Mark 4:20. This is consistent with the use of this syntagm in the wider context of Greek literature: compare, e.g., Prov. 2:1, 4:10; Jer. 9:20 [Heb. 19]; Zech. 1:6 (even though the Greek does not render the Hebrew correctly, it uses this syntagm consistently); Sir. 51:16 (contra RSV, there is no object 'her'; compare Heb.); Josephus 18, 101; Thucydides 1, 95, 2; 4, 16, 1; Polybius, 1, 43, 4; Diodorus Siculus 4, 52, 1; Herodotus. 9, 5: these all refer to accepting or welcoming a message that is delivered orally, and usually in an assembly, not all of which are cultic (note that Prov. 4:10 and Sir. 51:16 make the connection with hearing explicit). Cantinat (1973:104) and Vouga (1984:63) make the connection with hearing, and Vouga has the longer note (but his reference to Deut. 30:1 and Prov. 1:3 is out of place for this syntagm); compare Bede (1985:19). In view of this, the statement of Link (1986:746), compare Hauck (1926:77–8) that "*ton logon dechesthai*...became a technical term for believing acceptance of the gospel" does not fully represent the data, since it leaves out the component of listening. The statements of Grundmann (1964:2.54), "[T]he use of δέχομαι in this connexion [i.e., in this syntagmatic combination]—it is an equivalent of faith—shows us that in the total NT view man's existence over against God is limited to the reception of His gift...In hearing the message...man is liberated for decision in relation to it," overinterprets (although he does include the component of hearing).

[10] Davids (1982:99) considers the expression νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας (which I have rendered 'the perfect law that is characterized by liberty') to be "a major interpretive problem for James." I suspect he is thinking of νόμος 'law' as referring only to God's ethical demands (and thus in the context of Pauline antitheses). But if we accept the Jewish Christian provenance of the letter, why not simply take νόμος as equivalent to Hebrew *tôrâ*, and recognize that it refers to the whole complex of God's 'instruction': his gracious covenant and the religious and moral response it calls for. Why should the *theological* continuity between Paul and James (which I accept) require *linguistic* continuity that is independent of the argumentative situation?

[11] The renderings of ἐν τῇ ποιήσει αὐτοῦ in v. 25 of, e.g., NIV, NASB, Segond ('in what he does' and the like) fail to make clear that the phrase refers to 'in his doing [of the moral requirements of the divine word]'.

[12] Compare for agreement Hauck (1926:73); Mußner (1981:99, 101); contra Dibelius (1975); Martin (1988).

in church, listening to the leader of the assembly (or "teacher," 3:1) give his sermon.[13]

This is confirmed by the following paragraph, vv. 26–27, about the person who is *θρησκός* 'religious' and the kind of *θρησκεία* 'religion' that is pleasing to God. According to Bauer (1979:363) the term *θρησκεία* denotes "the worship of God, religion, esp. as it expresses itself in religious services or cult." Thus the focus of these two verses is on the necessary connection between public worship and behavior outside of church. But that was precisely what vv. 19–25 were driving at. Thus we may think of vv. 26–27 as a specific application of the general instructions of the preceding verses: they tell us what "meekly receiving the word" results in, what "doing" is appropriate.[14]

It remains for us then to ask how James is using this proverb-like saying of v. 19b, if he is specifically speaking of believers assembled for worship. It is not hard to see that "quick for hearing" refers to ready and careful listening to the assembly's teacher as he gives his sermon; 'slow for speaking' probably denotes the humility by which believers are to listen, instead of making a show of knowledge equal to the teacher's, perhaps even to the point of arguing with the teacher (this may include a caution against presuming to teach in the assembly, as in 3:1–2).[15]

But what are we to make of "slow for anger"? If, as I suppose, this is relevant to James' point (and not simply an effort to quote a complete saying), then it would appear that the anger is in response to the teacher's ministry: that is to say, the teacher's *παράκλησις*[16] '[moral] exhortation' puts

---

[13] Martin (1988:47) makes the interesting comment that "the setting in a service of worship may be reflected in our text, with its call to 'receive the implanted word by which you may be saved'," but he neither says what suggests it nor follows this up in his exegesis.

[14] Thus it appears that James (like other wisdom teachers) is not hostile or even indifferent to cultic matters; instead he is concerned about the moral condition of the worshipers that makes public worship what it should be (compare Prov. 15:8, 21:3, 27, 28:9, 14:9 [Hebrew]; Sir. 49:12). It would be interesting, but beyond the scope of this study, to examine the setting of 2:1ff., where believers' behavior in their "synagogue" is in view in relation to 1:19–27. The view of Davids (1982:108) that συναγωγή in 2:2 refers to a church court, has little in the usage of the language, and still less in the context of James, to commend it.

[15] This limiting of the saying to attention to the word of the gospel as it is publicly taught, is confirmed by the fact that v. 18 finishes off the previous section by saying that "the word of truth" was God's instrument in giving (spiritual) birth to James and his audience. (For those who may be distressed at the removal of the generalised interpretation of v. 19b [since its meaning is its function in its present context, not in some other, hypothetical context], may I suggest Prov. 13:3, 15:1, 29:20; and Sir. 5:11]).

[16] That moral exhortation was an integral part of early Christian sermons can be seen, e.g., from 1 Tim. 4:13; 2 Tim. 4:2; Titus 2:6, 15; compare Justin Martyr's *First Apology* 67: "[W]hen the reader [of Scripture] has finished, the president, in a discourse, gives an exhortation [τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ παράκλησιν] to the imitation of these noble things." For the place of the ministry of the word in early Christian worship, compare Beckwith (1984:143–5).

the searchlight of the word on one's life, and this can provoke 'anger'. This would explain several statements in the passage: in v. 20 we see that such "anger" does not work God's righteousness (how could it, when the anger results from being confronted with God's righteous demands, and the hearers' failures to live up to them?[17]). In v. 21 the "receiving" is in a moral context: *ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ περισσείαν κακίας* 'having put off all filth and excess of badness' (since it is our filth and excess of badness that makes us angry when the word exposes our faults; compare vv. 14–15). And the receiving is to be done *ἐν πραΰτητι* 'in meekness', which I take to refer to humble submission to God's authority (which is alone what can enable us to endure such painful exposure).[18] Further, this explains why James in vv. 23–25 uses the language of self-inspection: the searching ministry of the word helps us to see ourselves for what we really are.[19]

To sum up: the lexical work on *δέξασθε τὸν λόγον* 'receive the word' in v. 21 and *θρησκεία* 'religion' in v. 27, followed by our noticing the points that establish thematic coherence for the whole section, lead to the conclusion that vv. 19–27 are about the manner, the frame of soul, in which James wanted his audience to listen to their leader/teacher when he spoke in their worship service. James wished to inculcate spiritual hunger which produced obedience to the moral demands of being God's chosen and regenerated people (compare v. 18)[20] as those demands were explained by the teacher.[21]

---

[17] I do not doubt that the apostolic emphasis on God's free grace and man's complete helplessness and ill desert would likewise provoke anger.

[18] That is, the reference is not to "gentleness"; similarly 3:13; Matt. 5:5. This last verse adapts Ps. 37:11, where the Hebrew has *'ănāwîm* for 'meek'. Delitzsch's Hebrew version of the NT, which uses *ba'ănāwâ* for ἐν πραΰτητι 'in meekness' in James 1:21 and 3:13, reflects this interpretation.

[19] We should note that this excludes some other specific types of anger that have been suggested, e.g., revolutionary anger (Reicke 1964:21).

[20] The verb that begins v. 19, ἴστε, may be either indicative or imperative of οἶδα 'I know'; resolving this is a well-known difficulty, for which decisive arguments have not yet been offered (see Greenlee 1993:48–9). If we take it as indicative, then ἴστε ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί would be 'you know [this], my beloved brothers', referring back to vv. 16–18 and indicating that vv. 19–27 have a connection with that idea (since vv. 19–27 treat the ongoing reception of that "word of truth" which in v. 18 brought about the regeneration). If we take the form as imperative 'know [this]!', this seems to make the connection harder to account for, nor does it explain the connector in v. 19b *δε* 'but'. Hence coherence, both the internal coherence of vv. 19–27 and its external coherence with what precedes (as indicated above), help to resolve a known parsing difficulty.

[21] I take σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν 'to save your souls' in v. 21 as a reference to the bestowing of eschatological salvation upon those who continue in faith and obedience (compare 1 Tim. 4:16; 1 Pet. 2:2); hence James' intent takes on a certain urgency since he is describing the

Careful translation should find expressions that allow for interpretation along the lines indicated in the detailed comments here; perhaps it would also help readers if these three paragraphs (vv. 19–21, 22–25, 26–27) were grouped under a section heading that (modestly) reflects these conclusions, such as "worship and life."

Perhaps further studies in James will reveal a greater degree of coherence than is commonly found there.[22]

BIOGRAPHY

C. John Collins has a B.S. and an M.S. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an M.Div. from Faith Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, and a Ph.D. from the University of Liverpool. He was a church planter in Spokane from 1989 to 1992. He currently teaches Hebrew and Greek at Covenant Theological Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri.

REFERENCES

Adamson, James B. 1976. James. New international commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Beckwith, Roger T. 1984. The daily and weekly worship of the primitive church. Evangelical Quarterly 56(3):139–58.

Bauer, Walter. 1979. A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature. Translated and edited by W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, and F.W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bede the Venerable. 1985 (Latin early 8th century). Commentary on the seven Catholic epistles. Translated by D. Hurst. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications.

Black, David A. 1995. The discourse structure of Philippians: A study in textlinguistics. Novum Testamentum 37(1):16–49.

Calvin, John. [1551, 1855], 1979 ET. Commentaries on the Catholic epistles. Reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker.

---

indispensable instrumentality for advancement in holiness and partaking of the world to come (compare 5:19–20).

[22] The study by Wendland (1992) can serve as an example of the kind of study desired. One might also suspect, in view of such a study as Heim's (1993) in Proverbs, that perhaps we will begin to find a greater degree of coherence in wisdom literature in general.

Cantinat, J. 1973. Les pitres de Saint Jacques et de Saint Jude. Sources Bibliques. Paris: Gabalda.

Carr, Arthur 1930. James. Cambridge Greek testament. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Colwell, E.C. and J.R. Mantey. 1939. A Hellenistic Greek reader. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crotty, Robert B. 1992. The literary structure of the letter of James. Australian Biblical Review 40(1):45–57.

Davids, Peter H. 1982. James. New international Greek Testament commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Dibelius, Martin. 1975 (German 1964). A commentary on the epistle of James. Translated by M. A. Williams and revised by H. Greeven. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Diodorus Siculus. 1967. Library of history. Loeb Classical Library.

Forbes, P. B. R. 1972. The structure of the epistle of James. Evangelical Quarterly 44(3):147–53.

Francis, Fred O. 1970. The form and function of the opening and closing paragraphs of James and 1 John. Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 61(1 and 2):110–26.

Fry, Euan. 1978. The testing of faith. A study of the structure of the book of James. The Bible Translator 29(4):427–35.

Greenlee, J. Harold. 1993. An exegetical summary of James. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Grundmann, W. 1964. δέχομαι. Theological dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by G. Kittel and translated by C. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Hauck, F. 1926. Der brief des Jakobus. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Leipzig: Scholl.

Heim, Knut. 1993. Coreferentiality, structure, and context in Proverbs 10:1–5. Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics 6(3):183–209.

Herodotus. 1961. Histories. Loeb Classical Library.

Huther, J. E. [German 1870] 1887. Critical and exegetical handbook to the general epistles. Meyer's commentary. New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

Johnson, Luke Timothy. 1995. The letter of James. Anchor Bible. New York: Doubleday.

Josephus. 1965. Antiquities. Loeb Classical Library.

Justin Martyr. 1939. First apology. Greek text in Colwell and Marty.

Knowling, R. J. 1904. James. Westminster commentary. London: Methuen.

Laws, Sophie. 1980. James. Black's New Testament commentary. London: A. & C. Black.

Link, H.-G. 1986. Dechomni. New Testament dictionary of New Testament theology. Edited by C. Brown. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
Martin, Ralph P. 1988. James. Word biblical commentary. Waco: Word.
Mayor, Joseph B. 1897. The epistle of St. James. London: Macmillan.
Moo, Douglas J. 1985. James. Tyndale New Testament commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
Motyer, J. Alec. 1972. The tests of faith. Downers Grove: InterVarsity.
Mubner, Franz. 1981. Der Jakobusbrief. Herders theologischer kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Freiburg: Herders.
Oesterley, W. O. E. 1910. James. Edited by W. R. Nicoll. The expositor's Greek Testament. New York: Doran.
Plumptre, E. H. 1890. James. Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Polybius. 1960. Histories. Loeb Classical Library.
Pretorius, E. A. C. 1994. Coherency in James: A soteriological intent? Neotestamentica 28(2):541–55.
Reicke, Bo. 1964. The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday.
Ropes, James Hardy. 1916. The epistle of St. James. International critical commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
Schlatter, Adolph. 1956. Der brief des Jakobus. Stuttgart: Calwer.
Sidebottom, E. M. 1967. James, Jude, and 2 Peter. New century Bible. London: Nelson.
Strack, H. L. and P. Billerbeck. 1954. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. München: Beck'sche.
Tasker, R. V. G. 1957. James. Tyndale New Testament commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
Terry, Ralph Bruce. 1992. Some aspects of the discourse structure of the book of James. Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics 5(2):106–25.
Thacydides. 1962. History of the Peloponnesian War. Loeb Classical Library.
Vouga, F. 1984. L'Epitre de Saint Jacques. Commentaire du Nouveau Testament. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
Wendland, Ernst. 1992. Cohesion in Colossians. Notes on Translation 6(3):28–62.

Bible Versions Cited

Bambas	*Τὰ Ιερὰ Γράμματα* (Modern Greek)
Delitzsch	*HabBĕrît HaHădāšâ* (Hebrew)
GNB	Good News Bible (Today's English Version)
Luther's	Die Heilige Schrift
Modern Israeli	*HabBĕrît HaHădāšâ* (Modern Hebrew)
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
Peshitta	Ancient Syriac
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Segond	La Sainte Bible
UBS	United Bible Society
	Nestle's 26th edition of the Greek New Testament
	Nestle's 25th edition of the Greek New Testament
Vellas	*Η Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (Modern Greek)

In general, the style is to conform to that of the journal LANGUAGE—especially in regard to citations of articles and books in the body of the article and to the necessity of and placing of complete bibliographical references at the end. Please note also the conventions in regard to capitalization, language forms, translation glosses, and use of quotation marks.

A. Manuscript form

1. Submit all manuscripts in duplicate, doublespaced, with 1.5″ margins to facilitate editing, and accompany them by a file in Windows or ASCII code on a 5.25″ or 3.5″ MS-DOS formatted diskette.
2. Number the pages of the copy in the upper right corner. Include all pages of the manuscript in a single pagination. Use one side of the sheet only.
3. Include with each manuscript an abstract that describes the main thrust and contribution of the proposed article.
4. All authors, except those who have previously published in JOTT, must submit a brief biographical note as to their background, education, present assignment, and activity.

B. Punctuation

1. Use single quotation marks in the text stream for a translation gloss. Punctuation marks follow a single quote unless the other mark is itself part of the quoted matter: The word means 'cart' not 'horse'. Does that mean 'You heard me!'? It means 'Did you hear me?'
2. Do not use quotation marks to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example from another language. Use italics instead.
3. Use double quotation marks for direct quotations from literary sources and for reported speech, as in John said, "I am coming." Periods and commas precede a closing quotation mark; colons and semicolons follow it.
4. Words containing prefixes are written solid, without hyphens, when no misreading will result: antimentalism, contradistinction, extrasystemic, prevocalic, semivowel, subdialect, superstock, nonexistent. The prefix is followed by a hyphen when the next element begins with a capital: non-Germanic, pre-Greek.
5. Ellipsis is indicated by three periods, close set, with a blank space before and after, like this: ... Do not add a fourth period even if the ellipsis precedes or follows the end of a sentence.
6. Use a comma after e.g. and i.e. Use a comma before the conjunction that joins the last of a series of three or more coordinate terms: A, B, and C; X, Y, and Z. Use a comma between independent clauses but not between parts of a compound predicate. Use commas around nonrestrictive elements of a sentence (where the meaning will not change by leaving out the phrase) but not around phrases that restrict or qualify the meaning.

C. Underscores

1. A single straight underscore indicates italic type and a double underscore boldface. Use these underscorings for only these purposes and no others.
2. Use italics (single underscore) only for cited linguistic forms and for titles of books and journals. Do not use italics to mark familiar foreign words used as part of an English sentence: e.g., a priori, ad hoc, inter alia, ipso facto, prima facie, facon de parler, langue/parole, Sprachgefuhl, ursprachlich, etc. All are to be without underscore.

D. Footnotes

1. Footnotes are numbered serially throughout the article.

2. The footnote reference number is a raised numeral following the word or passage to which it applies; it is not enclosed in parentheses nor followed by a parenthesis or a period. Reference numbers follow marks of punctuation.
3. Each footnote is typed as a separate paragraph, with the first line indented. It begins with its reference number, raised and written as in 2.

E. Cited forms

1. A letter, word, phrase, or sentence cited as a linguistic example or subject of discussion appears in italics: the suffix *-s*, the word *like*, the construction *mich friert*. Do not use quotation marks for this purpose.
2. Cited forms may also appear in phonetic or phonemic transcription, enclosed in square brackets: the suffix [s]. Symbols between brackets are never underscored.
3. Cited forms in a foreign language should be followed at their first occurrence by a gloss in single quotation marks. No comma separates the gloss from the cited form: Latin *ovis* 'sheep' is a noun. No comma follows the gloss unless it is required by the sentence as a whole: Latin *ovis* 'sheep', *equus* 'horse', and *canis* 'dog' are nouns. Note that the punctuation follows the closing quotation mark.

F. Abbreviations

Abbreviations ending in a small letter have a following period; abbreviations ending in a capital generally have none.

G. Titles and headings

1. Do not underscore any part of a title, subtitle, or section heading. Leave the choice of typeface to the editor.
2. Use sentence sytle capitalization: capitalize only the first word and such other words as the orthography of the language requires.

H. Bibliographical references

1. Full citation of all literature referred to should be given in a bibliography at the end of each article. Within the text brief citation will be made, normally, by giving the author's surname, year of publication, and page number(s) where relevant, e.g., Smith 1982:25. Give such brief citations in the body of the text, not in footnotes, unless they refer specifically to a statement made in a footnote.
2. The full bibliography should be doublespaced, beginning on a separate page of typescript with the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors; multiple works by one author should be listed chronologically, with suffixed letter a, b, etc., to distinguish several items published in a single year. Works by multiple authors must have all authors listed. Each entry should contain the following elements in the following order: Author's or editor's surname, given name(s), coauthors if any (given names first), date of publication (copyright), title and subtitle of work, title of series, if any, and volume or number in the series, edition, reprint if not the original, or revision (include name of reviser), city of publication, and publisher's name. For an article in a periodical, give name of author, date, title of the article, name of the periodical, volume number or part number (if applicable) and sometimes the issue number, pages occupied by the article, and if a journal is not well known, the city and country of publication and publisher. If an article is part of a collection, also include the editor's name and title of the collection and the edition used. If an edition is a reprint edition (new typesetting), include the original publication (copyright) date in brackets, location, and publisher, as well as the reprint date, location, and publisher. If no edition is indicated and if no part of the work appears as a quotation in the text, use

the most recent copyright date. Dates of impressions or reprintings do not apply. All numbers will be in Roman type. Use punctuation as in the following examples:

Brennan, Paul William. 1968. The structure of Koine Greek narrative. Ph.D. dissertation, The Hartford Seminary Foundation. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Brugmann, Karl. 1906. Grundriss der vergleichenden grammatick der indogemanischen sprachen. 2d ed., vol. 2, part 1. Strassburg: Trubner.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. Syntactic structures. Janua linguarum, series minor 4. The Hague: Mouton.

Hammond, Michael. 1991. Poetic meter and the arboreal grid. Language 67(2):240–59.

Hockett, Charles F. 1964. The Proto central Algonquian kinship system. In Explorations in cultural anthropology. Edited by Ward Goodenough. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Steedman, Mark. 1991. Structure and intonation. Language 67(2):260–96.

Wenham, J. W. [1965] 1984. The elements of New Testament Greek: Based on the earlier work by H. P. V. Nunn. Reprint ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3. The brief citations given in the text should take a form such as (Hockett 1964:240–41). If the author's name is part of the text, use this form: Bolinger (1965:564) said that... Note that the page numbers given here are only for the passage to which reference is made, not the whole paper. In text only use initials for authors' given names when necessary to distinguish, e.g., N. Chomsky and C. Chomsky, within a single article.
4. Do not replace given names of authors or editors in the bibliography with initials unless such abbreviation is the normal practice of the individual concerned: thus Miller, Roy Andrew (not Roy A. or R. A.); Hooper, Joan B. (not J. B. or J.); but Palmer, F. R. That is, use the name as given on the title page.

I. Tables

1. Plan each table so that it will fit into the printed page without crowding. Leave ample white space between columns. Do not use vertical rules unless the table would be unclear without them.
2. Column heads should be short, so as to stand clearly above the several columns. If you need longer headings, represent them by numbers or capital letters and explain these in the text preceding the table.
3. If two or more tables appear in one article, number them and refer to them by number. Do not speak of the 'preceding' or 'the following table', nor 'above' or 'below'; in paginating, the original position of the table may not be able to be preserved.
4. Each table should have a title above, rather than below it. The legend contains the table number and optionally a concise title, sometimes also (as a separate line) a brief explanation or comment.

J. Author's alteration policy: Once a manuscript has been accepted for publication, it cannot be withdrawn or revised. The contributor will be billed for all changes other than printing errors and changes requested by the editor.

K. Non-English forms

For citation of forms or passages in biblical languages, if the Roman alphabet is used, please follow the transcription conventions set for the Society of Biblical Literature as presented below. If the Greek alphabet is used, hand-printed forms are not acceptable. Either a Greek typewriter/typehead must be employed or a good black photocopy must be made, cut, and pasted in the appropriate space. Only Roman transliterations of Hebrew characters will be accepted.

1. Greek script may be used; otherwise follow the transliteration rules below.
   a. Transliteration of Hebrew
      (1). Consonants: ' b g d h w z ḥ ṭ y k l m n s ‘ p ṣ q r ś š t (' *Alep* and ‘ *ayin* should be written in with a pen, if the raised semicircle is not available on a typewriter/typehead. Do not use ' for *alep* or raised ° for *ayin* or any other symbol.)
      (2). Vowels: a (*patah*), ā (*qāmeṣ*), â (final *qâmeṣ hē*), e (*sĕgōl*), ē (*ṣērê*), ê (final and medial *ṣērê yōd* and medial *sĕgōl yōd*), i (short *ḥîreq* defectively written), î (medial or final *ḥîreq yōd*), o (*qāmeṣ ḥātûp*), ô (*ḥōlem* defectively written), ô (*ḥōlem* fully written), u (short *qibbûṣ*), ū (long *qibbûṣ* defectively written), û (*šûreq*). Other final vowels are to be written with the appropriate vowel sign followed by *hē* (or *ālep*) or mater lectionis (e.g., *Šĕlōmōh, yigleh, qārā'* [but *qārâ*], *hinnēh, sûsāyw*). Furtive *patah* is to be recorded as *patah*(e.g., *rûaḥ*). Reduced vowels are to be written with the breve: ă, ĕ, ŏ. (No distinction is made between simple *šĕwâ* and *ḥātēp sĕgōl*.) Short vowels fully written should be shown as o(w), u(w), i(y), e.g., *bĕqu(w)šta'*. Accents are usually not indicated; if really needed, the acute is to be used for the primary and the grave for the secondary accent. A hyphen is to be used for *maqqēp*.

   b. Transliteration of Aramaic
      The system described above for Hebrew is to be followed, even though sere and holem are frequently not markers of long vowels in Aramaic.

   c. Transliteration of Greek
      This to be used for θ, ph for Φ, ch for χ, ps for ψ, ē (not ê) for η, ō (not ô) for ω, h for the rough breathing, and y for υ, except when it is part of the diphthong (e.g., au, eu, ui). Iota subscript should be represented by a cedilla under the vowel concerned: ą for ᾳ, ę for ῃ, ǫ for ῳ.

2. Provide a disk with special character fonts for languages that have difficult or unusual characters.

ORDERING INFORMATION

The JOURNAL OF TRANSLATION AND TEXTLINGUISTICS is published at irregular intervals, and is available through standing orders or individual orders, rather than through subscription. Standing orders will enable you to receive automatically each future issue of JOTT. With each issue you will receive an invoice for that issue only; prepayment is not required. Because of continually rising costs, we cannot guarantee prices. However, during the next two years, we expect the average individual issue price (including postage) not to exceed $12 US and $15 foreign (including Canada).

☐ Please place me on your standing order list for JOTT.

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Country _____

Tel _____ Fax _____

E-mail _____

☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover
☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club ☐ JCB

Credit Card Account No: _____

Expiration Date: _____

Name on Card (Please Print): _____

Signature: _____
(Not required for email)

If you prefer not to use a credit card, payment must be by check drawn on a U.S. bank or by international money order.	SIL members may charge their HB account. Please charge my account # _____ Signature_____

Mail to: International Academic Bookstore
Summer Institute of Linguistics
7500 West Camp Wisdom Road
Dallas, Texas 75236

Tel: (972) 708-7404 Fax: (972) 708-7433
E-mail: academic_books@sil.org

Back issues of JOTT and other publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics are also available at the above address.