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TECHNICAL ARTICLES RELATED TO TRANSLATION NO. 1 1-80

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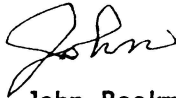
Along with my letter of March 15, 1979, a complimentary copy of *Notes on Translation 1/79 Limited Edition* was sent to various branches and individuals. That issue contained an article and comments by Stephen H. Levinsohn, John C. Callow, and John R. Werner entitled "Four Narrative Connectives in the Book of Acts", "A Review of 'Four Narrative Connectives in the Book of Acts'", and "Note on Levinsohn's 'Four Narrative Connectives in the Book of Acts'" respectively.

This issue is again sent as a complimentary copy inasmuch as the response to date suggests that some of you who would desire a standing subscription have not yet had time or taken the time to respond.

It has been suggested that the name of this experimental publication be changed to *Technical Articles Related to Translation* to avoid confusion with the regular *Notes on Translation* issues distributed to translators. Other suggestions are welcome.

Write now if you are interested in receiving future issues which will be issued occasionally throughout the year as significant technical articles become available. The price will vary according to the size but will not exceed \$1.00 per issue. Send your request for a standing subscription to John Brawand, 7500 West Camp Wisdom Road, Dallas, Texas 75236.

Sincerely yours in Him,



John Beekman
Corporation Translation Coordinator

JB/em

P. S. The continuation of this publication is dependent upon the voluntary contributions of materials from those receiving the issues and from members on study programs.

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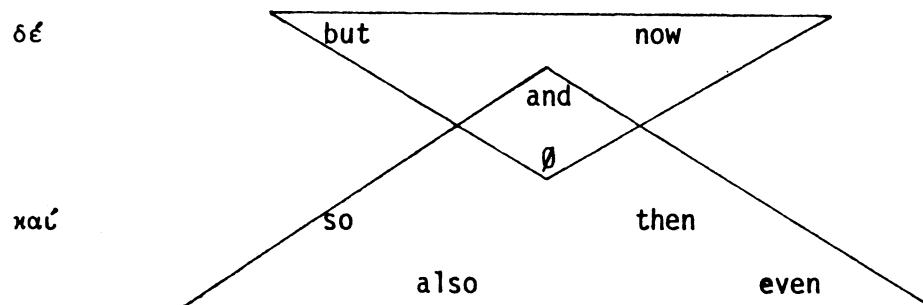
THE USE OF ΔΕ AND ΚΑΙ IN MARK 15:1-16:8 AND 16:9-20
Marinus Wiering

0. Introduction

Contemporary research¹ has focused extensively on the use of particles in the Greek of the New Testament. A. Healey (1978) gives the following English meanings for the two particles treated in this paper:

δε	'and, but, now, Ø'
και	'and, so, then, Ø; also, even'

Schematically, the area of meaning of each particle could be represented as follows:



The purpose of this paper² is to focus on the fuzzy area represented by 'and' and 'Ø' in the diagram shown above and to try to pin down the use of δε and και in the passages under review, with as a possible side benefit a clearer answer to the question as to whether the structure of Mark 16:9-20 provides positive or negative internal evidence for Markan authorship.

To achieve this purpose, I am employing two different theories about the use of δε and και, viz. Levinsohn (1977) and Goddard (1977). The latter theory, which is based on material from Acts, has been adapted here to fit the data of Mark 15 and 16. This seems a legitimate thing to do since Mark's first language was probably Aramaic and therefore his writings would reflect the discourse patterns of that language.³

The sets of rules contained in the two theories are summarized in turn below.

1. Levinsohn's rules

Δε is used:

- a. with forefronted subject to indicate prominence (e.g., Mark 14:7) and sometimes switch of participant; in the latter position, δε alternates with και (e.g., 14:66-72).⁴
- b. to mark response to the immediately preceding main event (e.g., Mark 14:46, 47, 68, 70a).
- c. to mark a new development in the nucleus of the narrative (e.g., absence of δε in Mark 14:16; presence in 14:29 and 31; absence in 30; presence in 15:9-15).
- d. to mark a return in the narrative to the previous main event, in order to

develop it from there (e.g., Mark 14:55; 15:37; 15:39 (with the note that Mark when using δε seems to need to state explicitly here that the centurion made his confession in response to seeing Jesus die and not to the rending of the veil of the temple, which he could not have seen)).

- e. as a participant introducer with 'to be' (e.g., Mark 14:4; 15:7, 40).
- f. with parenthetical material (e.g., Mark 14:4; 14:44; 15:6; 15:24).
- g. for special emphasis (e.g., Mark 14:7; 14:9).

These rules focus on the use of δε. Only with regard to rules (a) and (b) is it suggested that καί occurs elsewhere.

2. Goddard's rule (simplified)

Δε occurs whenever the subject of the proposition in which it occurs is different from the one of the preceding proposition; καί occurs elsewhere.

As this rule did not quite fit all her data, she suggests that it might possibly be changed to read: "Δε occurs whenever the *agent* of the proposition...."

2.1 Adaptation of Goddard's rule

In order to make Goddard's rule fit the data of Mark 15:1-16:8, and to begin to assemble what seem to be some more easily accessible building blocks for a mutually exclusive statement about the use of δε and καί, I propose the following version, mixing in some of Levinsohn's ideas and some of my own:⁵

- i. Δε occurs within an episode constituent whenever the agent of the proposition containing it is (1) not mentioned in the preceding proposition or (2) regarded by the author as not belonging to the same "camp" (or holding the same conviction) as the participant(s) mentioned in the preceding propositions of the episode.
- ii. Δε occurs with parenthetical material.
- iii. Δε occurs introducing participants with 'to be'.
- iv. Καί occurs elsewhere.

Concerning i, since we are dealing with semantics, I prefer to work with the term *agent* rather than *subject*. The rule has been further expanded to exclude a participant who was mentioned in the preceding proposition of the same episode constituent in some way, e.g., Mark 15:2:

- proposition A: (they) delivered him to Pilate.
- proposition B: καί (not: δε) questioned him Pilate.

Similarly, Mark 15:45:

- proposition A: (Pilate) granted the body to Joseph
- proposition B: καί (not: δε) having bought linen Joseph...

For a discussion illustrating the second part of this rule, see note *5 in section 3, as well as footnote 7.

Concerning ii, see section 1. f and footnote 6.

Concerning iii, see section 1. e.

Concerning iv, "elsewhere" is to be understood here as meaning "elsewhere at the same level of the discourse". *καὶ* also occurs at other levels, as for instance, when linking strings like *Peter, James, and John* in a slot where *δέ* could never occur. This use of *καὶ*, as well as its adverbial use, is irrelevant to our discussion, and is so marked (irrel.) in the display in section 3.

However, where *καὶ* does function at the same level as *δέ*, it seems to have the function of an episode-constituent opening marker (mainly, setting introducer), or an indicator that what follows took place off-stage, or at least in the background. For example:

Mark 15:1 *καὶ* immediately early a council preparing
 15:3 *καὶ* accused him the chief priests
 15:8 *καὶ* going up the crowd began to ask
 15:26 *καὶ* was the superscription
 15:33 *καὶ* becoming sixth hour darkness came
 15:34 *καὶ* at the ninth hour
 15:35 *καὶ* some...said (cf. *6 in 3)
 15:38 *καὶ* the veil of the temple
 15:42 *καὶ* already evening coming
 16:1 *καὶ* passing the sabbath
 16:2 *καὶ* very early

3. Chart of Mark 15:1-16:8 with observations

Ref.	with <i>καὶ</i> : connected concepts or propositions with <i>δέ</i> : agents or other pertinent information	<i>καὶ</i> or <i>δέ</i>	observ.	Rule		Connected concepts or propositions
				1	2	
15:1	Ø	<i>καὶ</i>	*1		iv	immediately
	elders	<i>καὶ</i>	irrel.			scribes
	elders, scribes	<i>καὶ</i>	irrel.			all the council
	led him away	<i>καὶ</i>			iv	delivered him to Pilate
2	#	<i>καὶ</i>			iv	questioned him Pilate
	# he (Jesus)	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	answering him says:
3	#	<i>καὶ</i>			iv	accused him the priests
4	# Pilate	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	again asked
5	# Jesus	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	no more nothing answered
6	#	<i>δέ</i>		f	ii	he released
7	#	<i>δέ</i>		e	iii	one named Barabbas
8	#	<i>καὶ</i>			iv	going up the crowd began
9	# Pilate	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	answered them
11	# the high priests	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	stirred up the crowd
12	# Pilate	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	again answering said
13	# they	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	again cried out
14	# Pilate	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	said to them
	# they	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	more cried out
15	# Pilate	<i>δέ</i>		c	i	resolving
	released to them Barabbas	<i>καὶ</i>	irrel.			delivered Jesus

16	Ø soldiers	δε	*2	(b)	i	led away
	#	καί			iv	they call
17	#	καί			iv	they put
18	#	καί			iv	they place
	#	καί			iv	they began
19	#	καί			iv	they struck
	#	καί			iv	they spat
	#	καί			iv	bending
20	#	καί			iv	when they
	#	καί			iv	they put
	#	καί			iv	they lead
21	#	καί			iv	they impress
	Alexander	καί	irrel.			Rufus
22	#	καί			iv	they bring
23	#	καί			iv	they gave him wine
	#	δε		(?b/?c)	i	he did not take
24	#	καί			iv	they crucify him
	#	καί			iv	divide the garments
25	#	δε		f	ii	hour third
	-	καί	irrel.			
			"when"			they crucified him
26	#	καί	*3		iv	was the superscription
27	#	καί			iv	with him they crucify
	one on the right	καί	irrel.			one on the left
(28)	#	καί	*4	(?)	?	fulfilled was
	#	καί	*4		?	numbered transgressors
29	#	καί	*5		iv	the passers-by
		καί				blasphemed him
	wagging their heads	καί	irrel.			saying
	overthrowing	καί	irrel.			building
31	#	καί	*5			the chief priests
32	that we may see	καί	irrel.			believe
	#	καί	*5		iv	the co-crucified
33	Ø	καί			iv	becoming 6th hour
34	Ø	καί			iv	at 9th hour
35	#	καί	*6		iv	some...said
36	#	δε		(?c)	i	one...saying
37	Jesus	δε		d	i	letting go
38	#	καί			iv	the veil
39	#	δε		d	i	the centurion
40	Ø	δε		e	iii	
		καί	irrel.			women
	among whom	καί	irrel.			Mary the Magdalene
	+	καί	irrel.			Mary of James the Younger
	++	καί	irrel.			Joses
	+	καί	irrel.			Salome
41	followed him	καί	irrel.			served him
	+	καί	irrel.			many others
42	Ø	καί			iv	already evening coming
43	Joseph who	καί	irrel.			was expecting
	#	καί			iv	asked
44	# Pilate	δε		(b)	i	marvelled
	#	καί			iv	calling
45	#	καί			iv	knowing...to Joseph

46	# (Joseph) he wrapped #	καί καί καί	irrel.		iv	having bought deposited him rolled
47	Mary the Magdalene	δέ		f	i	
16:1	Ø	καί	irrel.		iv	Mary/Joses...saw passing
	Mary the Magdalene	καί	irrel.			Mary/James
	+	καί	irrel.			Salome
2	#	καί			iv	very early they
3	#	καί			iv	they said
4	#	καί			iv	looking
5	#	καί			iv	entering
6	#	καί			iv	they
	he	δέ		(b/c)	i	says
8	#	καί			iv	going
	having trembling	καί	irrel.			bewilderment
	#	καί				they said nothing

Notes:

*¹In this display, Ø refers to settings, # indicates that the following proposition is related to the preceding one in the text, + indicates coordination on a lower level.

*²Although episode breaks are generally signalled by καί in the passage under review, it seems that the principle of δέ being used to indicate response to stimulus overrides here. (The soldiers acted in response to Pilate's handing Jesus over to them.)

I have indicated Levinsohn's rules in parentheses, whenever the reference was not mentioned in his article. The choices naturally reflect my interpretation of his rules, which may or may not be correct.

*³Rejecting the idea of random variation, we need to conclude that Mark did not consider the superscript as parenthetical material, as he is using καί instead of δέ here.

Another way to look at this problem would be to regard both verses 25 and 26 as links in a chain of parenthetical material, whose first connector is δέ and second καί. The rule would then have to be modified to read: δέ occurs with the first constituent of parenthetical material.

*⁴Verse 28 is a textual variant, consisting of parenthetical material. One would expect δέ in 28a.

*⁵The καί in verses 29, 31 (following *likewise*), and 32 has much of the flavour of "also" in it.

*⁶This is a problem case. Following rule 2.i, one would expect δέ here instead of καί since the bystanders are newly identified participants acting in response to Jesus' cry. A possible explanation might be that Mark wanted to give special emphasis to the words of Jesus spoken *at the ninth hour* by isolating them by means of an episode-constituent-opening καί at the beginning of the next proposition.

3.1 ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ in Mark 16:9-20

Following the pattern established in chapter 15 and 16:1-8, one would expect the form καὶ ἀναστὰς rather than ἀναστὰς ΔΕ both meaning 'and rising' in 16:9, since we must assume that verse 9 initiates a new episode, and because Jesus' rising is not in response to the women being afraid in verse 8.

The textual variant ΔΕ seems needed in verse 14. The ΔΕ's in verses 12, 16, 17, and 20 seem all right. The ΚΑΙ's in 10, 11b, 14b, 16, 18b, and 19 are not in a position of possible contrast with ΔΕ. The ΚΑΙ's in 11, 13, 14b, 15, 18, and 20 (three of which are contracted forms) follow the pattern.

4. Summary and conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to establish a working hypothesis for the use of ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ in Mark 15:1-16:8, based on the work of Goddard (1977) and Levinsohn (1977). To substantiate this hypothesis, I have submitted the following propositions:

1. In order to determine the use of ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ, we need to find out the area of meaning of each of these particles and to focus our research on the meaning they have in common.
2. ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ are not contrastive at all levels of the discourse; the lower level use of ΚΑΙ is irrelevant to the discussion.

Specific rules for the use of ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ according to this hypothesis are given in section 2.1, and exemplified in the appendix.

The hypothesis presented in this paper is only tailored to fit the data of chapter 15 and 16:1-8. With a single exception, it can account for the distribution of ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ. Levinsohn's rules also account for most of the data, but do not show specifically how ΚΑΙ is used. Both theories run into some problems when the data are expanded to include chapter 14, as pointed out in footnote 5. Owing to the restrictedness of the data, the rules given must be regarded as very tentative.

The examination of Mark 16:9-20 in the light of the patterns of chapter 15 and 16:1-8 brings to light one construction with ΔΕ which seems out of tune, as well as three contracted forms of ΚΑΙ which do not occur in the preceding few chapters.

For further research, I would suggest that a program be written to instruct a computer to give a print-out for the use of ΔΕ and ΚΑΙ in all of Mark in a format similar to the chart in section 3. The pattern of usage of these particles should then become more readily observable.

FOOTNOTES

¹Cf. A. Healey (1978), Levinsohn (1977), Goddard (1977), Buchan (1975), Kuiper (1978), Williams (1978).

²This paper was prepared alongside with a literary semantic analysis of the same passage. The English glosses and translations reflect Marshall's Interlinear Greek-English New Testament. The terminology used is to be understood within the general framework of the Beekman-Callow theory of the semantics of written communication.

For lack of time, I have had to limit myself to Mark 15 and 16:1-8 for my basic research, although a few remarks about the use of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in chapter 14 are made in footnote 5, and a small section (3.1) is devoted to chapter 16:9-20.

I wish to express my appreciation to Peter Green for the data from Mark 10, as well as for several helpful comments on the paper in general.

³The difference in style between Luke and Mark is also illustrated by Mark's loose and somewhat pleonastic way of using $\eta\rho\epsilon\alpha(\nu)\tau\omicron$ 'began' plus infinitive, which seems to be due to Aramaic influence. Cf. Moulton 1928:455-6.

⁴However, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is also found in forefronted position indicating switch of participant without $\kappa\alpha\iota$, cf. Mark 10:3-5.

⁵Re i and iv: The present version would have to be modified to account for the following occurrences of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in chapter 14: verses 10, 11b (unless this $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is interpreted as initiating a break in 10—which would weaken the argument for $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in 15:39 in section 3—and interpreted as being carried out off-stage in 11b); 14:30; and 14:48. In 14:19, one would expect $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ to follow $\eta\rho\epsilon\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ 'they began'. However, this may be a case of asyndeton used for emphasis.

Following Levinsohn's rules, the following cases seem problematical to me:

14:23b $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\nu$ 'and they drank'—in response to Jesus' taking a cup, giving thanks and giving it to the disciples, cf. rule b in section 1.

14:37 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ he-says to Peter: Simon, sleepest thou?—in response to finding him sleeping, 37a.

14:65 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ began some to spit at him—in response to his condemnation.

14:72 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ remembered Peter—in response to the rooster's crowing.

The stimulus-response principle seems a useful concept, which somehow plays a part in the distribution of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, but what exactly its relationship is, in terms of ordering, to the rule concerning the fact of whether the agent of two consecutive propositions within an episode constituent is the same or different, remains a question for further study. Cf. note *2 of section 3.

Re ii: My hunch is that in this position $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is mutually exclusive with $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$.

⁶That it is difficult to arrive at a watertight, mutually inclusive statement for the use of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in this position is shown by the fact that $\kappa\alpha\iota$ occurs with parenthetical material also, cf. Mark 10:1, " $\kappa\alpha\iota$ as he was wont, again he taught". Considering also Mark 15:26, cf. note *3 in section 3, we may need to look for another conditioning factor.

⁷I have debated whether to interpret the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in 15:29 and 32b as meaning "also", or as being in complementary distribution with $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, which according to rule 2.i is used if a participant is regarded by the author as not belonging to the same "camp" as the participants mentioned in the preceding propositions of the episode. Stories naturally categorize their participants in terms of heroes, villains, etc. The passers-by, the chief priests, and the two criminals who were crucified could all be regarded as depicted by Mark as "villains" siding with the soldiers who crucified Jesus. The idea of "also" is compatible with this assumption.

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APPENDIX

THE STORY OF HICKLE ΚΑΙ PICKLE

Καί once upon a time two robbers named Hickle και Pickle were roaming about the country. Was δε a poor merchant on the way going to Jerusalem. Καί it happened that they saw him coming down the trail riding on a donkey. Καί they stopped him και Hickle said: "Give us money!" He δε replied: "Money I have not!" They δε said again: "Not giving us money, we will kill you." Καί the merchant kept insisting that he did not have any money, as he had lost his purse.

Καί it was noon, και they were standing there in the hot sun on the trail, all of a sudden they heard a loud noise. Καί looking up they saw two mounted soldiers pointing their lances at them, who δε said: "What are you doing here?" Answering δε Hickle said: "My brother και I are two weary pilgrims και we wanted to buy some of this man's food to give us strength for the journey. The δε merchant cried out to the soldiers: "No, gentlemen! These people are bad men threatening to kill me!" (He knew γάρ that in the land of the free justice would triumph.) One δε of the soldiers looked at Hickle και Pickle και said: "Your speech betrayed you,

evil men. I hear that you were not born in a faraway country, καί how could you be weary pilgrims?" καί the soldiers pricked Hickle καί Pickle's collars with their lances καί took them to the tribunes. The δέ merchant continued his way on the trail.

(From the book of Shaher Mahal Hazbaz)

RESPONSE TO STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN'S ARTICLE Bruce Hollenbach

Regarding Stephen H. Levinsohn's "Four Narrative Connectives in the Book of Acts", NOT 1-79 Limited Edition Complimentary Issue, I found it and John Callow's review very stimulating, but I have a number of criticism that I would like to make, particularly of Levinsohn's work.

I think it was valiant of Levinsohn to attempt to define one concept which could be assigned to the particle δέ in all of its occurrences. (I will discuss only δέ and καί in this critique; I did not go into the material on τέ and τότε.) But with all of his discussion, I was simply not able to form a clear distinction in my mind between the presence and absence of the concept of "progression". For instance, it is very subtle to at once envision that "one action does not stem from another" and that simultaneously "one action is merely the extension of the other" (discussion of καί, absence of "progression", p. 5). Also, does the function of καί "to present a series of facts which merely form the setting" really contrast with the function of δέ "introducing background material" (pp. 6 and 9, respectively)? Also, can we really characterize Acts 2:1-4 as one in which one incident "is simply added to the last in a coordinative fashion, and no new twist in the story is introduced" (p. 2)? Perhaps Levinsohn is too familiar with this story!

I appreciate the candidness of Levinsohn's declaration (p. 7) that his theory incorporates a certain element of subjectivity. But this and his occasional reference to the "mind of the writer" introduce a real difficulty regarding the acceptability of his theory. He has effectively ruled out the possibility of ever finding any evidence against his theory or of recognizing such evidence should it exist. That is, he has declared his theory unfalsifiable, and by definition, such a theory can never be considered to be demonstrated as true. One can still believe it. (We all find ourselves in this situation in regard to many issues very central to our existence.) But it will have to yield to a theory which is falsifiable and yet not found to be false.

I also question whether the goal is realistic. On what basis should we expect δέ to have one core of meaning in all occurrences? (It could, but why should it?) Levinsohn has really outdone himself to try to attain this goal, but the manifest difficulties he has encountered suggest to me that the goal is not likely to be met, any more than anyone is likely to find a common core of meaning for the English prefix *in-*, say, in the words *inform*, *invoke*, *incorporate*, *incompetent*, and *invaluable*.

At the very least, Levinsohn succeeded in stimulating me to take an independent look at the functions of καί and δέ. I started off by observing what I could about both particles in the first three chapters of Acts. There are many instances where καί functions to join units of the same grammatical form class within the bounds of the sentence; this is pure coordination, which I understand to be the primary function of καί. These units can be nouns, finite verbs, infinitives, participles, etc. I also identified one instance of the INTENSIVE function of καί, where it means

"even", in 2:29: ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν.

As for δέ, I find two instances where it functions as a correlate to μέν, meaning "on the other hand" or "nevertheless": 1:5 and 3:24. Its typical function (if we are to take the grammars at all seriously) of marking the ADVERSATIVE relation between main clauses (which I am more and more coming to think of as nothing more than a mild form of CONTRAEXPECTATION), where it can be glossed "but", quite clearly occurs in 2:13,34; 3:6,14,18,23. I quite agree with Levinsohn (p. 3) that δέ also marks the RESPONSE relation, sometimes with a quotation (1:7; 2:14,38; 3:4,6) and sometimes with an action taken in response (2:6,37; 3:5,11,12).

After excluding the occurrences of the above functions of καὶ and δέ, I find myself with a remainder of 37 occurrences of καὶ and 10 occurrences of δέ not accounted for. I lined these up and tried to find grammatical features which consistently and exclusively occurred with each. I could hardly believe it! All ten instances of δέ (2:5,7,12,42,43,44,47; 3:1,10,15) occur in association with a *main verb in the imperfect tense*. None of the instances of καὶ do: 24 occur with main verbs in the aorist tense (1:3,4,9(2x),11,13,15,18,19,23,24,26(3x); 2:1-4(7x), 41; 3:7,8(2x),10,14,16(2x),24); 12 occur with main verbs in the future tense (1:8; 2:17-21(9x),38; 3:25); and one occurs with οἷδα (3:17), which I suppose should be taken as present, although it is in the form of a perfect. I interpret these data to mean that where coordination of sentences occurs, if none of the specific functions of either καὶ or δέ are called for, the choice between them is determined solely by the tense of the verb of the main clause. (Notice that Levinsohn came close to this observation on p. 5.)

I cheated. There is at least one exception: in 3:7 we have παραχρημα δε εσπερεώθησαν, δέ with aorist. My solution, which will come in handy later on also, is to posit another function of δέ, which is to mark a CLIMAX or a major turning point in a narrative. This function of δέ, like all of the others, would take priority over verb tense agreement.

I did not count either of the occurrences of καὶ in 1:10 in the figures given above. I understand that the second καὶ is there instead of δέ primarily because it is in conjunction with ἰδοὺ. A quick look in Moulton-Geden will show that whereas καὶ occurs frequently with ἰδοὺ, δέ never does. This is not so much a function of καὶ (it means nothing here beside COORDINATION) as it is a restriction on δέ (that δέ simply never occurs with ἰδοὺ). (One explanation that occurred to me is that it may just sound too silly to pronounce ἰδοὺ δέ!) The first occurrence of καὶ in 1:10 I understand to be merely an anticipation of the second.

Someone will notice that in 2:40,45; 3:2,8 (not mentioned above) καὶ occurs with a finite verb in the imperfect tense. This is not an exception to the verb tense agreement generalization. In these four verses the καὶ is functioning to indicate coordination of like units within the sentence, in this case main verbs. This is the main function of καὶ, as mentioned above. This function, like all others discussed here, takes priority over verb tense agreement.

I did not try to analyze ἔτι δὲ καὶ in 2:26.

In summary of my analysis of chapters 1-3, καὶ functions to coordinate units of the same form class within the sentence. It also functions, also within the sentence, to mark the meaning INTENSIVE. Above the sentence, it is the only marker of COORDINATION that can occur with ἰδοὺ. Δέ occurs with μέν to mean "on the other hand" or "nevertheless". It also marks ADVERSATIVE and RESPONSE and CLIMAX. (All

of these uses of $\delta\epsilon$ also include COORDINATION between sentences.) It never occurs with $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$. Where none of these functions and limitations apply and the meaning COORDINATION is present (and it seems that in Greek you can hardly begin a sentence without marking some sort of a relation), the choice between $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\epsilon$ depends solely upon the tense of the main verb of the first main clause of the sentence: if the verb is in the imperfect tense, $\delta\epsilon$ is selected. Otherwise, $\kappa\alpha\iota$. I would like to point out that if the latter is true, the choice between $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\epsilon$ in these contexts is strictly automatic and *there is no basis for positing a meaning difference between them*.

It is also interesting to note that there is no evidence in chapters 1-3 that $\delta\epsilon$ ever functions within the bounds of the sentence. (There are some examples, however, in the Col. 2:23 article where $\delta\epsilon$ functioning with $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ occurs within the sentence.) That is, $\delta\epsilon$ seems to have the additional function of marking the beginning of a sentence, and this fact, if not disproved, should have significant consequences for the punctuation of the Greek text. Of course, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ also functions to coordinate sentences, and it is only at this level that verb tense agreement applies to it. Unfortunately, I do not know how to disambiguate the coordinating force of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ above and below sentence level; I do not know when it is beginning a sentence and when it is within a sentence. (For this reason, some may wish to take issue with some of my 37 instances of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ with non-imperfect tenses listed above, saying that these are really within the sentence. I doubt that that will reduce the number significantly, however.) I do wish that I knew, for example how many sentences there are in 2:1-4, or even if I am asking the right question.

Having arrived at the above analysis, it seemed wise to me that I should at least have a look at the passages analyzed comparatively by John Callow. I am glad I did, and I want to be the first to point out that I might never have noticed such a thing as verb tense agreement if I had started with these passages. I will take the occurrences of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\epsilon$ one by one, as Callow did, giving my explanation for the choice of one over the other, hoping not to muddy the waters completely.

5:17 I am in trouble already! I must recognize a new function of $\delta\epsilon$, to mark PARAGRAPH breaks. (A quick look through Acts shows a very high correlation of $\delta\epsilon$ with paragraph breaks. Is there any evidence that $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ever functions this way?)

5:18 This is the use of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ coordinating within the sentence, specifically, as Callow says, linking "finite verbs with the same participants as performers".

5:19 For me this is nothing more than the ADVERSATIVE use of $\delta\epsilon$. I wonder why both Levinsohn and Callow seem reluctant to recognize this function. Perhaps they are overreacting to the overgeneralization of the grammarians that $\delta\epsilon$ is always adversative, although "sometimes the adversative force almost disappears". It may occur more than we use "but" in English, but I still think that we should recognize it when it does. If Callow wants to convince me that NEW PARTICIPANT is the meaning here, he could demonstrate a high correlation between the occurrence of $\delta\epsilon$ and the introduction of new participants.

5:21a I agree with Levinsohn here— $\delta\epsilon$ marks RESPONSE. I agree with Callow on $\kappa\alpha\iota$ as "linking two finite verbs".

5:21b For me, $\delta\epsilon$ is here the surface structure clue that Callow is looking for which shows that we have a new PARAGRAPH. Otherwise, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ would have been used instead of $\delta\epsilon$. I again agree with Callow that $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is coordinating finite verbs within the sentence.

5:22a For me, the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is strictly ADVERSATIVE. Why look for something more subtle?

5:22b The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ marks RESPONSE.

5:23 The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ marks ADVERSATIVE.

5:24 Everything points to $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. It is a RESPONSE, also a mild CLIMAX or turning point. This CLIMAX is also marked, I believe, by the $\omega\varsigma$ construction, and this perhaps explains the high, though not perfect, correlation between the occurrence of $\omega\varsigma$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in Luke-Acts. (I could have improved the correlation by dropping Luke or by including the whole New Testament.) In Luke-Acts there are 30 clear occurrences of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ with $\omega\varsigma$ and 4 of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ with $\omega\varsigma$. In partial response to Callow's questions here, I would say that the difference between the $\omega\varsigma$ construction and the other temporal constructions is that the former marks this turning point. The others could be translated as "When..."; the latter requires something like "Now, when...".

5:25 This is a bit doubtful, but I would say that this $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ marks a RESPONSE, not one necessarily intended by the speakers, but nevertheless a response to the wonderings of the council.

5:27 The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ marks PARAGRAPH break. The $\kappa\alpha\iota$ may be within the sentence, but I think rather that it is the first instance in this passage of a $\kappa\alpha\iota$ selected by tense agreement; that is, I feel that a new sentence should begin with the $\kappa\alpha\iota$, but I cannot prove it.

10:9 The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ marks PARAGRAPH break. The $\kappa\alpha\iota$ coordinates the two participles. I have no idea why there should be a comma before $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and none before $\alpha\nu\epsilon\beta\eta$.

10:10a The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ here is a problem. Since $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ is aorist, the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ should be $\kappa\alpha\iota$. My solution, which has this as one of *three* applications in this passage, is that the tense agreement rule must be modified to include not only imperfect of any verb but also $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (any form of it) + STATE, as selecting $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Notice that $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ + STATE is not entirely unrelated semantically to the imperfect tense. If the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is to be interpreted as within a sentence, it is no problem, as Callow says. But the question arises in my mind whether it is within the sentence or whether it is introducing a new sentence. In the latter case, it is selected by the aorist tense of the verb.

10:10b,11,12 Another case of $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ + STATE. (Remember, we are talking about the main verb, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$.) The same problem arises with respect to $\kappa\alpha\iota$: is it within the sentence or is it beginning a new one? In the latter case, it is our first clear example of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ selected by present tense.

10:13 The $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is selected by the aorist $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$. (No STATE is involved.)

10:14 The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is marking RESPONSE.

10:15 The $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is selected by the implied $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$, to be supplied by the almost identical sentence in 10:13. (I do not know why Callow underlined $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$.)

10:16 The third example of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ selected by $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ + STATE. (The meaning is not "This happened a third time" but "These occurrences became three in number".)

10:17,18 This $\delta\epsilon$ could be a PARAGRAPH break. However, I think that it more likely marks CLIMAX here, along with the $\omega\varsigma$ construction and $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$. (The restriction on $\delta\epsilon$ occurring with $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$ holds only when they would be contiguous.) The $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is strictly coordination within the sentence.

10:19 It could be that this $\delta\epsilon$ is marking the RESPONSE of the Spirit to Peter's preoccupation and the presence of the men inquiring at the front door. But it also occurred to me that since $\delta\epsilon$ occurs with such an interesting variety of things, could it be related here to the presence of the genitive absolute? If I had accessible a good list of genitive absolutes in context, I would check out that possibility, but unfortunately, I do not. Is there anyone who could help me with this?

10:21 The $\delta\epsilon$ marks Peter's RESPONSE to the command of the Spirit.

10:22 The $\delta\epsilon$ again marks RESPONSE.

10:23b The $\delta\epsilon$ marks a new PARAGRAPH, with a new time horizon. The $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is probably coordinating finite verbs within the sentence, but it could be introducing a new sentence and be selected by the aorist tense of the main verb of it.

10:24a The $\delta\epsilon$ again marks a new PARAGRAPH, a new day again.

10:24b The $\delta\epsilon$ is selected by the periphrastic imperfect.

10:25 Perhaps the $\delta\epsilon$ here marks a PARAGRAPH break, but my preference is that it marks a minor CLIMAX or turning point. Notice it occurs again with the $\omega\varsigma$ construction, and a rather rare one at that: "Now, when the entering by Peter occurred, after Cornelius had greeted him, falling before his feet, he worshipped him!" (Probably about the last thing Peter was expecting.) (I realize I am not being very natural here. It is the best I can do at the moment to communicate what I see.)

10:26 The $\delta\epsilon$ marks RESPONSE.

10:27 The first $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is selected by the aorist. The second is either coordinating within the sentence or beginning a new sentence and selected by the present tense of the main verb.

10:30 My first response to this was confusion. This certainly looks like a RESPONSE, so why do we have $\kappa\alpha\iota$? I believe that the solution relates to the meaning of the verb $\phi\eta\mu\iota$. It is not a synonym for $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$. It seems to me that in all contexts listed in Moulton-Geden it could well be translated by something like "declare". Sometimes it can serve as a RESPONSE (and as such it is introduced by $\delta\epsilon$), but it is always more than a RESPONSE. One obvious way to downplay its function as a RESPONSE would be to introduce it with the tense-selected $\kappa\alpha\iota$, and I think that that is what is happening here. Cornelius gives a rather extensive history of his experience and describes his anticipation, and I believe that the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ intentionally removes this declaration from the role of mere response.

I would now like to update the summary of my analysis and to restate it: The conjunction $\delta\epsilon$ serves to mark various interesting grammatical (actually, discourse) phenomena, all of them, with the possible exception of certain occurrences with $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, above the sentence level. It occurs in coordination with $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ to mean "on the other hand" or "nevertheless". (This is probably a special case of ADVERSATIVE and/or CONTRAEXPECTATION.) It marks PARAGRAPH break, CLIMAX or turning point, ADVERSATIVE,

and RESPONSE. It never can occur contiguously with ὁδοῦ. It consistently occurs where a main verb in the imperfect tense or γίνομαι + STATE is being coordinated with a previous sentence. Wherever the relation of COORDINATION is present and δέ does not occur, the conjunction καί marks the relation.

A CLASSICAL NOTE ON THE RANKING OF PROPOSITIONS AND THE GREEK SENTENCE Randy Butth

Normally the head clause of a Greek sentence contains a finite verb, and any participial clause is in some subordinate relationship. Also frequent is a string of two or more clauses in addition relationships, which are semantically on the same hierarchical level but which are joined as participial clauses to a finite verb. An extended example of this type is Mark 5:25-27 where no less than seven participles lead up to the verb "she touched". Four of the participles, "suffered", "squandered", "heard", and "came" are only subordinate in their surface structure. As propositions, they are of the same rank as the finite verb "touched".

There are even examples where the surface grammar and the semantic relationships are completely reversed. The participle is in the head clause and the finite verb becomes a subordinate clause!

A clear example occurs in Plato's *Crito*, ch. 12, 50 D:

<i>Phere gar, ti</i>	<i>enkalōn</i>	<i>hēmin kai tē</i>	<i>polei</i>	<i>epixeireis</i>
Come now,	What are (you) accusing of us	and the city?		you are trying

<i>hēmas apollumi;</i>
us to destroy.

The head clause of the sentence is a question, "What charge are you bringing against us and the city?" Yet this is a participial clause. The reason for the question follows in the finite-verb clause: "(since) you are trying to destroy us". It is the context and meaning of the words themselves that lead the reader to understand the sentence in the opposite relationship from the grammatical forms. Particularly, it is the word "What?" that forces the participle "accuse" to the head of the sentence.

Conclusion

Participles *almost* invariably are the means of encoding a subordinate clause or a clause of equal rank to the main clause of the sentence. However, it must be reckoned as acceptable Greek that on occasion a writer may reverse the semantic rank and the surface structure grammar of participles and finite verbs.

COMMENTS ON "A CLASSICAL NOTE ON THE RANKING OF PROPOSITIONS AND THE GREEK SENTENCE" Robert E. Smith

In the example from Mark 5:25-27, it is possible to view the four participles, "suffered", "squandered", "heard", and "came", as being semantically coordinate with "touched". At least English style requires at least some of them to be translated as coordinate finite verbs. The use of the Greek finite verb for "touched" indicates predicate focus, prominence on "touched" as the most important of the acts leading up to the woman's healing. This type of situation is fairly common and

supports the first sentence of Buth's Conclusion.

The second sentence may also be true, although it is supported only by a single example and is based on Buth's interpretation of the passage. Unfortunately, I could not find a Greek text of Plato in the SIL library but I found an English translation which enabled me to see where it fits in broader context. It is in a passage where Socrates, who has been condemned by the law to die, indulges in an imaginary argument between the law (personified) and himself as to why he, Socrates, should submit to the judgment of the law against himself. The English rendering is "Tell us,—What complaint have you to make against us which justifies you in attempting to destroy us and the state?" The general idea seems to be that, if Socrates objects to his condemnation, he is undermining the authority of the law and the city-state which condemned him.

Taking Buth's transliteration of the Greek text as a basis, the English translation cited above seems somewhat paraphrastic in that there is no basis in the text for "justifies". But working from the Greek itself, it seems to me that a fairly literal gloss might be: "Answer! Why, by complaining against us and the city, are you attempting to destroy us?"

The *ti* is the interrogative pronoun (assuming it has an accent in the Greek). Although this may often be translated "What?", it also can mean "why?" (See Robertson's "Grammar—" at pp. 298, 487, and 738,9). The main grammatical predicate is interrogative and seems simply to be "Why are you trying to destroy us?" The participial phrase modifies the subject of the main clause, "you". The verb *egkalein* may take the dative (see §§187(5) of Blass & Debrunner, Grammar). In this view, the participial phrase would manifest a means relationship in subordination to the principal clause.

Accordingly, since Buth's gloss seems to be open to an alternate reading which militates against the second sentence of his conclusion, I feel that he has not conclusively proved this thesis.

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