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SOME FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE FRONTING IN KOINE CLAUSES

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0. Introduction

Kenneth L. and Evelyn G. Pike have stated that 'a language unit is a form-meaning composite,' with the implication that formal changes in units involve meaning changes. The formal changes in clause-ordering and their corresponding meaning changes discussed in this thesis relate to one Indo-European language. That language is Koine Greek, which was spoken and written in eastern Mediterranean countries between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. and which is the original language of the New Testament of the Bible. In 1974 I began to analyze Koine clause structure with a view to ending the debate among Koine scholars over the basic word order of clauses. However, as a beginning linguist, the multitude of possible word orders in Koine awed me, and no real progress was made at that time.

When I began my studies at the University of Texas at Arlington in 1980, I had the goal of resuming my linguistic analysis of Koine. This was for the following three reasons: First, I have always studied linguistics for the purpose of becoming a more skilled Bible translator. Second, I believe that John Beekman and John Callow are right when they say that a good translation always preserves the meaning of the original document. Finally, in order to preserve the meaning of the original, it seems obvious that the translator must have an intimate knowledge of **both** the structure of the language **from** which he is translating as well as that of the language **to** which he is translating.

During my studies, and particularly in the classes of Robert Longacre and Donald Burquest, I became acquainted with the notion that the structuring of sentences and higher-level units in languages could affect the ordering of clause constituents. Examples from many languages, among which were biblical Hebrew and modern English, were advanced to substantiate this claim. Constituents of the clause

embodying concepts that were crucial to the focal idea of larger units were positioned earlier in the clause than they would normally have been if they had not contained such crucial concepts.

With this in mind I began to analyze clause and higher-level structures in Koine. I wanted to find out what ideas were considered crucial in the New Testament writers' minds and how they signalled these in the grammatical structures of their texts.

The following seven chapters describe the results of my investigation into Koine clause-constituent ordering. In section one I present the methodology of the investigation and the evidence that the basic clause order in Koine is verb-subject-object (VSO). Then, in the following sections, I discuss six conditioning factors that shift the clause constituents from the basic VSO to other orders. I also show that these variations in clause order reinforce, rather than refute, the claim that Koine is a VSO language. Section two describes the constituent order found in relative and interrogative clauses. Section three shows the orders that result when some of the clause constituents are pronouns. Section four examines the orders found in clauses having constituents that are being compared to or contrasted with constituents in other clauses of the text. Section five discusses how negation of a clause constituent affects ordering in that clause. Section six presents the order in clauses where a new participant is first mentioned as the subject of a clause. Section seven focuses on the effect that the presence of key thematic characters, props, and concepts has on clause-ordering. These seven sections, then, form an introductory study into the factors that motivate clause-constituent-order variations in Koine.

1. The basic clause order in Koine

The first section of this thesis will concern itself with three main objectives: (1) to define the corpus of material used in this investigation and why it was used rather than some other text(s); (2) to explain the investigative methods used during the course of the research; and (3) to present the findings of the research concerning the basic word order of clauses in Koine Greek. This introduction will provide a suitable base for the discussions of factors that influence **fronting** (the placement of any constituent closer to the beginning of the clause than it would normally occur) that will come in later sections.

The selection of a text to be investigated for word-order variation is influenced by several factors. First, the text must be long enough to insure that it is an accurate representative sample of the language. However, it must also be short enough to allow detailed scrutiny without losing sight, as it were, of the larger text. Briefly stated, the

longer the text, the greater the chances that significant contextual influences will pass unnoticed. Secondly, the text should be highly regarded as a literary work, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the charge that its composer was subject to such errors as false starts, incomplete thoughts, and other performance factors that we associate with oral or dictated texts. If the author of the text being analyzed uses expressions that are not considered proper Koine by current scholarship, then the chances increase (proportional to the frequency of such ungrammatical or questionable expressions) that the text itself does not reflect the standard Koine and that the analysis is invalid as a result of this. Further, the genre of the text as a whole should be suitable to the general purpose of the investigation. For example, if one were investigating such things as time or location movement or introduction of new participants, an expository text would not usually offer as many examples as a narrative. On the other hand, when investigating word order variation, because of the assumption of many that this is related in some way to the topic of the text or some unit within the text, an expository text, with its attendant lower level units discussing a variety of viewpoints, would offer greater opportunity to study change-of-topic than would a narrative.

The text that was chosen for this investigation is the New Testament Letter to the Hebrews. It is a work that is, first of all, lengthy enough to represent the language adequately. The author does not appear to be condensing the discussion in any way to conserve space or time (cf. Dods 1980:224, Robertson 1934:132-133) as seems to be the case with certain other writings (cf. Jn. 20.30, 31, 2 Jn. 12). It is also short enough to allow a reader to pause to reflect on the discussion of various points and still be able to maintain an overview of the structure of the entire text (i.e., a reader may carefully read or study this letter at one sitting). Thirdly, the text of Hebrews is highly regarded because of its style. Robertson is very impressed with the quality found in this text:

The grammatical peculiarities are few... the presence of rhythm more than in any of the (other) N.T. books, and in general the quality of literary style more than in any other N.T. writing (p. 132).

He quotes von Soden's (1906) consideration that Hebrews is 'the best Greek' in the New Testament. Robertson (p. 133) also mentions Deissmann's (1906) view that 'Hebrews alone... "is more artistic than the other books of the N.T." ' Finally, in terms of genre, it should be said that there is no strictly expository text at our disposal.

Hebrews may come the closest, though its overall structure is clearly hortatory. Lloyd (1976:5) has analyzed the discourse structure of Hebrews and found large expository discourses embedded within the hortatory structure. Finally, the style of Hebrews shows no apparent signs of influence from biblical Hebrew. This might seem surprising considering the intended audience as well as the writer's knowledge of Jewish customs, yet Robertson (p. 132) strongly affirms that 'the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by one who apparently knew no Hebrew and read only the LXX' (i.e., the Septuagint, a Koine translation of the Hebrew Bible).

Thus, the length, the unity of theme, the quality of style, and the absence of Hebrew influence all speak for choosing Hebrews as a good text for the investigation of Koine word order.

The study of Koine word order, which is the subject of this thesis, stems from my dissatisfaction with the current Greek scholarship, specifically with the paradoxical claims that (1) no rules of clause order can be formulated accurately; and (2) clause elements out of their proper place are there for emphasis. For example, Robertson reports that:

Blass even undertakes to suggest a tentative scheme thus: predicate, subject, object, complementary participle, etc. But Winer rightly remarks that he would be an empirical expositor who would insist on any unalterable rule in the Greek sentence save that of spontaneity (p. 417).

Robertson takes Winer's remark to be a denial of the possibility of formulating rules of word order in Koine. Apparently Winer did not regard empirical study as at all desirable. Despite seeming acceptance of such a view, however, Robertson states in the very next paragraph that emphasis (not spontaneity) is:

one of the ruling ideas in the order of words. This emphasis may be at the end as well as at the beginning of the sentence, or even in the middle in case of antithesis. The emphasis consists in removing a word from its usual position to an unusual one.

This description provides us with no useful generalizations about word order in Koine. It does not characterize emphasis as to location (beginning, middle, or end). Robertson does not even provide linguistic evidence for the weak claims he does make.

Other writers have dealt with word order in much the same way as Robertson. There is much disagreement about the basic order in clauses, yet all are alike in offering no evidence in support of their views from anything like linguistic analysis. Blass (1960:287), for instance, states very assuredly that the usual order in Greek is verb-subject-object (VSO), but Summers (1950:20), Machen (1923:26-7), and Chapman (1977:86) all affirm a basic SVO clause structure. In the absence of linguistic evidence or arguments for either view, one wonders how these writers arrived at this conclusion, to what extent it represents a mere impression, and whether the order of English might be biasing their views.

In the light of this confused state of previous scholarship, I intend to undertake the task of providing linguistic evidence for a basic word order in clauses. I also wish to provide more explicit characterization of the causes of shifting syntactic elements. It was for this reason that the project made use of Paul Miller's computer program GRAMCORD to make sure that no instances of a particular linear ordering were missed. I used GRAMCORD to compile lists of various orderings in the data base (Hebrews) and Acts¹ and all the possible permutations of clause elements containing subject, verb, and object, in fact, were obtained, except for OSV. For each respective order, the accompanying contexts were examined to see if conditions could be defined for the variations. Due more to my unfamiliarity with computer-aided language research techniques than to any inadequacy of the program design, it was felt more reliable to resort to more conventional linguistic charting methods for this part of the investigation. Each of the clauses of the text of Hebrews was charted separately to determine patterns and, if possible, conditioning features. Much use was made of the techniques learned in Dr. Longacre's **Seminar in discourse analysis** (UTA 1981:L6305) in which biblical Hebrew data were charted and analyzed.

In addition to the sort of chart analysis mentioned above, I felt that more general linguistic discussions on word order and related topics would be helpful in providing ideas for possible conditioning factors. Moreover, word-order typology might present empirical tests, narrowing possibilities of basic word order in relation to the language as a whole. Although linguistic analyses which are not specifically concerned with Koine might not render a definitive answer to word order in this language, they should provide patterns, principles, and correlations that have been observed in languages of the world and so provide a framework for further investigation of Koine phenomena. This, of course, assumes that Koine is not a **totally** unique language,

but rather exhibits properties found generally in natural languages, having both conformity to universal principle and language specific uniqueness, pattern, and diversity, in its substance.

One generalization that has proven to be especially valuable was proposed by Pullum who has stated:

The fundamental principle for linearization in natural language is . . . 'the N[oun] P[hrase] constituents of a clause are linearized in their G[rammatical] R[elations] hierarchy order from left to right' (1977:272).

What he means is that it has been observed that a majority of the world's languages order their clausal noun phrases according to the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) as universal (i.e., the subject is first; the direct object is second; the indirect object is third; etc., when the clause is unmarked). Accepting this as a statistical probability, then, we may narrow the set of basic word orders in Koine from twenty-four possible orders to four: VSOI, SVOI, SOVI, or SOIV (where I stands for indirect object). Thus, clauses that have the object before the subject or the indirect object before either the subject or the direct object would be assumed to be a variant of the basic order, rather than the basic order itself.²

A suggestion that helps us interpret these variations has been advanced by Longacre, who has observed,

The degree and rigidity of the linear ordering varies . . . from language to language and from structure [to structure] within a given language. Nevertheless, linearity is a feature of surface structure, not of deep structure (1976:307).

One implication that might be drawn from this claim is that linear order is not intended to reflect the actual sequence of the event itself, but rather, the speaker's perception of it. As a result, variations in linear orders of various repetitions of a clause do not represent different truth values but different interpretations of what the clause is about. For example, the English clauses: **Mary saw John; John, Mary saw; and John was seen by Mary;** all represent the same event and have the same truth value (if one is false, they all are), but it is generally agreed that the ordering of the noun phrases signals the topic of the clause or higher-level units by placing it first. As a starting point, then, the topic of the clauses and larger units must be considered, as the investigation proceeds, to account for various clause-orderings.

Further, Pike and Pike (1977:136) have also advocated looking for conditioning of higher-level structures upon what seem to be locally free variations in the orders of clause constituents. Thus, it may be impossible to determine causes of constituent fronting by looking at the clauses alone; such things as the distribution of certain clause-orderings within sentences, sentence clusters, and sections of the text and the correlation of certain clause-orderings with certain types of sentences and sentence clusters should be worthwhile areas of investigation. In addition, we should be aware that the higher-level structures may be phonological or referential as well as grammatical in nature. For example, certain word combinations might be improper in the language because they are considered harsh to one who speaks the language, just as Dover (1968:89) has noted. Phonological rules might prohibit certain words from occurring first or last in a clause or sentence. Also, referential structures could be involved in clause-ordering if the prominence of a certain concept in terms of the whole text is signaled by means of special clause-orderings. Some cases of variation should be found that are not due to the establishment or maintenance of topic alone but are the result of quantifiable, predictable influences of grammatical or other structures on them.

Concerning the problem of discovering the basic order of elements from among a set of variants, K. Pike writes,

We speak of a **norm** for a unit (or its **normal variant**) when it is manifested by its most frequent variant; or by its nonfused; or when its borders are simultaneously borders of the grammatical, phonological, and lexemic [referential] slot which it is filling, wholly or in part . . . ; or when that variant serves as a starting place for rules to predict other variants (1976:121).

This again emphasizes the fact that the search for basic clause order in Koine involves more than the mere computation of statistics for an order which is more frequent: it also necessarily involves analysis and explanation.

So, from the helpful advice of these linguistic forerunners, the starting point and guidelines of the investigation are formulated. The statement of Pullum quoted above provides a suitable starting point, since it was felt that the weight of evidence from the world's languages would at least mean that a language having, for example, OVS and VSO clauses would **more likely** be explained by choosing a basic VSO structure than OVS.

In the following analysis, the terms and the format I will be using are from Pike and Pike (1977), and I will not attempt to argue for them here. Central in the discussion is the Pikes' four-celled tagmeme, which displays relevant features of the clause-root constituents. Such a unit is formalized as follows:

A	C
B	D

Here, the upper left cell (A) represents the **grammatical slot**, whether **nuclear** (predicate) or **marginal** (subject, adjunct); the lower left cell (B) represents the **grammatical role** (coherence) of the item in relation to the clause root as a whole (actor, scope, etc.); the upper right cell (C) represents the **grammatical class** of the item, noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), etc.; and the lower right cell (D) represents the **cohesion** of that item with other items within the clause root or in a unit higher or lower than the clause root. Number agreement between the subject and the verb of a clause is an example of cohesion between two **tagmemes** or grammatical units (morphological transfers and transforms that are triggered by the role of that unit in relation to other units is one example of a cohesion feature). When tagmemes are arrayed into larger structures, pluses and plus-minuses are used to represent whether or not the item must be present to have the larger unit; a plus before a tagmeme indicates obligatory presence; a plus-minus indicates optional occurrence.

Because of the differences among linguists as to the meaning of certain **case** labels, I should like to return to the role cell of the tagmeme for a moment to explain two of the labels used there. The role relation labeled **undergoer** resembles **patient** in other case systems except that it refers here to any direct recipient of an action whether changed or unchanged; this would not be true with the term **patient** in most case systems (Longacre 1976:27-28). Examples of clauses with undergoer noun phrases are from Pike and Pike:

he found **the dolphin**; . . .
 she swept **the house**; . . .
 he read **the book**;
 he underwent **surgery**;
 he just watched **the waves**; . . .
 the trees shaded **the path** (1977:45).

In these examples, all of the direct objects would be analyzed as bearing the undergoer role relation to the predicate.

The role relation **scope** is a bit more complicated to explain. Basically, this concept could be defined as the referent that establishes the **course of motion** for a given action. For example, in Pike and Pike:

he handed the tools **to me**; . . .
 the committee gave **John** the prize; . . .
 the letter arrived **at the office**;
 Mary left **the house**;
 they ran **to their parents**; . . .
 John lives **in New York** (p. 44-45).

In these examples, the noun phrases and prepositional phrases **to me**, **John**, **at the office**, **the house**, **to their parents**, and **in New York** are all in a scope-role relation to the predicate of the clause. In relation to other case systems (cf. Longacre 1976:25), it might be thought of as a combination of the roles of **experiencer**, **source**, **path**, **goal**, **range**, **dative**, **locative**, and **site** into one role label. In Koine clause roots, scope will usually be realized as either a dative NP (noun phrase) or a motion PP (prepositional phrase, with *πρός* 'to', *εἰς* 'into', *ἐκ* 'out of', *ἀπό* 'away from', or *διά* 'through'). On rare occasions it may be encoded as a genitive or accusative-noun phrase.

To many, the term **clause root** may be unfamiliar terminology. It is frequently used in Pike and Pike (p. 482), who define it as the **predicate** (verb) of the clause plus all attendant NP's and PP's that must be present for the sense of the action to be clear. For example, **Bill put the book** does not make a complete thought without **in his room** or **down** or some such thing. The clause root is distributed in a larger clause structure, where peripheral elements may occur.

In the first part of this section, a rationale for the selection of the Letter of the Hebrews (hereafter referred to as Hebrews) as the main data base was presented. The second part of the section was devoted to summarizing the work of linguists, in general, and Greek Koine scholars, in particular, on word order to date, in order to provide both a description of what has already been done and a framework (guidelines of possibilities) for the investigation. Much of this latter section has discussed the wide range of factors that may motivate clause-constituent fronting in Koine. With these things in mind, then, let us turn to a specific discussion of Koine event-clause roots.

An investigation of the data has shown that it is possible to collapse all of the formulae for various kinds of **event-clause** roots (i.e., transitive, intransitive, etc.) into one formula:

(1) Koine event-clause-root formula:

CL. RT. =

+ PREDICATE	VP	+ SUBJECT	NOM. NP
STATEMENT	TRANSITIVITY DETERMINER BY VP SUBCLASS	ACTOR	PERSON, NUMBER DETERMINER; PRESENCE DET'D BY PARAGRAPH 'PRONOMINALIZA- TION' RULES
+ ADJUNCT	ACC. NP	+ ADJUNCT	DAT. NP/ MOTION PP
- UNDERGOER	PRESENCE DET'D BY VP SUBCLASS	- SCOPE	PRESENCE DET'D BY VP SUBCLASS

Abbreviations: CL. RT., clause root; VP, verb phrase; NOM. nominalized; NP, noun phrase; DET'D, determined; ACC., accusative; DAT., dative.

Event-clause roots refer to propositions that involve **action** or a **change of state**. The above formula indicates that the normal emic³ order of even clause root constituents in Koine is **verb, subject, object**, then **scope**. Since the order of the nominals was assumed in the beginning, based on the implications of the Accessibility Hierarchy (see above), three questions are all that need to be asked in establishing this order:

First, what is the position of the verb with respect to the scope? Data showed that in cases where there is **minimal contextual distortion** (i.e., where no commentary indicated any emphatic or thematic elements, cf. Dods 1980 and Geytenbeek 1975), the verb always precedes the scope as in:

- (2) Heb. 4.9 ἄρα ἀπολείπεται σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ
therefore remains it (a) sabbath to-the people
(VERB) (SUBJECT) (SCOPE)

τοῦ θεοῦ
of the God.

- (3) Heb. 4.10 καὶ αὐτὸς κατέπαυσεν . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ
and he rested-he from the works of-him
(SUBJECT) (VERB) (SCOPE)

Second, what is the position of the verb with respect to the undergoer? In the same way as above, investigation reveals that the verb precedes the undergoer when distortion is not present as in:

- (4) Heb. 1.9 ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην
 you-loved righteousness
 (VERB) (UNDERGOER)

- (5) Heb. 4.2 ἀλλ' οὐκ ὠφέλησεν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐκείνους
 but not profited the word of-the hearing those ones
 (VERB) (SUBJECT) (UNDERGOER)

Finally, what is the position of the verb in relation to the subject? Using the same kind of procedure as above, it is clear that the verb comes first. Also compare examples (2) and (5) above for this order.

- (6) Heb. 4.4 καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
 and rested-he the God from all of-the
 ἔργων αὐτοῦ
 works of-him

Example (6) is particularly enlightening since it is a quote from the Old Testament book of Genesis (2:2)⁴ in which the subject of the clause is entirely represented by a verbal suffix whether in Hebrew (Masoretic Text) or the Greek Septuagint translation of it. Therefore, it must be concluded that the author of Hebrews is placing the subject NP where it should naturally occur in Greek and not borrowing from the Hebrew word order. This analysis of Koine fits amazingly well into a diachronic analysis of Greek as a whole. Hawkins (1979: 630) has analyzed Homeric Greek (i.e., pre-Koine or Classical) as having basic SOV clause structure. Greenberg (1963:107) classifies Modern Greek as SVO. At first glance, it might appear unusual that a language would have VSO clause-ordering as an intermediate stage between SOV and SVO, since a direct shift from SOV to SVO would not involve splitting what is traditionally regarded as the **predicate** of the clause (i.e., the verb plus its object, as in Chomsky [1965:63-74]), though he argues that it should be called **verb phrase**), whereas an intermediate VSO structure would. A direct SOV-to-SVO shift would only reverse the order of the verb and its object, and VSO clause structures would interrupt this process. Nevertheless, Givon (1977:242) argues strongly that VSO can mediate between two historical stages with SOV and SVO word order.

The above evidence supports the claim that Koine is a VSO language, and when this is compared with the work of Greenberg (1966)

and others, the claim can be made even stronger. Koine supports every claim of Greenberg's (1963:76-91) for VSO (as against SVO and SOV) languages. Specifically, it has prepositions, modifiers following nouns and preceding verbs, and genitives normally following nouns.

But even if the evidence favors VSO order, there are still numerous problems. In light of Pike's statement, quoted earlier, that normal variants in language may be determined in ways other than mere frequency analysis, how may we explain the outlandish rarity of VSO clauses in the data? This question may bear some relation to observations in regard to **elaborated** and **restricted** code made by some current sociolinguists.⁵ They observe that elaborated code uses fewer deictics that refer to the speech situation and stage than does restricted code, with the result that statistics tabulated for deictic reference may fluctuate depending on the code used. Within a restricted code which would have been possible in oral settings (such as narrative records or dictated letters), Koine may indeed evidence much more common usage of VSO clauses than is found in the written, elaborated text of Hebrews. It seems very likely that kinesics and/or voice quality or intensity may well control the establishment and maintenance of topic in oral language, as is frequently the case in English speech, while written language could make use of no such means. Even Robertson mentions a distinction between 'vernacular Koine' and 'literary Koine' in several places (1934:17, 34, 132-133, 417), stating that the vernacular was more closely related to oral speech, whereas the literary style was more an imitation of Classical literary style. He further implies that the literary Koine (to which Hebrews is similar) has less freedom than the vernacular. Perhaps greater freedom not to mark topics is allowable where the elements peculiar to oral communication might help demonstrate such things.

Verb-initial clause structures seem to be unstable for the same reason that deictic statistics are unstable when codes are not accounted for. The verb-initial clause assumes that something in the context has provided enough indication of topic so that topic may remain unmarked in the verb-initial clause. It is for this reason that verb-initial clauses are rarer in VSO languages than subject-initial clauses are in SVO languages because there are no unconscious statements of topic in VSO languages as there are in SVO languages. Givón (1977:238) has observed that VSO clause orders correlate with what he calls **low relative topicality**. He further states:

A VSO language is 'pragmatically schizophrenic', since the **new information** portion of the sentence is scattered on both sides of the topic/subject. Such a

conflict has been known to resolve in either one of two ways: (a) A language may choose to emphasize the 'topic to the left' principle in its **unmarked** thematization (i.e., in normal, neutral word-order) and shift from VSO to SVO . . . (b) A language may choose the **opposite** unmarked-theme principle of 'topic to the right' and resolve the conflict into VOS.

It is also noteworthy that VSO languages all have SVO as an alternate clause order whereas SVO languages never have VSO as an alternate order in declarative sentences (Greenberg 1963:79).

This section has focused on the text involved in the research project in terms of how it was chosen, the investigative methods used in the course of the research, and finally, the findings turned up by the investigation with regard to the basic word order in Koine. The evidence supports the notion that the basic clause order in Koine is VSO and that other clause-orderings may well relate to topic marking of one sort or another. However, topic marking is a concept that is hard to define; differences between topics that require marking in every occurrence within a larger unit and those that require only one marking add confusion to the study of topicalization. Also, there is the question of why marked topicalization is necessary at all, since the grammatical subject of a clause should automatically be interpreted as the topic. As a result, I have decided to use other terminology (see titles of sections 2-7) as much as possible when referring to causes of constituent reordering, to use the terms **topic** and **topicalization** only when I can define qualitatively and/or quantitatively what I mean, and to be concerned only with movements that involve **fronting** (versus postposing) of individual constituents. In the following sections some of the vast array of causes of clause-constituent fronting will be explored in detail.

2. Relative and interrogative clauses

This section will present the phenomenon called **WH movement** in terms of its occurrence in Koine, its effects, and the range of NP's and PP's that are subject to it in clauses.

The occurrence of WH words in clauses in Hebrews is quite common, some fifty-six times in thirteen sections of the text. The vast majority of these are relative pronouns, although the paucity of interrogative pronouns seems to be due to the fact that the author of Hebrews did not incorporate actual information questions into the text. Rather, questions are used solely as a rhetorical device and, as such, cannot occur that frequently. When they do occur, however,

they tend to be found in clusters (e.g., Heb. 3.16-18). Dialogue may be expected to contain more interrogative pronouns because of the opportunity for conversational turntaking and the resultant changes in flow of information, the opportunity and need for clarifying, and informative questions.

The presence of fifty examples of relative pronouns in the text provides sufficient data for rigorous study. Relative clauses can be observed to involve many subtypes, and a wide range of clause roles can be represented as relative pronouns. These relative clauses do not tend to form clusters, as was the case with interrogatives, but rather they tend to be spread out and may frequently occur alone in their respective paragraphs. One notable exception to this tendency to spread out can be seen in example (7), Heb. 1.2-4.

- (7) Heb. 1.2-4 . . . ἐν υἱῷ, δὲν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων,
 . . . in son, whom placed-he heir all-of,
 δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας ὅς . . .
 through whom also made-he the ages; who
 ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης
 sat-he on right hand the-of majesty
 ἐν ὑψηλοῖς . . .
 on heights

This example is rare and seems to be an elaborate way of introducing a new participant that will figure extensively in the discussion. At the same time it demonstrates that there are no rules which prohibit these types of clauses from occurring together, however uncommon it may be.

Clauses containing WH words form a special subset of all Koine clauses, because any clause with form (1) will 'change' in response to the presence of the WH word in a predictable pattern.

- (8) Koine interrogative/relative clause formula:

+ Margin	Interrogative/ Relative Pronoun	+ Nucleus	Clause Fragment
Relator	Case det'd by VP subclass of Cl. fragment. Gender, number det'd by referent.	Related	VP subclass determines case of relator.

In example (8) the clauses that contain WH words can be seen to have been 'restructured' into two parts, the relator and the related. The clause fragment that fills the **Nucleus** of these clauses has the same internal structure as the basic clause, see example (1) above, except that one of the NP constituents normally required by the VP subclass is obligatorily absent; the **margin-as-relator** is understood to bear the same role relation to the predicate of the clause fragment as the missing NP constituent would have borne. This division into **margin-as-relator** and **nucleus-as-related** suggests a topic-comment structure, except for one notable thing. The topic of the clause is clearly not **in** the clause, since the reader does not know how to interpret the clause by itself and must either look back (in the case of relative clauses), supply his own referent (in the case of information questions), or read on (in the case of rhetorical questions). For instance, in example (7) above, *ὅν* 'whom', *δι' οὗ* 'through whom', and *ὃς* 'who' do not provide the topics of their respective clauses but rather refer back to the topic *υἱὸν* 'son'. The relator, then, is that for which the reader must search for a referent, and the related is the comment on that referent minus the role of the referent. That is, there is no trace or marker left in the clause fragment to indicate that movement has taken place.⁶

As was stated above, relative clauses are quite common in Hebrews, and the range of clause **roles** that can be represented, appearing as the relator in such clauses, seems to be quite extensive. Some types of relativization are more common than others, however. Subjects are the most frequent relators of any one category in relative clauses, though they account only for a plurality of relative clauses, not a majority. Example (7) above shows a relative pronoun as subject in the third relative clause (i.e., *ὃς . . . ὑψηλοῖς*). It is a good example of relativization occurring where there is no other constituent movement present.

- (9) Heb. 8.5 οἷτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν
 who-pl. copy-in and shadow-in serve-they
 τῶν ἐπουρανίων
 the-of heavenlies-pl.

In example (9), Heb. 8.5, we can see that, even though other NP's (*ὑποδείγματι* and *σκιᾷ*) are being fronted in the clause, the relative pronoun (*οἷτινες*) is given **precedence** in that it always occurs first in relative constructions.

Direct objects can also function as relators; the first relative clause in example (7) above will serve to illustrate this.

Also, example (10), Heb. 6.19, shows that the relative element again occurs first when other items participate in fronting.

- (10) Heb. 6.19 ἣν ὡς ἄγκυραν ἔχομεν τῆς ψυχῆς,
which as anchor have-we the-of soul

Indeed, in Hebrews, there is no example of any NP or PP occurring before a relative pronoun within a clause.

Dative NP's can also be relative pronouns, though they are not common in Hebrews. They are the only category of candidates for **WH movement** in which the number of interrogatives outnumber the relatives.

- (11) Heb. 7.2 ᾧ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ,
whom-to also tenth of all apportioned-he Abraham

- (12) Heb. 7.4 ᾧ δεκάτην Ἀβραάμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν
whom-to tenth Abraham gave-he of the
ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης
spoils-pl. the patriarch

Examples (11), Heb. 7.2, and (12), Heb. 7.4, are the only dative-case relatives in Hebrews.

The final category of NP's that may be found as relatives in Hebrews is the genitives. These are unusual constructions, since the genitive NP does not participate directly in the action of the clause in which it occurs, but rather, represents some sort of possessive or source relation to one of the other NP's or PP's in the clause. The other three common cases had a direct relation to the verb of the clause. As such, they were not hard to translate into English. The genitive relative pronoun also is not hard to translate if it is personal—see the free translation of example (14) below. But when the genitival relative is impersonal, as in example (13), there is greater difficulty providing an English translation. From this we can see that the primary relativization strategy (Keenan and Comrie 1977) is more extensive in Koine than in English.

- (13) Heb. 12.19 ἧς οἱ ἀκούσαντες παρητήσαντο μὴ
which-of the-pl. ones-who heard begged-they not
προστεθῆναι αὐτοῖς λόγον
to-be-set-before them-to word

- (14) Heb. 12.26 οὗ ἡ φωνὴ τὴν γῆν ἐσάλευσεν τότε
whom-of the voice the earth shook-it formerly

Notice that, in examples (13), Heb. 12.19, and (14), Heb. 12.26, not only are the relative pronouns placed at the beginning of the clause as relators, but the rest of the NP which is a constituent together with the genitive relative follows immediately after the relative, apparently to specify the noun which the genitive is modifying. This sort of NP attraction is called **pied piping** by Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1973:456). It is worth noting also that, as in both of the examples, so in all of the occurrences in the text, the relativized genitive always modifies the subject of the relative clause. This could be a restriction placed on the occurrence of genitival relative pronouns in accordance with Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy (1977)⁷, but the small number of examples of genitival relatives in the text (five) make it impossible to affirm this dogmatically.

A second area in which relativization produces a slightly different form from that described in example (8) is that of relativized prepositional phrases. Though these are very common as a group, they are hard to study in detail because, although there are many prepositions, there are not many examples of individual prepositions (no relativized prepositional phrase, PP occurs more than three times with the same preposition). Of seventeen prepositions that occur commonly in Koine, ten occur in the text as part of relativized constructions.

- (15) Heb. 2.11 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται
because of which reason not be ashamed-he

ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν
brothers them call-to

- (16) Heb. 7.14 εἰς ἣν φυλὴν περὶ ἱερέων
unto which tribe concerning priests

οὐδὲν Μωϋσῆς ἐλάλησεν.
nothing Moses said-he

- (17) Heb. 2.5 περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν
concerning which speak-we

- (18) Heb. 10.32 ἐν αἷς φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν
in which after-being great contest

ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων
endured-you(pl.) suffering-of(pl.)

- (19) Heb. 13.23 μεθ' οὗ ἐὰν τάχιον ἐρχηται ὁψομαι
with whom if quickly should-come he will-see-I

ὕμᾱς
you(pl.)

Notice that, in these examples, some are complex, involving fronting of many NP's and PP's, as in examples (16), Heb. 7.14, (18), Heb. 10.32, and (19), Heb. 13.23, while other examples, such as (7) above, (15), Heb. 2.11, and (17), Heb. 2.5, are very simple. Also notice that the preposition still occurs before the word it modifies, so it can be seen that the placement of prepositions takes precedence over relativization (i.e., relativization must front the entire PP containing the relative NP), while relativization precedes other forms of fronting (as is discussed above). The attraction of the preposition to its position before the relative pronoun is also called **pied piping** (Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee 1973:459). In Koine the pied piping principle is not restricted in PP's as in English **preposition stranding** (Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee, 459-464).

Interrogative clauses, while not as common as relative clauses in our text, seem to manifest the same general principles and forms that relative clauses do, as might be expected from the discussion on relative and interrogative pronouns at the beginning of this section. Treatment of the two could in fact be conflated, were it not that there is no phonetic similarity between the two classes of words. In the face of this, some might be reluctant to accept the analysis here without separate treatment. The examples of interrogatives encountered in the text will all be given in examples (20) through (25), so that those who might doubt that rules which apply to relatives will also apply to interrogatives may investigate for themselves.

(20) Heb. 3.16 τίνες γὰρ ἀκούσαντες παρεπύκρναν;
who for having-heard provoked-they

(21) Heb. 11.32 Καὶ τί ἔτι λέγω;
and what yet say-I

(22) Heb. 1.5 Τίνι γὰρ εἶπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων . . . ;
which-to for said-he ever the-of angels

(23) Heb. 3.17 τίσιν δὲ προσώχθισεν τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη;
whom-with but be-angry-he forty years

(24) Heb. 3.18 τίσιν δὲ ὥμοσεν μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθαι εἰς
whom-with but swore-he not enter-to unto

τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ εἰ μὴ τοῖς
the rest him-of if not the-to(pl.)

ἀπειθήσασιν;
ones-who-were-disobedient

- (25) Heb. 1.13 πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰρηκέν ποτε . . . ;
to which but the-of angels(pl.) said-he ever

There is not much data to base claims on, but one thing that may be observed is the absence of genitive interrogatives in Hebrews. This may be a happenstance, or it may be a rule resulting from the Accessibility Hierarchy. Secondly, it may be noticed that, aside from prepositions, modifiers of interrogative words may remain in their normal places or may be moved, but it is apparently not due to the interrogative. Compare examples (22) and (25) for the placement of τῶν ἀγγέλων 'of the angels' within the clause on two separate occasions.

In summary then, the basic clause structure in Koine is ordered in a certain way when the sentence level grammar calls for a relative or interrogative clause. The clause is formed into two parts, a **marginal relator** and a **nuclear-related** part. The nuclear-related part contains a clause fragment ordered according to the principles of basic clause structuring, except that it has one noun phrase missing that normally would be required for the sake of completeness of meaning. The marginal relator contains a pronoun (relative or interrogative) that bears the case-marking of the noun phrase missing from the clause fragment and the gender and number of the referent that the clause fragment modifies. The ordering of these clauses when they occur is always relator first, then related. The constituents that participate in relativization and interrogation in Koine are more extensive than in English and can involve not only all immediate constituents of the clause but also genitival modifiers (whether personal or impersonal) of the nominative noun (subject) of the clause.

3. Clauses that contain pronouns

A second variation from the basic clause-ordering involves clauses which have one or more slots filled by pronouns. Longacre (in personal communication) has observed that pronominal-clause constituents are treated differently than NP constituents in biblical Hebrew clauses. The differences in treatment produce differences in clause order according to which constituents have been pronominalized. Since the basic order of the clauses in the Hebrew that Longacre was analyzing was VSO, I began to investigate the influence of pronouns in Koine on clause order. I was amazed to discover the diversity of clause orders possible when pronominal constituents were

involved, but gradually patterns began to emerge that allow the treatment of all clauses containing pronominal constituents in one discussion. This section presents details of this clause type and the rules by which one may formulate pronoun incorporating clauses from the basic clause formula in example (1).

As stated in section 2, pronouns lack autonomous reference in that they do not refer in an unmediated manner to objects or people (as do **chair**, **cat**, **man**, etc.) but demand some contextual entity, either a part of the communication situation or the 'surrounding' text. As a result, the rules which place these items in their clauses show regular deviation from basic clause patterns. The failure to observe this phenomenon has partially accounted for the confusion over basic clause order discussed in section 1. The following discussion will attempt to clear up this confusion as well as provide still more support to the basic clause formula proposed in section 1.

In example (26), Heb. 10.30, there is the simplest of possible clause constructions involving a nominative pronoun and a verb.

- (26) Heb. 10.30 ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω
I will repay

I will repay;

One may notice that the pronoun occurs in front of the verb rather than after it as it would if it were a full noun phrase.

- (27) Heb. 12.26 Ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω οὐ μόνον τὴν
Yet once I will shake not only the

γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.
earth but also the heaven.

Yet once more I will shake not only the earth,
but also the heaven.

In example (27), Heb. 12.26, one may notice that the clause modifier occurring before the pronoun and the complex direct object that follows the verb are not affected by the fronting of the subject pronoun ἐγὼ 'I'.

Example (28), Heb. 1.5, shows what happens when both the subject and the direct object are pronouns.

- (28) ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε
I today have begotten you

Today I have begotten You

Notice that the subject is placed before the verb and also before the verbal modifier σήμερον ‘today’ whereas the direct object pronoun remains following the verb. This indicates a regular pattern for clauses that contain two pronominal constituents (see table 1).

Table 1: Matrix showing the influence of pronominal constituents on otherwise unmarked clause orders

	-PRO	PRO S	PRO DO	PRO Sc	PRO S&DO	PRO DO &Sc
NP S	VS	—	VOS	VScS	—	?
NP DO	VO	SVO	—	VScO	—	?
NP Sc	VSc	SVSc	VOSc	—	SVOSc	—
NP S&DO	VSO	—	—	VScSO	—	—
NP S&Sc	VSSc	—	VOSSc	—	—	—
NP DO&Sc	VOSc	SVOSc	—	—	—	—
NP S,DO&Sc	VSOsc	—	—	—	—	—

Abbreviations: NP, noun phrase; PRO, pronoun; S, subject; DO, direct object; Sc, scope; V, verb; ?, not found in the data; —, not possible.

The horizontal parameter indicates pronominal constituents present in the clause; the vertical parameter indicates noun phrase constituents present. Junctures of the two parameters are labeled with the clause order that would normally result from whatever constituents are present according to the parameters.

In a still more complex construction, example (29), Heb. 12.1, shows that the subject pronoun is fronted even when other noun phrases or prepositional phrases (as in this case) are fronted.

- (29) Τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς, τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες
Therefore also we such having

περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὄγκον
lying around us a cloud of witnesses encumbrance

ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον
putting away every and the most besetting

ἁμαρτίαν, εἰ' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν
sin through endurance let us run the

προκείμενον ὑμῖν ἄγωνα,
set before us race.

Therefore, since we have so great a cloud of witnesses surrounding us, let us also lay aside every encumbrance, and the sin which so easily entangles us, and let us run with endurance the race that is set before us.

In addition, this sentence also shows that the subject pronoun is given **precedence**, that is, occurs before any other noun phrase or prepositional phrase that may occur in a preverbal position.

Examples (30) through (32) demonstrate that other pronouns may be involved in this sort of fronting.

- (30) αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις
they will perish you but remain;

They will perish, but you remain;

- (31) σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας,
You at beginnings Lord the earth founded

You, Lord, in the beginning, laid the foundation of the earth,

- (32) ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἀρνάσασθε,
you but the holy and just denied

καὶ ἠτήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν,
and asked a man a murderer to be given to you

But you disowned the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted to you.

In example (30), Heb. 1.11, there are two simple clauses in which the second and third person nominative pronouns have been fronted to preverbal slots. Example (31), Heb. 1.10, contains the complexity of example (29) involving a second person pronoun σύ. Example (32), Acts 3.14, is particularly interesting because it can be seen that the rule holds true for pronominal positioning even when the clause involves the sort of artistic **chiasmus**⁸ that this example shows. Example (32) begins and ends with pronouns, ὑμεῖς 'you (pl.)' and ὑμῖν 'to you (pl.)'. The former pronoun is followed by a descriptive or appositive phrase referring to Jesus; the latter pronoun is preceded by a descriptive phrase referring to Barabbas. The conjunction καὶ 'and' occurs in the middle of this chiasmus, surrounded on either side by the two main verbs of the clauses. This forms a three-part chiasmus around the conjunction that unites the clause (and shows great

artistic and rhetorical skill). Nonetheless, the pronominal rules, as stated, remain valid. (Note that dative pronouns are handled differently than nominative ones).

A consideration of examples (26) through (32) reveals that the basic clause formula shown in example (1) must be changed to **subject-as-actor** first, then **predicate-as-statement**, if the subject-as-actor slot is filled by a nominative pronoun. This is the only modification of the basic clause formula caused by the nominative pronoun.

- (33) ἐπιλείψει με γὰρ διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος
will fail me for recounting the time

For time will fail me if I tell . . .

When dealing with object pronouns, a different rule comes into effect. In example (33), Heb. 11.32, it may be observed that the object pronoun is not fronted to the preverbal slot, but to an immediately postverbal one (see table 1). In example (34) (Heb. 3.9), a particularly interesting case in which the pronoun does not occur in the best manuscripts, the rule for direct object pronoun movement has even stronger evidence, considering where the addition has been made in some of the less reliable manuscripts.

- (34) οὗ ἐπείρασαν (μὲ) οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ
of which tempted me the fathers of you in proving

Where your fathers tempted Me by testing Me . . .

The marginal reading indicates that the pronoun occurs, not after the noun phrase where it could have occurred if it had been a full noun phrase but rather in an immediately postverbal position preceding the subject of the clause. This, then, would produce a basic ordering of verb, then object, then subject, when the object is a pronoun.

Example (35), Acts 16.10, is a further case of an object being fronted when it occurs as a pronoun.

- (35) ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτούς.
that has called us the God to evangelize them

. . . that God had called us to preach the gospel to them.

Notice the dependent clause which occurs in this example. Object fronting can cause interruption in dependent clauses. This has been observed not only in infinitival clauses but also in other sorts of clauses as well.

- (36) ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν·
 you loved righteousness and hated lawlessness
 διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου
 because of this anointed you the God, the God of you

ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου.
 oil of gladness above the fellows of you

Thou hast loved righteousness and hated lawlessness;
 Therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of
 gladness above Thy companions.

Example (36), Heb. 1.9, shows that other pronouns besides first person can be involved in this kind of fronting.

The change in the basic clause-ordering, described in example (1) when the **adjunct-as-undergoer**⁹ (i.e., direct object) is a pronoun, involves the interchanging of the **subject-as-actor** and **adjunct-as-undergoer** slots if subject-as-actor is a full noun phrase. This rule will not interchange object and subject, however, if the subject has already been fronted by means of the subject-fronting rule described above. In example (28) above, such a case can be seen. Where the subject pronoun has been fronted before the verb, the direct object pronoun then occurs immediately following the verb, and there is no subject-as-actor slot following that direct object, since there has already been a subject-as-actor slot filled in that clause. The particular modification to the basic clause formula can be seen to be verb, then object, then subject (VOS) only when the object occurs as a pronoun and the subject is a noun phrase.

The occurrence of dative pronouns also causes modifications to the basic clause formula. Dative pronouns are put in immediately postverbal slots as is the case with object pronouns (see table 1).

- (37) τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;
 what will do to me a man

What shall man do to me?

This can be seen even within interrogative clauses, such as in example (37), Heb.13.6.

It may also be seen that the dative pronoun can be fronted by other rules as well. In example (38), Heb. 2.13, there is such a case.

- (38) ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.
 behold I and the children which to me gave the God

Behold I and the children whom God has given me.

The normal place for the pronoun *μοι* 'to me' to have occurred is immediately following the verb and immediately preceding the subject of that clause. Some other conditioning factor is apparently influencing the dative pronoun's occurrence before the verb. Whatever the factor, it is most certainly Koine, for the Hebrew of the passage being quoted (Isaiah 8.18, Masoretic Text) has the personal pronoun 'to me' after the verb in its clause.

In the early stages of investigation of dative pronouns, I thought that dative pronouns could be interchanged with object noun phrases in the clause formula. However, examples (39), 2 Tim. 1.7, and (40), Acts 27.24, confirm that dative pronouns do not advance one slot, but rather advance to the immediately postverbal slot described earlier in reference to direct object pronouns.

- (39) οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας, ἀλλὰ
 not for gave to us the God a spirit of fear but
 δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ.
 of power and of love and of a sound mind

For God has not given us a spirit of timidity, but of power
 and love and discipline.

This is not exemplified in the text of Hebrews, but by these two examples from Paul's second letter to Timothy and Luke's Acts of the Apostles. In example (39) it may be seen that *ἡμῖν* 'to us' would have occurred after *πνεῦμα δειλίας* 'a spirit of cowardice' if it had been a full noun phrase. The introduction of the dative pronoun does not advance the dative one slot only, but advances it to the postverbal position as shown in this example. Example (40) shows a similar situation.

- (40) καὶ ἰδοὺ κεχάρισται σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλέοντας
 and behold has given to you the God all the sailing
 μετὰ σοῦ.
 with you
 and behold, God has granted you all those who are sailing
 with you.

σοι 'to you' would have occurred at the end of the sentence if it had been a full noun phrase.

Example (41), Rom. 9.29, shows that other types of fronting may occur in clauses in which the dative pronoun has been fronted.

- (41) εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα,
if not Lord of hosts left to us a seed

Except the Lord of Hosts had left to us a posterity,

It was examples of this type that masked this generalization of dative advancement to postverbal position. The occurrence of clauses containing verbs, subjects, objects and datives is exceedingly rare. Therefore, the conclusions advanced in this section are somewhat tentative with regard to the postverbal placement of dative pronouns, but they seem to hold true in all of the texts which have been investigated at present.

Example (42), Heb. 13.7, shows that datives occur in immediately postverbal position even when the rule for relative clause formation has been implemented.

- (42) Μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν
remember the ones who lead you who spoke
ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ,
to you the word of the God

This indicates that the rules for pronominal fronting are independent of relative clause and interrogative clause formation. Therefore, I conclude that the movement of the **adjunct-as-scope** slot to immediately postpredicate position occurs without regard for the placement of **subject-as-actor** or **adjunct-as-undergoer** slots. Regrettably, I did not find examples in my data in which both the adjunct as undergoer and the adjunct as scope were found in order to compare and see which one goes immediately postverbal. From a comparison with others of the world's languages, the presumption might be advanced that the direct object pronoun would occur immediately postverbal followed by the dative pronoun, but only examples from Koine data would be acceptable in supporting a firm rule regarding this.

In conclusion, then, we can see that pronouns are handled differently than full noun phrases in Koine clauses. Note that the subject pronoun is the only pronoun marked obligatorily on the verb. Also, the subject pronoun is the only one that is fronted before the verb in its occurrences. This may indicate some sort of emphatic use in the pronouns, as has been assumed by Greek scholars through the years. Given the fact, however, that subject reference is obligatorily marked on the verb, placement of the subject pronoun, when it occurs, may be governed by topic/comment structures, that is, given/new information structures advanced by various linguists to explain ordering of noun phrases within the clause. The observations of various schools

on information structures, particularly epitomized in the Prague school's functional sentence perspective (Sgall 1967, Firbas 1970), raise several questions concerning both topic/comment and given/new structures. It is assumed that that which comes earlier in the sentence is the given information and that which comes later in the sentence is the new information. One might say that the dichotomy is between unnecessary and necessary occurrences of constituents in the clauses. With this possibility it becomes of utmost importance to understand why a pronoun occurs at all if it is nonessential to the clause predication, that is, its **occurrence** is nonessential to the clause predication **for understanding**. What is meant by this claim is the very fact that given information is mentioned again, when it would not be necessary to do so, indicating some special importance. One might say that in Koine whatever occurs before the verb is being placed in a specially important position; whatever occurs after the verb is not decreased in importance but is a part only of the predication, not the topic, and as such, it has its own importance relative to that particular clause structure, but not in reference to higher-level structures. That which occurs before the predication is, in some way, in focus in the consideration of the author. Speculation of this sort may only be implied by the findings of research into WH movement and pronominal fronting but will be seen to be required by the research done on full noun phrases when they occur in front of the verb. Fuller discussion of these noun phrases will come in the following sections.

4. Correlative constructions

This section deals with the effects produced in clause-ordering when clauses have the notion of **correlation** as their basic function. When correlations are being made, it is obviously of utmost importance to identify exactly the items being compared. Koine has a specific way of marking such items so that there is no confusion over the points of similarity for any given case. Whereas many languages might mark this feature using special particles or intonation (as in English), Koine moves noun phrases and prepositional phrases forward in their respective clauses. This is a particularly interesting phenomenon because in Koine the process is so consistent, and yet it has been so long ignored among those searching for causes of clause-ordering in Koine, perhaps because a majority of linguists have not written about correlative constructions influencing grammar in languages.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is a particularly fruitful text to study clause-constituent orders resulting from correlative constructions

since its main purpose is a comparison of the new covenant between God and man with the old, and its author compares these two covenants point by point and item by item. The text offered a wide range of subtypes of correlative constructions which fall into four main categories. This section discusses each of those subtypes as well as their resulting constituent orders.

The first major subtype of correlative clauses involves the use of the conjunctions μέν 'indeed' and δέ 'but'. The most frequent occurrence of this subtype uses both μέν and δέ in adjacent main clauses. Noun phrases or prepositional phrases that are being compared in these two clauses are both placed before the verb in each clause. When used together, the two conjunctions usually mean 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand' respectively. In effect, by fronting these noun phrases or prepositional phrases, the author is stating what he holds in each hand when he says 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand'. Compare examples (43) and (44).

In example (43), Heb. 7.5-6, those who are of the lineage of Levi are being compared with Abraham, who is not of the Levitical genealogy at all.

- (43) καὶ οἱ μέν ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λεὼν τὴν ἱερατείαν
 and the indeed of the sons of Levi the priesthood
 λαμβάνοντες ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν ἀποδεκατοῦν τὸν λαὸν
 who receive a command have to tithe the people
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν,
 according to the law this is the brothers of them
 καίπερ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος Ἀβραάμ· ὁ
 though having come forth out of the loin of Abraham the
 δὲ μὴ γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν δεδεκάτωκεν Ἀβραάμ,
 but not reckoning lineage from them has tithed Abraham
 καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας εὐλόγηκεν.
 and the one having the promises he blessed

And those indeed of the sons of Levi who receive the priest's office have commandment in the Law to collect a tenth from the people, that is, from their brethren, although these are descended from Abraham. But the one whose genealogy is not traced from them collected a tenth from Abraham, and blessed the one who had the promises.

The correlation shows that the progenitor of Levi paid tithes to the one who did not have a lineage from Levi, even though it was the Levites whose task it was to collect tithes. This contrasts the priesthood of Levi and the priesthood of another not of Levi, whose name was Melchizedek. In example (44), Heb. 10.11-12, we see a similar sort of comparison.

- (44) Καὶ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς ἔστηκεν καθ' ἡμέραν
and every indeed priest stands according today
λειτουργῶν καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πολλάκις προσφέρων θυσίας,
ministering and the same often offering sacrifices
αἵτινες οὐδέποτε δύνανται περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας. οὗτος δὲ
which never are able to take away sins this but
μίαν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν προσενέγκας θυσίαν εἰς
one on behalf of sins having offered a sacrifice unto
τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ,
the perpetuity sat on right of the God

And every priest stands daily ministering and offering time after time the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins; but He, having offered one sacrifice for sins for all time, sat down at the right hand of God.

In Heb. 10.11 those who are priests, that is, of Levi, ἔστηκεν 'stand' as they offer sacrifices. But in verse 12 the one who already offered sacrifices for sin also ἐκάθισεν 'sat'. The contrast, then, is not only between the priesthood of Levi and this one, Jesus, who is from the priesthood of Melchizedek, but also between the verbal actions of 'standing', on the one hand, and 'sitting' on the other.

The effect is essentially the same if the predicate of the second clause has been deleted. This is shown in example (45), Heb. 1.7-8.

- (45) καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει, Ὁ ποιῶν
and to indeed the angels he says the one making
τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ
the angels of him spirits and the ministers of him
πυρὸς φλόγα· πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, Ὁ θρόνος σου,
of fire a flame to but the son the throne of you
ὁ θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς
the God unto the age of the age and the rod of the

εὐθύτητος ῥαβδος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.
uprightness rod of the kingdom of him

And of the angels He says, 'Who makes His angels winds, and his ministers a flame of fire.' But of the Son He says, 'Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever, and the righteous scepter is the scepter of His kingdom.'

The comparison here is between the angels and the Son as addressees of the speech God makes. In verse 7 he says one thing to the angels. In verse 8 he says something else to the Son. The predicate λέγει 'he says' is deleted in the second clause because it would be identical with that in verse 7.

Sometimes only δέ 'but' is used. The effects produced are like a sort of mirror structure in which the phrases that are contrasted follow verb 1 and precede verb 2 in the adjacent main clauses. See example (46), Heb. 9.25, 26.

- (46) οὐδ' ἵνα πολλάκις προσφέρῃ ἑαυτὸν, ὥσπερ ὁ
not that often he should offer himself even as the
ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ ἅγια κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
high priest enters unto the holies according to year
ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ, ἐπεὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν πολλάκις παθεῖν
with blood stranger's since it fitted him often to suffer
ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· νυνὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ
from foundation of world now but once on completion
τῶν αἰώνων εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς
of the ages unto annulment of the sins through the
θυσίας αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται.
sacrifice of him he has been revealed

nor was it that He should offer Himself often, as the high priest enters the holy place year after year with blood not his own. Otherwise, He would have needed to suffer often since the foundation of the world; but now once at the consummation He has been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.

The phrases εἰς τὰ ἅγια 'into the holy place', κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν 'yearly', and ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ 'with the blood of another' are being compared respectively to ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων 'once for all', εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας 'unto the putting away of sins' and διὰ

τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ 'by the offering of himself'. Now if clause 2 has no verb, then the contrasted phrases of clause 1 are fronted to mark the contrast, as in example (47), Heb. 7.28.

- (47) ὁ νόμος γὰρ ἀνθρώπους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς
 the law for men appoints priests
 ἔχοντας ἀσθένειαν, ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς ὀρκωμοσίας τῆς
 having weakness the word but of the oath of the
 μετὰ τὸν νόμον υἱὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον.
 after the law a son unto the age having been perfected

For the Law appoints men as high priests who are weak, but the word of the oath, which came after the Law, appoints a Son, made perfect forever.

The law is being contrasted with the word of the oath that came after the law in this verse. In addition, differences between ordinary men and 'The Son' are being highlighted. The phrases, ὁ νόμος 'the law' and ἀνθρώπους 'men', are fronted in the first clause before the verb καθίστησιν 'appoints' in order to show clearly the comparison between those items.

On one occasion in the text, the word μέν occurs alone. See example (48), Heb. 12.9.

- (48) εἶτα τοὺς μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν πατέρας
 furthermore the indeed of the flesh of us fathers
 εἶχομεν παιδευτὰς καὶ ἐνετρεπόμεθα· οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον
 we had correctors and we feared not much more
 ὑποταγησόμεθα τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ
 we shall be subject to the father of the spirits and
 ζήσομεν·
 we shall live

Furthermore, we had earthly fathers to discipline us, and we respected them; shall we not much rather be subject to the Father of spirits and live?

It cannot be said for certain what else accomplishes the comparison and its attendant effects, whether the comparative adverb in clause 2 or the interrogative nature of the sentence. I would expect that τῷ πατρί 'to the father' of clause 2 would have occurred before the verb as does πατέρας 'fathers' of clause 1 to make the contrast, just as when μέν and δέ occur together, but this may just be a characteristic of constructions in which μέν occurs alone.

A second subtype of correlative clauses uses other conjunctions. These conjunctions are not contrastive, as were μέν and δέ, but rather show similarities.

In the majority of cases, conjunctions of this type involve a placing of the subject before the verb of the clause in which the conjunction occurs. Example (49), Heb. 5.5, uses the conjunction οὕτως καί which means 'likewise' or 'so'.

- (49) Οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν
so also the Christ not himself glorified

γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα, ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν,
to become a high priest but the one who said to him

Ψιὸς μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε·
a son of me are you I today have begotten you

So also Christ did not glorify Himself so as to become a high priest, but He who said to Him, 'You are My Son, today I have begotten You';

What is being compared here is the Christ 'likewise' not taking the honor to himself to be made high priest but, as is the case with every high priest, receiving the honor by being called of God to that office (cf. Heb. 5.4 with 5.5). In example (50), Heb. 9.24-25, the conjunction ὥσπερ 'as' is used.

- (50) οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα εἰσῆλθεν ἅγια Χριστός,
not for unto made with hands entered holies Christ

ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν,
figures of the true but unto itself the heaven

νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ
now to appear in the face of the God on behalf

ἡμῶν· οὐδ' ἵνα πολλάκις προσφέρῃ ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ ὁ
of us not that often he should offer himself even as the

ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ ἅγια κατ'
high priest enters into the holies according to

ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ,
year with blood stranger's

For Christ did not enter a holy place made with hands, a mere copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us; nor was it that

He should offer Himself often, as the high priest enters the holy place year after year with blood not his own.

This is a complex correlation; one might say that it is a comparison within a contrast. In general, the function of this construction is a contrast between the Son, Jesus, and the high priest. The high priest enters into the holy place yearly with the blood that is not his own. Since the high priest is being contrasted with Jesus in example (46), it might be hard to see the similarities between the high priest and Jesus. However, the actual similarity rests in their office, that is, they are both high priests. The one high priest mentioned in verse 25 is an earthly high priest serving in an earthly temple or tabernacle. The one to whom he is being compared is, like him, also a high priest, but the dissimilarities that have been pointed out above overshadow the similarities. Nonetheless, the similarities of office are highlighted in this example and, correspondingly, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς 'the high priest' occurs before the verb in its clause.

The conjunction ὥς 'as' influences dative (i.e., indirect object) noun phrases in the data at hand. In examples (51), Heb. 12.5, and (52), Heb. 12.7, the comparison is not between the clauses but between the situation as it would be if the addressees were to be judged by God on their own merit and the actual situation wherein the addressees are being treated as God's sons.

- (51) καὶ ἐκέλεσθε τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἣτις ὑμῖν
 and you have forgotten the exhortation which to you
 ὥς υἱοῖς διαλέγεται, Υἱέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγώρει
 as with sons reasons son of me not count light
 παιδείας κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος·
 of discipline of Lord nor faint by him being reproved
 and you have forgotten the exhortation which is addressed to
 you as sons, 'My son, do not regard lightly the discipline
 of the Lord, nor faint when you are reproved by Him.'
- (52) εἰς παιδείαν ὑπομένετε ὥς υἱοῖς ὑμῖν
 unto discipline you endure as with sons with you
 προσφέρεται ὁ θεός· τίς γὰρ υἱὸς ὃν οὐ
 is dealing the God who for son which not
 παιδεύει πατὴρ;
 disciplines a father

It is for discipline that you endure; God deals with you as with sons; for what son is there whom his father does not discipline?

This, then, is not a comparison of two clauses, as in the cases above, but it is rather a comparison of an unreal situation, that is, the addressees on their own versus the actual situation, the addressees as sons of God. Notice that the relative order of the expressions ὑμῖν 'you' and ὡς υἱοῖς 'as sons' is reversed in verses 5 and 7. This may be due to a higher-level conditioning factor not at present available from our analysis. It may also be possible that this is a free variation. But note that both phrases must occur before the verb in each of the two clauses.

οὕτω 'so', in its lone occurrence, fronts a nominative adjective. Example (53), Heb. 12.21, shows that φοβερόν 'fearful' occurs before the verb to show the degree of fear.

- (53) καί, οὕτω φοβερόν ἦν τὸ φανταζόμενον, Μωϋσῆς
and so fearful was the appearing Moses

εἶπεν, Ἐκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἐντρομος.
said terrified I am and trembling

And so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, 'I am full of fear and trembling.'

What happened on the mountain was so fearful that Moses, who is typically regarded as 'the friend of God', himself said, 'I am full of fear and trembling.' The degree to which fear is expressed is then the main focus of the comparison that is being made. The focus of Heb. 12.15-29 (in which this example occurs) is that we should be aware that the present situation is even more awesome than the former one. God is not to be taken lightly; he is 'a consuming fire.'

A third correlative clause subtype uses a variety of comparative adjectives or adverbs. These comparisons can, but do not always, involve more than one clause. This depends upon the nature of the comparison and the grammatical and referential structures which reflect this.

In general, it may be said that comparative adjectives occur before the verbs in their clauses. The whole noun phrase may be fronted. Example (54), Heb. 3.3, shows this.

- (54) πλείονος γὰρ οὗτος δόξης παρὰ Μωϋσῆν
of more for this of glory than Moses

ἡξιάται καθ' ὅσον πλείονα
has been counted worthy according to as much more

τιμὴν ἔχει τοῦ οἴκου ὁ κατασκευάσας αὐτόν.
honor he has of the house the one who prepared it

For He has been counted worthy of more glory than Moses,
by just so much as the builder of the house has more honor
than the house.

Both the adjective πλείονα 'greater' and its accompanying noun τιμὴν 'honor' occur before the verb.

- (55) κατὰ τοσούτο καὶ κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν
according to so much also of a better covenant has become
ἔγγυος Ἰησοῦς.
a surety Jesus

So much the more also Jesus has become the guarantee
of a better covenant.

In example (55), Heb. 7.22, note that the whole genitive noun phrase, κρείττονος διαθήκης 'of a greater covenant' occurs before the verb but not what it modifies; ἔγγυος 'guarantee' remains after the verb. In example (56), Heb. 8.6, however, a different sort of structuring is present; the comparative adjective occurs alone before the verb.

- (56) νυνὶ δὲ διαφορωτέρας τέτυχεν
now but a more excellent he has obtained
λειτουργίας, ὥσῳ καὶ κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης
ministry in so much also a better he is of a covenant
μεσίτης, ἥτις ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν ἐπαγγελίαις νενομοθέτηται.
mediator which on better promises has been enacted

But now he has obtained a more excellent ministry, by as
much as he is also the mediator of a better covenant, which
has been enacted on better promises.

διαφορωτέρας 'better' modifies λειτουργίας 'service' but, nevertheless, is separated from it by the verb of that clause. In the same way, κρείττονός 'a better' occurs before the verb in its clause even though it modifies διαθήκης 'covenant'.

The choice between the two types of comparative adjective treatments described above seems to be conditioned by as yet undetermined factors. These may be grammatical or referential in nature.

When the comparative adjective is used with *παρὰ* 'than', all of the noun phrase as well as both compared items occur before the verb. See example (57), Heb. 11.4.

- (57) Πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἀβελ παρὰ Κάϊν
by faith a greater sacrifice Abel than Cain

προσήνεγκεν τῷ θεῷ, δι' ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη
offered to the God through which he was witnessed of
εἶναι δίκαιος, μαρτυροῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ τοῦ
to be just witnessing on the gifts of him of the
θεοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖ.
God and through it having died yet he speaks

By faith Abel offered to God a better sacrifice than Cain, through which he obtained the testimony that he was righteous, God testifying about his gifts, and through it, though he is dead, he still speaks.

In this example, *πλείονα θυσίαν* 'better sacrifice' is fronted as well as *Ἀβελ* 'Abel' and *παρὰ Κάϊν* 'than Cain'. This highlights not only the superior quality of the sacrifice but also the two men who are being compared.

A fourth type of comparative adjective treatment involves a succession of clauses in which clause 1 contains *πρῶτος* 'first' and clause 2 contains *δευτέρας* 'second'. These clauses form a special class of comparatives. Usually both noun phrases are fronted in their respective clauses. See example (58), Heb. 8.7.

- (58) Εἰ γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἐκεῖνη ἦν ἄμεμπτος, οὐκ
if for the first that was faultless not

ἂν δευτέρας ἐζητεῖτο τόπος·
then of a second had been sought a place

For if that first covenant had been faultless, there would have been no occasion sought for a second.

In this example, *πρώτη ἐκεῖνη* 'that first one' and *δευτέρας* 'of a second', each occur before the verb in their respective clauses. In example (59), Heb. 10.9, only the second noun phrase occurs before the verb.

- (59) τότε εἶρηκεν, Ἴδού ἤκω τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ
then he said behold I have come of the to do the

θέλημά σου. ἀναιπεῖ τὸ πρῶτον ἵνα τὸ δεύτερον
will of you he takes away the first that the second

στήσῃ
he may establish

then he said, 'Behold I have come to do your will'. He takes away the first in order to establish the second.

Thus we have τὸ δεύτερον 'the second' before the verb whereas τὸ πρῶτον 'the first' was not. This may stem from the fact that the first noun phrase is not nominative case. Note, however, example (60), Heb. 9.6, 7.

- (60) Τούτων δὲ οὕτως κατεσκευασμένων, εἰς
these but thus having been prepared unto
μὲν τὴν πρώτην σκηνὴν διὰ παντὸς εἰσίσαιν οἱ
indeed the first tent through all enter the
ἱερεῖς τὰς λατρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες, εἰς δὲ τὴν
priests the services accomplishing unto but the
δευτέραν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς,
second once of the year alone the high priest
οὐ χωρὶς αἵματος, ὃ προσφέρει ὑπὲρ
not without blood which he offers on behalf
ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων,
of himself and of the of the people ignorances

Now when these things have been thus prepared, the priests are continually entering the outer tabernacle, performing the divine worship, but into the second only the high priests enters, once a year, not without taking blood, which he offers for himself and for the sins of the people committed in ignorance.

Here the prepositional phrase εἰς τὴν πρώτην σκηνὴν 'unto the first tent' occurs before the verb even though the phrase is not in the nominative case. However, the presence of μὲν and δέ may be causing this. See the discussion above on examples (43) and (44). It is also possible that the first noun phrase in example (59) is left in its normal slot to set up a **chiastic** structure, thus making the contrast between 'the first' and 'the second' all the more obvious by juxtaposition.

Comparisons may also be made by means of comparative adverbs. In such cases, the adverb occurs at the beginning of the second item compared. See example (61), Heb. 12.25.

- (61) Βλέπετε μὴ παραιτήσησθε τὸν λαλοῦντα· εἰ γὰρ
 watch not you refuse the one speaking if for
 ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐξέφυγον ἐπὶ γῆς παραιτησάμενοι τὸν
 those not escaped on earth refusing the
 χρηματίζοντα, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς οἱ τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν
 warning much more we the the from heavens
 ἀποστρεφόμενοι·
 turning from

See to it that you do not refuse him who is speaking. For if those did not escape when they refused him who warned them on earth, much less shall we escape who turn away from him who warns from heaven.

The subject of the unmarked clause occurs before the verb in this case. ἐκεῖνοι 'those ones', the subject of clause 1 of this comparison, would not normally occur to the left of the verb since, although it is a pronoun, it is not personal. Here, however, it is fronted to show the contrast between 'those ones' and ἡμεῖς 'we'.

The final subtype of comparative clauses involves a **negated antonym paraphrase** sequence (i.e., 'a and not b' or 'not b, but rather a'). These sequences have been called positive-to-negative and negative-to-positive comparisons here.

Negative-to-positive comparisons involve the fronting of positive elements only.

- (62) πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.
 all you subjected underneath the feet of him
 ἐν τῷ γὰρ ὑποτάξαι τὰ πάντα οὐδὲν ἀφήκεν αὐτῷ
 in the for to subject the all nothing he left to him
 ἀνυπότακτον. νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα
 unsubjected now but not yet we see to him the all
 ὑποτεταγμένα· τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους
 having been subjected the but a little some than angels
 ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα
 being made less we see Jesus because of the suffering

τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ
of the death with glory and with honor

ἐστεφανωμένον, ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς
having been crowned so as by grace of God on behalf of all

γεύσεται θανάτου.
he might taste of death

You have put all things in subjection under his feet.' For in subjecting all things to him, he left nothing that is not subject to him. But now we do not see all things subjected to him. But we do see him who has been made for a little while lower than the angels, namely, Jesus, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honor, that by the grace of God he might taste death for every one.

In example (62), Heb. 2.8, 9, note that the relatively simple αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα 'all things subjected to him' is not fronted in its clause, whereas the more complex τὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους 'the one made a little lower than the angels' is. In example (63), Heb. 13.14, notice that this particular structure juxtaposes μένουσαν 'abiding' and μέλλουσιν 'coming' and makes the punlike play on phonetic similarity, [*menusan*] vs. [*melusan*], all the more obvious.

- (63) οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
not for we have here an abiding city but the
μέλλουσιν ἐπιζητοῦμεν.
coming we seek

For here we do not have a lasting city, but we are seeking the city which is to come.

These two adjectives are then brought into close contrast. Thus, 'we do not have a city **abiding** but it is a **coming** one that we seek.'

Positive-to-negative comparisons involve two differing situations. Usually these comparisons involve the fronting of both elements, as in example (64), Heb. 9.22.

- (64) καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν αἵματι πάντα καθαρίζεται κατὰ
and almost by blood all is cleansed according to
τὸν νόμον, καὶ χωρὶς αἱματεκχυσίας οὐ γίνεται
the law and without bloodshedding not becomes
ἄφεσις.
remission

And according to the law, one may almost say, all things are cleansed with blood, and without shedding of blood there is no forgiveness.

In this, the comparison is between ἐν αἵματι 'by blood' and χωρὶς αἵματεκχυσίας 'without the shedding of blood'. Both of these prepositional phrases are fronted in their clauses in order to bring these phrases into a contrastive relationship with one another. Thus, 'by blood all things are cleansed according to the law and **without the shedding of blood** forgiveness does not come'. Sometimes, however, the verb in clause 2 would be identical with the verb in clause 1 and so is deleted. It is impossible to know whether the noun phrase or prepositional phrase involved in this sort of comparison is being fronted or not. See example (65) (Heb. 13.17).

- (65) Πλείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπείκετε,
 obey to the ones who lead you and submit
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ὥς
 they for watch on behalf of the souls of you as
 λόγον ἀποδώσοντες, ἵνα μετὰ χαρᾶς τοῦτο ποιῶσιν
 an account rendering that with joy this they might do
 καὶ μὴ στενάζοντες, ἀλυσιτελὲς γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῦτο.
 and not groanings profitless for to you this

Obeys your leaders, and submit to them for they keep watch over your souls, as those who will give an account. Let them do this with joy and not with grief, for this would be unprofitable for you.

It is not known whether the verbal complement στενάζοντες 'groanings' would have occurred before or after a second ποιῶσιν 'they might do' had it occurred.

5. Clauses that have negated constituents

Another phenomenon in Koine that has been observed to affect the basic clause order is that of negation. In many languages, negation can give rise to ambiguity, when it accompanies other logical operations. For example, in English, Akmajian and Heny (1975:260) have pointed out that what they call **There insertion** does not preserve the meaning of the basic sentence as well, when there is a negative present, as it does when there is no negative. Thus, **many people were at the party** means the same thing as **there were many**

people at the party, while there is quite a difference between **many people weren't at the party** and **there weren't many people at the party**. They also point out that the passive is similarly influenced by the presence of the negative. When the passive rule changes **many arrows hit the target** to **the target was hit by many arrows**, there is no ambiguity or meaning change. However, it is impossible to tell whether **the target was not hit by many arrows** is derived from **many arrows did not hit the target** or **not many arrows hit the target**. In Koine, however, much of this problem is solved by means of a specification in word order that limits the scope of negation.

Koine restricts the placement of the negative word in clauses to preverbal positions, as would be expected in a VSO language (cf. Greenberg 1963:76-91). The case-marking of constituents of the clause and the placement of negation act together in specifying exactly what is negated in the clause. The case-marking of clause constituents allows these constituents to occur before the verb without confusion as to what their roles are in their respective clauses, while the restriction upon negative word placement requires clause constituents to follow the negative word according to the following rule: If the main function of the negative word is a denial of the whole clause, then the negation will occur immediately before the verb. If the main purpose of the negative is to deny that certain constituents participated in the action represented by the main verb of the clause at hand, those constituents will occur before the verb immediately after the negative word (**postpositive** conjunctions [i.e., those that cannot occur at the beginning of the clause] may occur between the negation and its negated constituent). Examples below will serve to explain exactly what sorts of constituents may be negated, how this rule operates in relation to other rules, and the precision of interpretation which this rule allows in Koine.

There seems to be no limit to the grammatical category of words negated in clauses. First of all, nouns may be negated, as in example (66), Heb. 2.5.

- (66) Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν
 not for to angels he subjected the inhabited the
 μέλλουσιν, περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν.
 coming about which we are speaking

For he did not subject to angels the world to come,
 concerning which we are speaking.

In this example, οὐ negates the noun ἀγγέλοις 'angels' in the clause. Thus the interpretation intended is contrast: the world to come has been subjected to someone, but it was not to angels.

Secondly, adjective complements may be placed between the negative and the verb and negated in their respective clauses, as in example (67), Heb. 6.12.

- (67) ἵνα μὴ νωθοὶ γένησθε, μιμηταὶ δὲ τῶν διὰ
 that not sluggish you become imitators but of the through
 πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας κληρονομούντων τὰς ἐπαγγελίας.
 faith and longsuffering inheriting the promises
 that you may not be sluggish, but imitators of those who
 through faith and patience inherit the promises.

Here, the negative μὴ attracts the complement νωθοὶ 'sluggish' in the clause 'in order that you may not be sluggish'. The implication is that the writer wants the readers to become μιμηταὶ 'imitators' but not to become sluggish; therefore, rather than negating the whole clause, he negates only the adjective complement 'sluggish'. This example is similar to the negative-to-positive comparisons I discussed in section 4. Compare examples (62) and (63), but there are some important differences that should be pointed out here. The negative-to-positive comparison has two characteristics that example (67) does not have: two verbs are involved, and the positive element occurs before the verb it relates to. Because of this, I chose to consider this example within the discussion on negative constituents, rather than correlative constructions.

Prepositional phrases can also be negated. Prepositional phrases that contain negative elements are placed before the verb. See example (68), Heb. 9.28.

- (68) οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ
 likewise also the Christ once having been offered unto the
 πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας, ἐκ δευτέρου χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας
 of many to bear sins of a second without sin
 ὁφθῆσεται τοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπεκδεχομένοις εἰς σωτηρίαν.
 will appear to the him ones expecting unto salvation
 so Christ also, having been offered once to bear the sins of
 many, shall appear a second time, not to bear sin, to those
 who eagerly await him, for salvation.

In this example, the prepositional phrase *χωρίς ἁμαρτίας* 'without sins' is being negated. This is shown by its placement before the verb, which implies not only that the Christ **will** appear, but that he will be completely without sin as well.

Also, parts of prepositional phrases may be fronted as in example (69) (Heb. 9.24).

- (69) οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα εἰσῆλθεν ἅγια Χριστός,
 not for unto made with hands entered holies Christ
 ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, νῦν
 figures of the true but unto itself the heaven now
 ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 to appear in the face of the God on behalf of us

For Christ did not enter a holy place made with hands, a mere copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.

Here, the negative *οὐ* attracts the part of the prepositional phrase to be negated to the left of the verb. *εἰς χειροποίητα* 'unto ones made with hands' is only part of the prepositional phrase; *ἅγια* 'holy places' is the remainder. It is significant that *εἰς χειροποίητα* 'unto ones made with hands' is the only part of this prepositional phrase placed before the verb, for the Christ did enter into a holy place, but it was not made with hands, and the part of the prepositional phrase that occurs immediately after the verb signals this fact.

Sometimes, prepositions are fronted by themselves. This can be seen in example (70), Heb. 12.8.

- (70) εἰ δὲ χωρὶς ἐστε παιδείας ἧς μέτοχοι
 if but without you are discipline which sharers
 γεγόνασιν πάντες, ἄρα νόθοι καὶ οὐχ υἱοὶ ἐστε.
 have become all then bastards and not sons you are

But if you are without discipline, of which all have become partakers, then you are illegitimate children and not sons.

The preposition *χωρὶς* 'without' should go with the noun *παιδείας* 'discipline' but, in fact, it occurs on the opposite side of the main verb *ἐστε* 'you (pl.) are'. The exact conditions under which a preposition may be fronted by itself as opposed to the whole prepositional phrase are not presently known. Sometimes, when part of the prepositional phrase is fronted, there are clear semantic consequences resulting from that part being fronted. But not all cases can be accounted for

in this manner. A comparison of examples (68), Heb. 9.28, and (70), Heb. 12.8, reveals the uncertainty of the interpretation of (70). The latter seems, at present, to be an optional variant, but, as Longacre (n.d.) suggests, clauses containing 'be' verbs may have a special set of rules governing their formation due to the special discourse functions of this type of clause. Thus the fact that the whole prepositional phrase occurs before the verb in one example, while only the preposition occurs before the verb in another, may be a feature of the type of clause in which the preposing occurs (as well as the discourse function of that clause) rather than a feature of optional variance.

A fourth type of word that may be negated and fronted in its respective clause is the pronoun. This is a different variation from the clause type discussed in section 3, which involved only personal pronouns. That situation required placement of pronouns in pre- and postverbal positions depending on their respective grammatical cases. In the data at hand, two other classes of pronouns were observed to have been negated, and they always occurred in preverbal positions.

First of all, indefinite pronouns may be fronted. Examples (71) through (74) will serve to illustrate this.

- (71) Εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν,
 peace pursue with all and the sanctification

οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον,
 which without no one will see the Lord

Pursue peace with all men, and the sanctification without which no one will see the Lord.

- (72) πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ
 all you subjected underneath the feet of him in the

γὰρ ὑποτάξαι τὰ πάντα οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ
 for to subject the all nothing he left to him

ἀνυπότακτον. νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα
 unsubjected. Now but not yet we see to him the all

ὑποτεταγμένα·
 having been subjected

'You have put all things in subjection under his feet.' For in subjecting all things to him, he left nothing that is not subject to him. But now we do not see all things subjected to him.

- (73) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος, ἐπεισαγωγῇ
 nothing for perfected the law a bringing in

δὲ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος, δι' ἧς ἐγγίζομεν τῷ θεῷ.
but of a better hope, through which we draw near to God.

(for the law made nothing perfect), but there is a bringing in of a better hope, through which we draw near to God.

- (74) πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξ Ἰδοῦδα ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ
evident for that from Judah has risen the
κύριος ἡμῶν, εἰς ἣν φυλὴν περὶ ἱερέων οὐδὲν
Lord of us unto which tribe about priests nothing
Μωϋσῆς ἐλάλησεν.
Moses said

For it is evident that our Lord was descended from Judah, a tribe with reference to which Moses spoke nothing concerning priests.

In example (71), Heb. 12.14, we can see that nominative indefinite pronouns occur before the verb when they are negated. Thus οὐδεὶς 'no one' is fronted in this clause. Example (72), Heb. 2.8, shows that accusative pronouns may also be fronted. οὐδὲν 'nothing' has been fronted in its clause. This illustrates that a different rule is operating here than that of personal pronoun movement discussed in section 3, since the accusative personal pronoun occurred in the immediately postverbal slot, whereas here the negated indefinite pronoun occurs preverbally. Example (73), Heb. 7.19, is a further example of this type of preposing. Example (74), Heb. 7.14, contains an interesting clause in which the pronoun οὐδὲν 'nothing' has attracted its modifying prepositional phrase περὶ ἱερέων 'concerning priests', and both occur between the negative and the verb. The interpretation of this clause is that Moses has said some things, but he has said **nothing concerning priests**, in reference to this tribe (i.e., Judah).

In addition to indefinite pronouns, reflexive pronouns may occur before the verb and immediately after the negative. See example (75), Heb. 5.4.

- (75) καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν,
and not to himself anyone takes the honor
ἀλλὰ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς περ καὶ Ἀαρών.
but being called by the God even as also Aaron

And no one takes the honor to himself, but receives it when he is called by God, even as Aaron was.

In this example, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ 'not to himself' τις 'someone' takes the honor. What is being spoken of is that no one would dare take the honor of making himself a high priest. Now, of necessity, someone must decide that someone else is called to be high priest, but the clause structure indicates that no one would take that honor for his own benefit.

In addition to the fact that many different types of constituents can be negated, it is also worthwhile to note that other rules can operate at the same time that **negative fronting** occurs.

- (76) ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωϋσέως χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν
disregarding anyone law of Moses without compassions

ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν ἀποθνήσκει·
on two or three witnesses dies

Anyone who has set aside the Law of Moses dies without mercy on the testimony of two or three witnesses.

In example (76), Heb. 10.28, we can see that several constituents occur before the verb, whereas only one of the constituents χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν 'without mercy' is a negative constituent.

The rule of WH movement can be observed to operate in combination with negative fronting as in example (77), Heb. 7.13.

- (77) ἐφ' ὧν γὰρ λέγεται ταῦτα φυλῆς ἑτέρας
on which for is said these of tribe another

μετέσχηκεν, ἀφ' ἧς οὐδεὶς προσέσχεν τῷ
has partaken from which no one has devoted himself to the

θυσιαστηρίῳ
altar

For the one concerning whom these things are spoken belongs to another tribe, from which no one has officiated at the altar.

Here, it can be seen that **WH movement** takes precedence over **Negative fronting** in the following sense: WH words occur before negated constituents. Thus ἀφ' ἧς 'from which' (i.e., φυλῆς 'tribe') οὐδεὶς 'no one' offers sacrifices on the altar.

Correlative fronting can also operate in combination with **Negative fronting**.

- (78) Οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν
likewise also the Christ not himself glorified

γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα, ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν,
to become a high priest but the one speaking to him

Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε·
a son of me are you I today have begotten you

So also Christ did not glorify himself so as to become a high priest, but he who said to him, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you':

It can be seen from example (78), Heb. 5.5, that **Correlative fronting** also takes precedence over **Negation**, with the result that correlatives also occur before negative constituents in the text. Thus, ὁ Χριστὸς 'the Christ' occurs before the verb because of the conjunction οὕτως καὶ 'so also', and it occurs before οὐχ ἑαυτὸν 'not himself' as well.

The rules concerning the placement of negated constituents exclude any ambiguity in possible interpretations that the text might otherwise have. This can be illustrated in example (79), Heb. 10.26.

(79) Ἐκουσίως γὰρ ἀμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν μετὰ τὸ
willfully for sinning we after the

λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, οὐκέτι περὶ
to receive the knowledge of the truth no longer about

ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολείπεται θυσία,
sins remains a sacrifice

For if we go on sinning willfully after receiving the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins.

The clause says, 'there no longer remains a sacrifice in reference to sin'. This English translation loses sight of an important fact that the placement of the words in Koine signals: because θυσία 'a sacrifice' has not been fronted, we may be sure that there are still sacrifices remaining. On the other hand, the placement of περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν 'for sins' immediately after οὐκέτι 'no longer' reveals the central meaning of the clause (i.e., the one that the English translation does convey—sacrifices that remain no longer atone for sins).

In this section I have presented the rules that motivate the occurrence of negated constituents before the verb in their clauses. The first rule requires that the negative word must occur before the verb in its clause; the second rule limits the scope of negation to the first constituent that follows the negative word. When the negation does not apply to the **predicate** of a clause, but only some noun phrase or

prepositional phrase within the clause, these rules require that phrase to occur before the verb and immediately after the negative word.

Robertson (1934:1163) has already observed that there is a difference in Koine between negating a single constituent and negating the whole clause, but he does not state the conditions that reflect this difference. My investigation into this matter has revealed that, if the negative word occurs immediately before the predicate, it is negating the entire clause. Whereas, if it occurs immediately before any **non-predicate** constituent of the clause, it is negating only that constituent. I have also indicated some of the effects that constituent orders in negative clauses can have on the interpretation of those clauses.

6. The introduction of new subjects

It has been noted in many of the world's languages that there is a specific way to introduce characters and concepts in a text (cf. Longacre 1981:342). Consider the change of articles in the following sequence of sentences in English:

I started **a** new postal route yesterday. While on **the** route I saw **a** big black dog. I called **the** dog and **he** came to me and allowed me to pet **him**. Later in the day I found out that **that** dog had bitten the last three mailmen before me.

From this series of sentences we can see that there is a normal progression of determiners in English from **a** to **the** to **that** when a new participant/prop is included in the text. If the **a**'s were to be replaced with **the**'s, the whole series would be considered to be marked, at best, or strange, at least. Longacre (1981:342) found that biblical Hebrew, a VSO language, used SVO clauses to introduce new characters into narrative texts. In light of this kind of strategy in other languages in general and because of the similarity of basic clause patterns in biblical Hebrew and Koine in particular, it behooves us to ask whether introductions of concepts and characters might affect constituent ordering in Koine clauses.

The text of Hebrews provides us a particularly appropriate object for study of participant and concept introduction, because of the wide range and large number of participants and concepts that are mentioned. Investigation of the more than thirty examples of introduction of such items in Hebrews revealed several important points about the sort of clause order that characterized a 'proper' introduction.

First of all, when persons or concepts are mentioned in positions such as adjuncts of verbs or objects of prepositions, then no special

ordering is required. It is only when those items are first mentioned as subjects of their clauses that special devices are needed. By far the most common device used is the placement of the new subject-noun phrase **before the verb in its clause**.

The particular rule operating in these cases has been called a **subject-introduction** rule, since it provides a new participant or concept with the ability to be the **subject** in the sentence where it occurs.

Secondly, an amazingly wide range of people, objects and concepts can be introduced in this way. Interestingly, there are unexpected limitations on the application of this rule. Finally, there are some curious anomalies where it might seem required that subject introduction would be in order, and yet none occurs. These last three points will form the basis of discussion in this section.

The rule of subject introduction operates on a syntactic category (i.e., noun phrases) in Koine, rather than on items with any certain semantic feature. In order to show this, I will first present the extreme range of noun phrases that participate in subject introduction.

First of all, noun phrases that refer to persons must occur before the verb in the first clause where they occupy the subject slot (this might be called **introduction of a new participant**). When the noun phrase referring to a participant is first mentioned in the text as a subject, it occurs before the verb in that clause. In example (80), Heb. 7.4, 'Αβραάμ 'Abraham' is the participant that is being introduced here by placement before the verb in this clause.

- (80) Θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος ᾧ δεκάτην
 behold but how great this to whom a tenth
 'Αβραάμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης.
 Abraham gave of the spoils the patriarch

Now observe how great this man was to whom Abraham, the patriarch, gave a tenth of the choicest spoils.

Sometimes, introductions are short, as in this example. At other times they are longer, as in example (81), Heb. 7.3.

- (81) . . . ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος, μήτε
 fatherless motherless without lineage neither
 ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ἀφωμοιωμένος
 beginning of days nor of life end having made like
 δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ
 but to the son of the God remains a priest unto the

διηνεκές.
perpetuity

Without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor ending of life, but made like the Son of God, he remains a priest perpetually.

In this example an extensive, descriptive list is presented to characterize Melchizedek. Notice also example (82), Heb. 1.1, 2.

- (82) Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς
in many portions and in many ways of old the God
λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτου
having spoken to the fathers by the prophets on last
τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν
of the days these spoke to us by a son whom
κἔθηκεν ληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν
he appoints an heir of all through whom also he made
τοὺς αἰῶνας·
the ages

God, after He spoke long ago to the fathers in the prophets in many portions and in many ways, in these last days has spoken to us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the world.

In this example God is being introduced, his lengthy introduction being headed primarily by a participle.

There does not seem to be a reason for the long versus short introductions, at least not in terms of major versus minor participants. However, the longer introduction would seem to focus attention on the participant longer. This may be due to a desire for comparison or some such factor.

Secondly, it is possible that the new participant introduced is a general referent (**general term**) rather than a specific one. In example (83), Heb. 5.1, notice that πᾶς ἀρχιερεὺς means 'every high priest'.

- (83) Πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος
every for high priest from men being taken
ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἵνα
on behalf men is appointed the to the God that

προσφέρει δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν,
he may offer gifts both and sacrifices on behalf of sins

For every high priest taken from among men is appointed on behalf of men in things pertaining to God, in order to offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins.

Thus a specific high priest is not in focus here but rather the high priesthood in general and every individual holding that office throughout history. In example (84), Heb. 10.28, the referent is also general, ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωϋσέως ‘anyone who sets aside the law of Moses,’ not referring to a particular individual but to a class of individuals.

(84) ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωϋσέως χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν
disregarding anyone a law of Moses without compassions

ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν ἀποθνήσκει·
on two or three witnesses dies

Anyone who has set aside the Law of Moses dies without mercy on the testimony of two or three witnesses.

The referent in this example differs from example (83) which is based upon a physical lineage from Aaron. In example (84) the class is based upon actions of individuals, that of setting aside the law of Moses. In example (85), Heb. 6.16, the referent is still more general.

(85) ἄνθρωποι γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ μείζονος ὁμνύουσιν, καὶ
men for according to the greater swear and

πάσης αὐτοῖς ἀντιλογίας πέρας εἰς βεβαίωσιν
of all to them contradiction an end unto confirmation

ὁ ὄρκος·
the oath

For men swear by one greater than themselves, and with them an oath given as confirmation is an end of every dispute.

The clause in free translation might say something like, ‘for men swear according to a greater one than themselves’, not referring to a particular group of men but referring to all men in general, without regard to actions and without regard to lineage.

In addition to the introduction of individuals and classes of individuals, groups of people, acting or described together, require subject introduction, as in example (86), Heb. 2.14.

- (86) ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παῖδια κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ
 since therefore the children have partaken of blood and
 σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχευ τῶν αὐτῶν,
 flesh also himself in like manner he shared of the same
 ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος
 that through the death he might destroy the the might
 ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον,
 having of the death this is the devil

Since then the children share in flesh and blood, He Himself likewise also partook of the same, that through death He might render powerless him who had the power of death, that is, the devil.

In this example the group τὰ παῖδια 'the children' are being referred to as a group. They have not been addressed before, nor will they again. But in this one place in the text, because of the rule regarding the placement of new subjects in their clauses, they occur before the verb. Also, in example (87), Heb. 7.5, notice the extensive introduction of the sons of Levi.

- (87) καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λευὶ τὴν ἱερατείαν
 and the indeed from the sons of Levi the priesthood
 λαμβάνοντες ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν ἀποδεκατοῦν τὸν λαὸν
 receiving a commandment have to tithe the people
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν,
 according to the law this is the brethren of them
 καίπερ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος Ἀβραάμ·
 though having come from the loins of Abraham

And those indeed of the sons of Levi who receive the priest's office have commandment in the Law to collect a tenth from the people, that is, from their brethren, although these are descended from Abraham.

This shows that groups, as well as individuals, may be introduced with short or long introductions without apparent semantic or syntactic restriction. Sometimes this sort of group reference may have summary force, as in examples (88) and (89), Heb. 11.14 and 11.39 respectively.

- (88) οἱ γὰρ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐμφανίζουσιν ὅτι
 the for such things saying make manifest that
 πατρίδα ἐπιζητοῦσιν.
 a fatherland they seek

For those who say such things make it clear that they are seeking a country of their own.

- (89) Καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς
 and these all being witnessed through the
 πίστεως οὐκ ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν,
 faith not obtained the promise

And all these, having gained approval through their faith, did not receive what was promised.

In example (88) the writer apparently wants to indicate the application that can be drawn from what he has said about the faith of Abraham and Sarah. He wants to make the reader aware that the opportunity to do great things by means of faith still remains to both writer and reader at the time of writing. The writer reveals his intentions by means of two devices: first, all of the verbs in example (88) are in present tense not past tense, as they would be if the writer were considering only the historical situation. Secondly, the subject-introduction rule applies to οἱ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες 'those who say such things', marking the fact that the phrase refers to others besides Abraham and Sarah, who have already been introduced. It indicates anyone (past, present, or future) who says the sort of things that Abraham and Sarah said. In example (89), Heb. 11.39, the referents have all been mentioned in previous verses but not all as subjects. Therefore, when mentioned as a group, they occur before the verb in their clause.

It may also be noted that even adjectival phrases and participial phrases may occur before the verb, as in example (90), Heb. 4.6.

- (90) ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπολείπεται τινὰς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς αὐτήν,
 since therefore it remains some to enter into it
 καὶ οἱ πρότερον εὐαγγελισθέντες οὐκ εἰσῆλθον δι'
 and the formerly evangelized ones not entered because of
 ἀπειθείαν,
 disobedience

Since therefore it remains for some to enter it, and those who formerly had good news preached to them failed to enter because of disobedience.

In this example the nominalized participial phrase οἱ πρότερον εὐαγγελισθέντες 'those who were formerly evangelized' occurs before the verb in its clause. This refers to a group of individuals, particularly the Israeli group that was led out of Egypt by Moses. In example (91), Heb. 10.38, we find an adjectival phrase introducing a singular referent.

- (91) ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, καὶ ἐὰν
the but righteous of me from faith will live and if
ὕποστεύληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ.
he withdraws not is pleased the soul of me in him

But My righteous one shall live by faith; and if he shrinks back, My soul has no pleasure in him.

In this verse ὁ δίκαιός μου 'my righteous one' may refer to whoever 'lives according to faith.'⁹

Thus far we have considered examples of subject introduction that involve human referents; it is important to see that impersonal objects are required to occur before the verb when they are first mentioned as subjects, since the rule is syntactic rather than semantic in its application. See example (92), Heb. 11.30.

- (92) Πίστει τὰ τεῖχη Ἰεριχὼ ἔπεσαν κυκλωθέντα ἐπὶ
by faith the walls of Jericho fell being circled on
ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας.
seven days

By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they had been encircled for seven days.

In free translation this verse reads, 'by faith **the walls of Jericho** fell'. In example (93), Heb. 6.7, we have an example of a long introduction for an object, wherein 'the earth which drinks in the rain often falling on it and which produces a crop useful to those for whom it is farmed' is the constituent that is being introduced in its clause.

- (93) γῇ γὰρ ἡ πιούσα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενον
earth for the one drinking the on it coming
πολλάκις ὑέτόν, καὶ τίκτουσα βοτάνην εὖθετον ἐκείνοις
often rain and bearing fodder suitable to those

δι' οὓς καὶ γεωργεῖται, μεταλαμβάνει εὐλογίας
 because of whom also it is farmed receives a blessing
 ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ·
 from the God

For ground that drinks the rain which often falls upon it
 and brings forth vegetation useful to those for whose sake it
 is also tilled, receives a blessing from God.

This is a very extensive introduction for a very minor concept. Notice in both examples (92) and (93) that objects that are introduced are not even **acting** in those clauses. Thus the ground does not **do** anything when it 'receives a blessing', and the walls of Jericho obviously were not **acting in faith** when they fell. In fact, they were not acting at all. Both the ground and the walls, then, participate in subject introduction, not because of any semantic features that they have but because they are new subjects.

Also, abstract nouns may be fronted. See examples (94) to (96).

- (94) εἰ γὰρ ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος ἐγένετο
 if for the through angels spoken word became
 βέβαιος, καὶ πᾶσα παράβασις καὶ παρακοὴ ἔλαβεν
 firm and every transgression and disobedience received
 ἔνδικον μισθαποδοσίαν,
 a just recompense

For if the word spoken through angels proved unalterable,
 and every transgression and disobedience received a just
 recompense,

- (95) Ἡ φιλαδελφία μενέτω.
 the love of brethren let remain

Let love of the brethren continue.

- (96) τὸ δὲ, Ἐτι ἅπαξ δηλοῖ τὴν τῶν σαλευομένων
 the but yet once declares the of the being shaken
 μετάθεσιν ὡς πεποιημένων, ἵνα μείνῃ
 removal as of having been made that may remain
 τὰ μὴ σαλευόμενα.
 the not being shaken

And this expression, ‘Yet once more,’ denotes the removing of those things which can be shaken, as of created things, in order that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.

In example (94), Heb. 2.2, we have ‘the message which was spoken through the angels’. In example (95), Heb. 13.1, it is ‘the love of brothers’ which occurs before the verb in its clause.¹⁰ In example (96), Heb. 12.27, we see that quoted words require subject-introduction. The verse itself reads: ‘the “Yet once more” denotes the removal of what may be shaken’. In this example, the quote ‘yet once more’ is treated as a new item and occurs before the verb in its clause.

We can see, then, that the rule of subject introduction operates on all noun phrase subjects, when they first occur as subjects, without regard to semantic features such as [+ human] or [+ concrete].

A second major consideration concerns applicability when the subject-introduction rule applies. There are two things that need to be noted about this:

First of all, operations of other rules in clauses do not restrict the occurrence of subject introduction. See examples (80), (84), (85), and (87). A comparison of these examples reveal that other noun phrases, besides those being introduced in the text, can occur before the verb at the same time that **subject-introduced noun phrases** do. Also consider example (97), Heb. 11.29.

- (97) Πίστει διέβησαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν Θάλασσαν
by faith they went through the red sea
ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς γῆς, ἧς πείραν λαβόντες οἱ
as through dry earth of which trial taking the
Αἰγύπτιοι κατεπόθησαν.
Egyptians were swallowed up

By faith they passed through the Red Sea as though they were passing through dry land; and the Egyptians, when they attempted it, were drowned.

Here, notice that the relative pronoun occurs in the same clause in which a new participant is introduced. This is comparable also with example (80) above. Thus, we notice that WH movement may occur in the same clause in which subject introduction occurs. In addition it may be noted that WH movement takes precedence over subject introduction, that is, the WH constituent occurs before the introduced constituent.

Secondly, subject introduction operates over units smaller than the whole text. Compare example (80), Heb. 7.4, with example (98), Heb. 11.8.

- (98) Πίστει καλούμενος Ἀβραάμ ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς
by faith being called Abraham obeyed to go out unto
τόπον ὃν ἤμελλεν λαμβάνειν εἰς κληρονομίαν,
a place which he was about to receive unto an inheritance
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ποῦ ἔρχεται.
and he went out not understanding where he goes

By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed by going out to a place which he was to receive for an inheritance; and he went out, not knowing where he was going.

In Hebrews 11.8, the participant Ἀβραάμ 'Abraham' is introduced and occurs before the verb in its clause. However, in example (80) above, Abraham has already been introduced. Also compare examples (99) through (102).

- (99) πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξ Ἰούδα ἀνατέταλκεν
evident for that from Judah has risen
ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, εἰς ἣν φυλὴν περὶ ἱερέων
the Lord of us unto which tribe about priests
οὐδὲν Μωϋσῆς ἐλάλησεν.
nothing Moses spoke

For it is evident that our Lord was descended from Judah, a tribe with reference to which Moses spoke nothing concerning priests.

- (100) Πίστει Μωϋσῆς γεννηθεὶς ἐκρύβη τριμήνον
by faith Moses having been born was hidden three months
ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, διότι εἶδον ἀστεῖον τὸ παιδίον,
by the fathers of him because they saw fine the child
καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως.
and not they feared the decree of the king

By faith Moses, when he was born, was hidden for three months by his parents, because they saw he was a beautiful child; and they were not afraid of the king's edict.

- (101) Πίστει Μωϋσῆς μέγας γενόμενος ἡρνήσατο
by faith Moses great having become denied

λέγεσθαι υἱὸς θυγατρὸς Φαραώ,
to be called a son of a daughter of Pharaoh

By faith Moses, when he had grown up, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter;

- (102) καί, οὕτω φοβερὸν ἦν τὸ φανταζόμενον,
and so fearful was the appearing

Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν, Ἐκφοβὸς εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος.
Moses said terrified I am and trembling

And so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, 'I am full of fear and trembling.'

Example (99), Heb. 7.14, introduces Μωϋσῆς 'Moses'. Moses is also introduced in example (100), Heb. 11.24, where Moses is introduced a third time. Finally, note example (102), Heb. 12.21, the fourth introduction of Moses. These multiple introductions would lead one to believe that participant introduction can be carried out very frequently. However, note that in example (100), Heb. 11.23, the text itself reads (in the English NASB translation), 'By faith Moses, when he was born, was hidden three months by his parents.' I observe that this is a passive clause, and indeed it is not Moses who is being introduced but rather his parents. Therefore, this may not be considered a proper introduction of a new participant. Also notice that in example (102), Heb. 12.21, a comparison is being drawn between the degree of fear and the person who expressed it. In other words, 'so fearful was the sight that even Moses himself said, "I am full of fear and trembling."' Thus, example (102) might be regarded as an example of a correlative construction, rather than the introduction of a new participant.

Even with these considerations, however, it can be seen that examples (80) and (98), and examples (99) and (101), are clearly introductions of the same participants on two different occasions within the text. Lloyd (1976) observes that these two particular sections of the text are in different embedded discourses within Hebrews. She finds a boundary between embedded discourses in Hebrews 10.19. Subject introduction, then, may be a discourse feature, but it may also operate in discourses that are embedded within the text. Further study is needed to determine the size of the domain governing the subject-introduction rule. It may be smaller than an embedded discourse.

So far, I have discussed the operation of subject introduction with regard to the noun phrases that it influences and the fact that it can

operate more than once on the same noun phrase occurring in different places in the text.

As a third consideration, there are some cases fitting the description of subject introduction that fail to undergo the rule. The first case can be seen in example (103), Heb. 3.7.

(103) Διό, καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
wherefore as says the spirit the holy

Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε
today if of the voice of him you hear

Therefore, just as the Holy Spirit says, 'Today if you hear his voice,'

The phrase τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον 'the Spirit, the Holy One' should have occurred before the verb in this clause since this is its first occurrence as subject. However, frequently in the Old Testament when it records that God said some particular thing, the New Testament claims that the Holy Spirit said it. Compare, for example, Is. 6.8-9 with Acts 28.25-27. Thus, to a New Testament writer, whether one says that **God** or **the Holy Spirit** said a particular thing is not thought to be a distinction of importance. Therefore, for the writer of Hebrews, a previous introduction of God in Hebrews 1.1-2 could be influencing his subsequent non-introduction of the Holy Spirit. In effect, he may not be introducing a new participant, but may simply be giving a new title to the old participant. From this, I conclude it may be seen that the rule of subject introduction does not operate lexically, but referentially, that is, it does not operate upon the mention of an outward grammatical form of the noun phrase but on the mention of its referent. Thus this apparent counterexample to the principle loses much of its force.

The second case where subject introduction should have applied and did not is example (104), Heb. 11.20.

(104) Πίστει καὶ περὶ μελλόντων εὐλόγησεν Ἰσαὰκ
by faith also about coming blessed Isaac

τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ
the Jacob and the Esau

By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau, even regarding things to come.

In this example Ἰσαὰκ 'Isaac' should have occurred before the verb in this clause according to the rule of subject introduction. This is

Isaac's first mention as subject of a clause, but Ἰσαάκ comes after, not before, the verb. Let us consider whether there are other rules which render the rule of subject introduction inoperative. Consider example (105), Heb. 11.17—that is, three verses before example (104)—in which the noun phrase τὸν μονογενῆ 'the only begotten one' occurs before the verb in its clause.

- (105) Πίστει προσενήνοχεν Ἀβραάμ τὸν Ἰσαάκ
 by faith offered up Abraham the Isaac
 πειραζόμενος, καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ προσέφερεν
 being tested and the only begotten offered up
 ὁ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἀναδεξάμενος,
 the the promises having undertaken

By faith Abraham, when he was tested, offered up Isaac;
 and he who had received the promises was offering up his
 only begotten son.

None of the rules stated in previous sections motivate the occurrence of this noun phrase before the verb in its clause. It is possible that this kind of clause-ordering may make subject introduction of the sort that should have occurred in 11.20 unnecessary.¹¹ However, a final decision cannot be based upon one example. More investigation is needed in this area.

7. The marking of motifs in Koine texts

Another phenomenon that I have observed affecting constituent order in Koine clauses is **motif-marking**. A **motif**¹² is a usually-recurring item (i.e., character, prop, or concept) in a text that contributes in some prominent way to the theme of a larger grammatical unit. A motif is not the item that the larger unit is **about**, but it is something that is essential to the main point of the unit in a significant way. For example, in *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien 1965), the stubbornness and carelessness of hobbits is not **what the story is about**, but these traits frequently get the hobbits into and out of various troubles during the story. The story is about the overthrow of evil in Middle Earth; the stubbornness and carelessness of the hobbits are items on which the plot structure depends, causing all of the major crises and resolutions in the story. The two traits, then, would be considered motifs of the story.

In Koine, noun phrases that are motifs in a text, or some part of a text, occur before the verb in the first clause of the unit in which they function as motifs. In the text of Hebrews, the only noun phrases that

occurred before the verb as a result of motif-marking were accusative-case noun phrases (i.e., direct objects). As a result, the variations that motif-marking produced were all OV orders. Clauses could have other noun phrases and prepositional phrases present, but the object-noun phrase always preceded the verb.

As I investigated motif-marking in Koine, I discovered that this phenomenon has two distinct subtypes: **motif formation** and **motif focus**. The difference between these two is that the noun phrase on which motif formation operates has usually not been mentioned in the text before, whereas the product of motif focus is **always** a part of the setting of a mentioned text.¹³

First I will discuss motif formation. The rule that **forms** a motif in a sentence or larger unit causes the accusative-noun phrase in the first clause to occur before the verb. In addition, it also requires that no definite article appear in the noun phrase. This is illustrated in example (106), Heb. 6.18-19.

- (106) ἵνα διὰ δύο πραγμάτων ἀμεταθέτων, ἐν
 that through two things unchangeable in
 οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι θεόν, ἰσχυρὰν
 which impossible to lie God a strong
 παράκλησιν ἔχωμεν οἱ καταφυγόντες κρατῆσαι
 consolation may have the ones having fled to lay hold
 τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος ἣν ὡς ἄγκυραν ἔχομεν
 of the set before hope which as an anchor we have
 τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀσφαλὴ τε καὶ βεβαίαν καὶ εἰσερχομένην
 of the soul safe both and firm and entering
 εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος,
 into the inner of the veil
 that by two unchangeable things, in which it is impossible
 for God to lie, we may have strong encouragement, we
 who have fled for refuge in laying hold of the hope set
 before us. This hope we have as an anchor of the soul,
 both sure and steadfast and one which enters the veil.

ἰσχυρὰν παράκλησιν 'a strong consolation' is the noun phrase that is marked as a motif in this sentence. The notion that this noun phrase is a motif is confirmed by the occurrence of ἐλπίδος 'hope', ἄγκυραν 'an anchor', ἀσφαλὴ 'safe', and βεβαίαν 'firm' within the sentence. Recurrence, as I mentioned above, is a usual characteristic of a motif.

In this example we can see that the recurrence is not only of the exact lexical item, but may be of synonyms or even terms that share a great deal of mental space (Pike and Pike, 380). Thus 'hope' is very similar to 'consolation' and 'anchor'; 'safe' and 'firm' are similar to 'strong'.

Sometimes the signal that confirms a motif is not recurrence so much as the mention of the particulars of a general motif, as in example (107), Heb. 5.12-14.

- (107) καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ
 and for owing to be teachers because of
 τὸν χρόνον, πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν
 the time again need you have of the to teach
 ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων
 you someone the rudiments of the beginning of the oracles
 τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος,
 of the God and you have become need having of milk
 οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος
 not of solid food every for the partaking of milk
 ἀπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης, νήπιος γὰρ ἐστίν·
 untrained of word of righteousness a babe for is
 τελείων δέ ἐστιν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή, τῶν διὰ τὴν
 of nature but is the solid food of the because of the
 ἔξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἐχόντων πρὸς
 condition the faculties having been exercised having for
 διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ.
 discernment of good both and of bad

For though by this time you ought to be teachers, you have need again of someone to teach you the elementary principles of the oracles of God, and you have come to need milk and not solid food. For every one who partakes only of milk is not accustomed to the word of righteousness, for he is a babe. But solid food is for the mature, who because of practice have their senses trained to discern good and evil.

χρεῖαν 'need' is a very general item. There could be needs of many types. In the clauses that follow the one in which 'need' is marked as the motif, by its occurrence before the verb, the particular 'needs' are

mentioned in detail (i.e., the need of someone to teach them, the need for milk and not solid food, etc.).

In example (108), Heb. 7.4-10, δεκάτην 'a tenth' is the motif formed by its occurrence before the verb.

- (108) Θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος ὃ καὶ δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ
Behold but how great this to whom a tenth Abraham
ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης. καὶ οἱ
gave of the spoils the patriarch and the
μὲν ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λευὶ τὴν ἱερατείαν λαμβάνοντες
indeed of the sons of Levi the priesthood receiving
ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν ἀποδεκατοῦν τὸν λαὸν
a commandment have to take tithes from the people
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν,
according to the law this is the brothers of them
καίπερ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος Ἀβραάμ· ὁ δὲ μὴ
though having come from the loins Abraham the but not
γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν δεδεκάτωκεν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ
reckoning lineage from them has tithed Abraham and
τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας εὐλόγηκεν. χωρὶς δὲ πάσης
the having the promises he blessed without but all
ἀντιλογίας τὸ ἑλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται.
contradiction the lesser by the greater is blessed
καὶ ὧδε μὲν δεκάτας ἀποθνήσκοντες ἄνθρωποι
and here indeed tithes dying men
λαμβάνουσιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ζῇ. καὶ ὡς
receive there but being witnessed that he lives and as
ἔπος εἰπεῖν, δι' Ἀβραάμ καὶ Λευὶ ὁ δεκάτας
a word to say through Abraham also Levi the tithes
λαμβάνων δεδεκάτῳ ἐτι γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὀσφύϊ τοῦ
receiving has been tithed yet for in the loins of the
πατρὸς ἦν ὅτε συνήντησεν αὐτῷ Μελχισέδεκ.
father he was when met with him Melchizedek

Now observe how great this man was to whom Abraham, the patriarch, gave a tenth of the choicest spoils. And those indeed of the sons of Levi who receive the priest's

office have commandment in the Law to collect a tenth from the people, that is, from their brethren, although these are descended from Abraham. But the one whose genealogy is not traced from them collected a tenth from Abraham, and blessed the one who had the promises. But without any dispute the lesser is blessed by the greater. And in this case mortal men receive tithes, but in that case one receives them, of whom it is witnessed that he lives on. And, so to speak, through Abraham even Levi, who received tithes, paid tithes, for he was still in the loins of his father when Melchizedek met him.

Here, notice that there is some exact lexical recurrence going on and that when it occurs (in vv. 8 and 9), the noun is preposed in relation to the verb or verbal word (i.e., in v. 9 there is a participle) in its clause.

In example (109), Heb. 10.32-34, the noun phrase τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας 'the former days' establishes the time frame described in all of vv. 32-34.

- (109) Ἐναμιμνήσκεσθε δὲ τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς
 remember but the former days in which
 φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων,
 being enlightened a great contest you endured of sufferings
 τοῦτο μὲν ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσιν
 this indeed to reproaches both and to afflictions
 θεατριζόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ κοινωνοὶ τῶν οὕτως
 being exposed this but sharers of the thus
 ἀναστρεφόμενων γεννηθέντες· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμοῖς
 living having become and for with the bonded
 συνεπαθήσατε, καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν
 you suffered and the seizure the possessions of you
 μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε, γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς
 with joy you received knowing to have yourselves
 κρεῖττονα ὑπαρξίν καὶ μένουσαν.
 a better possession and remaining

But remember the former days, when, after being enlightened, you endured a great conflict of sufferings, partly, by being made a public spectacle through reproaches and

tribulations, and partly by becoming sharers with those who were so treated. For you showed sympathy to the prisoners, and accepted joyfully the seizure of your property, knowing that you have for yourselves a better possession and an abiding one.

The motif in this section is πολλήν ἀθλήσιν 'a great struggle', as can be seen in the repetition of the ideas of suffering, reproaches, affliction, and seizure throughout the example.

- (110) Πίστει καὶ αὐτῇ Σάρα δύνανει καταβολὴν
by faith also herself Sarah power unto casting

σπέρματος ἔλαβεν καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν ἡλικίας, ἐπεὶ
of seed she received also beyond time of age since

πιστὸν ἡγήσατο τὸν ἐπαγγελιάμενον· διὸ καὶ
faithful she deemed the one who promised wherefore also

ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ ταῦτα νενεκρωμένου, καθὼς τὰ
from one became and these one who died as the

ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ πλήθει καὶ ὡς ἡ ἄμος ἡ
stars of the heaven in the multitude and as the sand the

παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀναρίθμητος.
beside the lip of the sea the innumerable

By faith even Sarah herself received ability to conceive, even beyond the proper time of life, since she considered him faithful who had promised; therefore, also, there was born of one man, and him as good as dead at that, as many descendants as the stars of heaven in number, and innumerable as the sand which is by the seashore.

In example (110), Heb. 11.11-12, δύνανει καταβολὴν σπέρματος 'power for conception' is fronted in its clause and seen as the motif of both vv. 11 and 12, which the reference to the descendants—'as the stars of heaven in multitude and as the sands by the lip of the sea'—from v. 12 makes evident. In example (111), Heb. 11.14-16, πατρίδα 'a fatherland' is revealed as a motif.

- (111) οἱ γὰρ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐμφανίζουσιν ὅτι πατρίδα
the for such ones who say reveal that a fatherland

ἐπιζητοῦσιν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκείνης ἐμνημόνευον
they seek and if indeed that they remembered

ἀφ' ἧς ἐξέβησαν, εἶχον ἂν καιρὸν ἀνακάμψαι·
from which they came out they had then time to return

νῦν δὲ κρείττονος ὀρέγονται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπουρανίου.
now but a better they aspire to this is of heavenly

διὸ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς θεὸς
wherefore not is ashamed them the God God

ἐπικαλεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, ἡτοίμασεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πόλιν.
to be called of them he prepared for to them a city

For those who say such things make it clear that they are seeking a country of their own. And indeed if they had been thinking of that country from which they went out, they would have had opportunity to return. But as it is, they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for he has prepared a city for them.

This is confirmed by the verbs that are used in v. 15, ἐξέβησαν 'they came out' and ἀνακάμψαι 'to return'. Also, the adjective in v. 16 κρείττονος 'a better' refers to πατρίδα 'a fatherland'.

In example (112), Heb. 11.36-38, πείραν 'trial' is the motif signaled by these verses.

(112) ἑτεροὶ δὲ ἐμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαστίγων πείραν ἔλαβον,
others but of mockings and of scourgings trial took

ἔτι δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς ἐλιθάσθησαν,
yet but of bonds and of prison they were stoned

ἐπειράσθησαν, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρης
they were tried they were sawn by murder of a sword

ἀπέθανον, περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις
they died they went about in sheepskins in goat

δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχούμενοι,
skins being in want being afflicted being ill treated

ᾧ οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος, ἐπὶ ἐρημίαις
of whom not was worthy the world on deserts

πλανώμενοι καὶ ὄρεσιν καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς
wandering and mountains and caves and in the holes

τῆς γῆς.
of the earth

and others experienced mockings and scourgings, yes, also chains and imprisonment. They were stoned, they were sawn in two, they were tempted, they were put to death with the sword; they went about in sheepskins, in goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, ill-treated (men of whom the world was not worthy), wandering in deserts and mountains and caves and holes in the ground.

Trial is, again, a very general item. See example (107) above. There the clauses that follow the one where πείραν 'trial' is marked as the motif make reference to specific trials, especially in vv. 37 and 38.

The other subtype of motif-marking that occurs in Hebrews is that of **motif-focusing**. Motif-focusing in clauses in the text reflects two things in the mind of the writer. First, it reflects his assumption that the reader will associate the noun phrase he is about to mention (e.g., the headwaiter) with a previously mentioned setting (e.g., a restaurant). Second, it reflects a desire on the writer's part to **focus** (or narrow) the reader's attention from the larger setting to some detail, whether participant, prop, or concept. The effect on the order of constituents in clauses where motif-focusing is applied to an accusative-noun phrase is that the noun phrase will occur before the verb of its clause. Such focused motifs normally require the definite article to occur with the noun in the phrase. See example (113), Heb. 7.6-7.

(113) ὁ δὲ μὴ γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν δεδεκάτωκεν
the but not reckoning lineage from them has tithed

Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας εὐλόγηκεν.
Abraham and the one having the promises he blessed

χωρὶς δὲ πάσης ἀντιλογίας τὸ ἑλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ
without but all contradiction the better by the

κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται.
greater is blessed

But the one whose genealogy is not traced from them collected a tenth from Abraham, and blessed the one who had the promises. But without any dispute the lesser is blessed by the greater.

By means of an understanding of the story of Abraham and Melchizedek, we know that τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας 'the one having the promises' is a reference to Abraham. It is not only essential that Abraham and Melchizedek be compared at this point, but it is also essential that we understand that Abraham was, in fact, the very one

to whom the promises from God were given. Thus the concept and the reference to Abraham as the one who received promises from God is essential to an understanding of this particular passage, and so it is marked as a focused motif in its clause. Also note example (114), Heb. 9.14-15.

- (114) πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ
 by how much more the blood of the Christ who through
 πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ
 spirit eternal himself offered unblemished to the
 θεῷ, καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων
 God will cleanse the conscience of us from dead works
 εἰς τὸ λατρεῦειν θεῷ ζῶντι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 unto the to serve God who lives and because of this
 διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως θανάτου
 a covenant new mediator he is so that of death
 γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ
 having become unto redemption of the upon the first
 διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ
 covenant transgressions the promise may receive the
 κεκλημένους τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας.
 ones being called of the eternal inheritance

how much more will the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish to God, cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God? And for this reason He is the mediator of a new covenant, in order that since a death has taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were committed under the first covenant, those who have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance.

It is crucial in this sentence to see the connection between τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν 'the promise' and θανάτου 'death', that is, Christ's death. The focus, here, is that the promise of an eternal inheritance being brought to those for whom Christ would die was the main motivation for his dying in the first place. In addition, notice example (115), Heb. 9.19-21.

- (115) λαληθείσης γὰρ πάσης ἐντολῆς κατὰ τὸν
 having been said for all a commandment according to the

νόμον ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα
 law by Moses to all the people taking the blood
 τῶν μόσχων καὶ τῶν τράγων μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρίου
 of the calves and of the goats with water and wool
 κοκκίνου καὶ ὑσσώπου αὐτό τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ πάντα
 scarlet and hyssop itself both the book and all
 τὸν λαὸν ἐράντισεν, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς
 the people he sprinkled saying this the blood of the
 διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός· καὶ τὴν
 covenant which he commanded to you the God and the
 σκηνὴν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας
 tent but also all the vessels of the service
 τῷ αἵματι ὁμοίως ἐράντισεν.
 with the blood likewise he sprinkled

For when every commandment had been spoken by Moses to all the people according to the Law, he took the blood of the calves and the goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying, 'This is the blood of the covenant which God commanded you.' And in the same way he sprinkled both the tabernacle and all the vessels of the ministry with the blood.

τὸ βιβλίον 'the scroll', πάντα τὸν λαὸν 'all the people', τὴν σκηνὴν 'the tabernacle', and πάντα τὰ σκεύη 'all the vessels' are all focused motifs since they were the main participants and props of that which was done κατὰ τὸν νόμον 'according to the Law.' Thus each of these items occurs before the verbs in their clauses.

Sometimes this kind of fronting can involve situations assumed between the writer and his audience as in examples (116), Heb. 10.34, and (117), Heb. 12.12-13.

- (116) καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμίοις συνεπαθήσατε, καὶ τὴν
 and for with the bonded you suffered and the
 ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς
 seizure of the possessions of you with joy
 προσεδέξασθε, γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς κρείττονα
 you accepted knowing to have yourselves a better
 ὑπαρξιν καὶ μένουσαν.
 possession and a remaining

For you showed sympathy to the prisoners, and accepted joyfully the seizure of your property, knowing that you have for yourselves a better possession and an abiding one.

- (117) Διὸ τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα
Wherefore the weakened hands and the paralyzed

γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε, καὶ τροχιάς ὀρθὰς ποιεῖτε τοῖς
knees straighten and tracks straight make to the

ποσὶν ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χωλὸν ἐκτραπῇ, ἰαθῇ
feet of you that not the lame be turned be healed

δὲ μᾶλλον.
but rather

Therefore, strengthen the hands that are weak and the knees that are feeble, and make straight paths for your feet, so that the limb which is lame may not be put out of joint, but rather be healed.

τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ‘the seizure of your possessions’ is not necessarily a part of the discussion at hand. It is also not part of any setting that has been mentioned in the text. Nevertheless, it is the situation which is assumed by the writer about the audience of the text of Hebrews, as shown in the use of a second-person-plural pronoun.

Also in example (117), the list involving χεῖρας ‘hands’, γόνατα ‘knees’, τροχιάς ‘tracks’, and τὸ χωλὸν ‘the lame’ are all assumed as part of the audience’s situation by the writer of Hebrews.

In example (118), Heb. 11.17, we have a further example of this type of motif-marking, which focuses on a part of the setting that was not **true** but was **assumed true** by the audience (and also by the whole culture from which the audience came).

- (118) Πίστει προσενήνοχεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πειραζόμενος,
by faith offered up Abraham the Isaac being tested

καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ προσέφερεν ὁ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας
and the only begotten offered up the the promises

ἀναδεξάμενος,
who undertook

By faith Abraham, when he was tested, offered up Isaac; and he who had received the promises was offering up his only begotten son.

Isaac was not actually μονογενῇ 'only begotten'. A careful consideration of the story in Genesis reveals that Isaac was one of two sons, but the fact is ignored by all Israelites, who have always considered Isaac to be the only-begotten son of Abraham.

As accusative-noun phrases were analyzed in this way, three problem texts were encountered. First of all, example (119), Heb. 13.4, does not seem to fit either category above.

- (119) Τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος,
honorable the marriage with all and the bed undefiled

πόρνους γὰρ καὶ μοιχοὺς κρίνει ὁ θεός.
fornicators for and adulterers will judge the God

Let marriage be held in honor among all, and let the marriage bed be undefiled; for fornicators and adulterers God will judge.

There is no further reference to either fornicators or adulterers in the text. Thus, they are not being **formed** as motifs in v. 4. But also they do not seem to be a naturally assumed part of marriage or the marriage bed either, and so the definite article is left off both πόρνους 'fornicators' and μοιχοὺς 'adulterers'. Perhaps they are being considered a part of the setting but not an assumed part of it. If so, the lack of the definite article might indicate this. This is, however, a problem for the analysis given above.

Example (120), Heb. 11.33-34, also presents a problem.

- (120) οἱ διὰ πίστεως κατηγωνίσαντο βασιλείας, ἐργάσαντο
who through faith overcame kingdoms wrought

δικαιοσύνην, ἐπέτυχον ἐπαγγελιῶν, ἔφραξαν στόματα
righteousness obtained promises stopped mouths

λεόντων, ἔσβεσαν δύναμιν πυρός, ἔφυγον στόματα
of lions quenched power of fire escaped mouths

μαχαίρης, ἐδυναμώθησαν ἀπὸ ἀσθενείας, ἐγενήθησαν
of swords were empowered from weakness became

ἰσχυροὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, παρεμβολὰς ἔκλιναν ἁλλοτριῶν
strong in battle armies made yield of foreigners

who by faith conquered kingdoms, performed acts of righteousness, obtained promises, shut the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the

sword, from weakness were made strong, became mighty in war, put foreign armies to flight.

In this list, παρεμβολάς 'armies' is the only noun phrase that is fronted, and there seems to be no rationale for this, since armies are nowhere else mentioned and they are in no way to be assumed from the **setting** of the story. The only rationale for this position that seems plausible at this point is that παρεμβολάς 'armies' is being fronted for the sake of variety, that is, that an author gets tired of saying things in exactly the same way again and again and so introduces variety by placing a noun phrase before the verb. This is, admittedly, no account of the motivation for this clause order, but Dover (1968:89) strongly asserts that many clauses that he analyzed in classical Greek were ordered by the whim of the author. I suspect that it is not as frequent an occurrence as Dover claims, but at present, I have no better explanation for this example.

A third example of a problem area occurs in example (121), Heb. 7.1-2.

- (121) Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μελχισέδεκ, βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, ἱερεὺς
 this for the Melchizedek king of Salem a priest
 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ὁ συναντήσας Ἀβραάμ
 of the God the most high the one who met Abraham
 ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ
 returning from the slaughter of the kings and
 εὐλογήσας αὐτόν, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων ἐμέρισεν
 blessing him to whom also a tenth of all divided
 Ἀβραάμ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐρμηνευόμενος βασιλεὺς
 Abraham firstly indeed being interpreted king of
 δικαιοσύνης ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, ὃ ἐστίν
 righteousness then but also king of Salem which is
 βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης,
 king of peace

For this Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the Most High God, who met Abraham as he was returning from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him, to whom also Abraham apportioned a tenth part of all the spoils, was first of all, by the translation of his name, king of righteousness, and then also king of Salem, which is king of peace. Without father, without mother, without genealogy,

having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like the Son of God, he abides a priest perpetually. Now observe how great this man was to whom Abraham, the patriarch, gave a tenth of the choicest spoils.

It is v. 2 which causes the problem. Note, first of all, that the noun phrase, δεκάτην 'a tenth', is fronted in its clause—see the discussion of example (108) above. This particular clause causes two problems. First of all, it is in contrast with what has been said above regarding motif formation being accomplished by fronting anarthrous-noun phrases. δεκάτην is clearly not a motif, yet in vv. 1-4, the main focus is a description of Melchizedek. A second problem which is caused by this particular verse is that this is the first time that Abraham is mentioned as the subject of a clause in the text (see section 6), and yet he is **not** fronted. Therefore, this example presents a problem not only to the analysis of accusative-noun phrases but also to the analysis of participant introduction discussed in section 6.

Two considerations may aid us in understanding this situation. Notice καί, which usually means 'and' but may mean 'even', located before the accusative noun δεκάτην 'a tenth'. Possibly this construction is an example of a stylistic foreshadowing of the extensive section, Heb. 7.4-28—see example (121), in which the tithe (tenth) that Abraham gave to Melchizedek is the main proof that Melchizedek is superior to the priesthood of the Levites. Also notice that, whereas Abraham is first mentioned in v. 2, the whole of vv. 1-3 is a description of Melchizedek. It is possible that v. 2 was not considered an appropriate time to introduce Abraham in order that there should be no confusion as to whom vv. 1-3 were describing. This particular situation shows what may be very great skill in terms of the interplay of these rules of ordering, and instances of this type should be investigated in detail to provide insight as to the precise manner in which rules and exceptions to rules apply. Another area that should be investigated more thoroughly concerns what other noun phrases, besides accusative-noun phrases, can occur before the verbs in their clauses as a result of motif-marking. There is some evidence indicating that dative-case noun phrases also participate in motif formation.

In section 11 of Hebrews, the dative-noun phrase πίστει 'by faith' is especially interesting. This section has been recognized (Longacre 1983, Lloyd 1976) as the peak of this discourse. Until chapter 11, in the text, a majority of sentences are begun with some conjunction to link sentences and larger units together. According to the Nestle-Aland (1979) text, nearly all of the paragraphs up to chapter 11 begin with a conjunction. During chapter 11, however, only the first and last

paragraphs begin with conjunctions; paragraphs 2-6 of the chapter have none. They do, however, frequently use *πίστει* 'by faith'. Every paragraph begins with it except in v. 13 which has *κατὰ πίστιν* 'according to faith'. Many of the sentences within these paragraphs also begin with *πίστει*. Altogether there are 17 sentences in Hebrews 11.1-31 that begin with it. Thus, the dative-noun phrase may be seen to be used as a sort of conjunction in this section, accomplishing, first of all, unit of topic and then, secondly, unity between the various situations which are being discussed in the section. It is possible, then, that *πίστει* occurs before the verb to mark it as a motif of Hebrews 11.1-31.

Conclusion

This study posits that the basic order of clause constituents in Koine is **predicate** first, then **subject**, then **object**, then **scope**. Evidence has been presented supporting this claim, as well as some of the factors that cause variant orderings of constituents in texts. In this concluding section, I would like to present two final discussions. First, I will summarize the findings of my investigation in order to provide an overview of the progress I have made in defining the grammatical structure of Koine clauses. Then I will comment on the similarities that all the rules, discussed in the thesis, share with regard to their referential motivation and the grammatical effects that they cause.

Since the most salient feature distinguishing nonpredicate clause constituents from one another is that of case-marking, the summary of my findings about clause-ordering in Koine will group constituents according to marked cases and will discuss what rules can be applied to each group (see table 2).

Nominative constituents may participate in all of the rules except motif-marking; the rule of subject introduction only applies to nominative constituents. Accusative constituents may participate in all the rules except subject introduction; motif-marking only applies to accusative constituents. Dative constituents—whether scope or not, see section 1—may participate in any of the other four rules, as can both scope and nonscope prepositional phrases. Genitive phrases and words are found in nonnormal positions as a result of only two of the rules discussed in this thesis: relative-clause formation and correlative construction. It must be pointed out that genitives are not usually clause constituents and this may account for the fact that other rules do not apply to them.

The rules for relative and interrogative-clause formation, pronominal shifting, correlative construction, and clause-constituent

Table 2: Matrix showing clause orders produced when rules apply to constituents of different cases

	relative/ interr.	pron. shift	corr. constr.	const. neg.	subj. intro.	motif mkg.
Nominative (Subject)	SVOSc	SVOSc	SVOSc	SVOSc	SVOSc	—
Accusative (Dir object)	OVSSc	VOSSc	OVSSc	OVSSc	—	OVSSc
Dative a. (scope)	ScVSO	VScSO	ScVSO	ScVSO	—	—
b. (non-scope clause margin)	MVSOSc	?	MVSOSc	MVSOSc	—	—
Prepositional phrases a. (Scope)	ScVSO	VScSO	ScVSO	ScVSO	—	—
b. (non-scope) clause margin)	MVSOSc	?	MVSOSc	MVSOSc		
Genitive	rel. MVSOSc interr. —	?	MVSOSc	?	—	—

Abbreviations: V, verb; S, subject; O, direct object; Sc, scope; M, margin; ?, not known; —, application of rule not likely

negation can apply to any of the clause constituents without restrictions of case-marking. On the other hand, subject introduction and motif-marking may only apply to nominatives and accusatives respectively. These last two rules, then, differ from the others in terms of their restrictions applicable to clause-constituent types.

A consideration of the clause orders noted in the boxes in table 2 reveals that all of the rules operate on clause constituents, placing them earlier in the clause than their normal positions. All of the rules except pronominal shifting place the constituent before the predicate of the clause. When pronominal shifting operates on a nominative pronoun, it is placed before the predicate, but accusative and dative pronouns and pronominal heads of prepositional phrases are placed immediately after the verb.

Sgall (1974:30-31) has noted that what occurs at or near the beginning of the clause is, in some sense, **given** information, whereas what occurs later in the clause is more likely to be **new** information. He

has observed in Czech that rules that shift constituents toward the beginning of the clause always reflect that the constituent is more given (less new) in its context than it would have been if the clause were in isolation. The structuring of given and new information, then, could be a referential motivation for the operation of these grammatical rules, since all of them do make constituents appear before their usual positions in clauses. I would suggest that the single referential motivation behind all rules in Koine that place constituents before the predicates of their clauses is **relator-related information structuring**. The constituent that occurs before the verb is the **relator** and the rest of the clause is the **related**. The purpose of such structuring, then, is to relate the new information contained in the clause to all or part of the information given previously in the text. I prefer the terms **relator** and **related** to **given** and **new** because the rules of subject introduction and motif-marking frequently operate on constituents that are not **given** previously in the text but which, nevertheless, relate the following **new** information to given information. These constituents are not themselves **given**, but rather **relate** given information to new. More research needs to be done in this area and more needs to be understood about the (tagmemic) referential hierarchy and its relation to the grammatical hierarchy before more can be said about this.

FOOTNOTES

¹GRAMCORD uses a special text of the Koine New Testament, in which each word has been given a grammatical 'tag' (i.e., all possible relevant grammatical categories that are marked by the form of the word). GRAMCORD can search for segments of text that contain verbs following nominative nouns, or verbs preceding them, or nominative nouns preceding or following accusative nouns, etc.. Acts was included in the data to provide a more reliable base. The computer could search both Hebrews and Acts for a certain clause-ordering in less than a minute.

²This is the case in English. Although it is possible to say 'John, Mary likes; Bill, she despises' instead of 'Mary likes John; she despises Bill' or 'Mary gave John a book' instead of 'Mary gave a book to John', the latter examples are analyzed as the basic order, and the others are taken to be conditioned variants of some kind.

³See Pike and Pike (1976:2) on the difference between etic and emic analytical perspectives.

⁴The New American Standard version (NASB) is being used for biblical quotations.

⁵I do not use the terms **elaborated** and **restricted** in the sense that the elaborated is in any way superior to the restricted, but rather I use them in the sense which Hymes (1974:205) uses them—to distinguish between **context-dependent** (restricted) and **context-independent** (elaborated) codes.

⁶Maxwell (1979:356, 358) might not allow the analysis I propose for two reasons. First, he says that true relative pronouns cannot carry either semantic or noun-class features, of which Koine relative pronoun gender and number categories must be either one or the other. Second, he rejects the notion that relatives occur 'between the head NP [i.e.,

of the imbedding clause] and the restricting clause', being based upon data from Russian wherein the genitival relative occurs **after** the noun phrase it modifies (thus **within** the relative clause and **not between** clauses). To these claims, I have two comments: (1) The fact that a relative pronoun has semantic or grammatical information does not automatically mean that that information came from the lexicon. If such information did not come from the lexicon, but rather is derived from the head NP by a rule of grammatical cohesion, as I have described it, then there is no lexical distinction between relatives that have semantic and grammatical features and those that do not; (2) Data from languages that do not require relatives to occur before the entire restricting clause should influence the analysis of languages only if the latter have been influenced by the former historically (Russian has had no such historical influence in the development of Koine).

⁷That is, the Accessibility Hierarchy states that subject NP's are more commonly relativized than are direct object NP's, which are more commonly relativized than indirect object NP's, etc. It is appropriate, then, that the formation of genitival-relative pronouns, which are low in the Accessibility Hierarchy, should not be allowed unless they modify the subject.

⁸The chiasmus is a literary device involving the arrangement of items in an order such that one half of the structure is in exactly the opposite order from the other half. The common rhyming pattern, a-b-c-c-b-a, for a six-line stanza would be an example of a phonological chiasmus.

⁹Adjunct is defined (in Webster's dictionary 1965) as 'a word or word group that completes or qualifies the meaning of another word or word group.' Pike and Pike (1977:481) use this term to denote 'a nonfocused, nonpredicate, noncomplement tagmeme within the clause root.'

¹⁰Since in both of these last two examples comparisons seem to be involved, it is somewhat debatable whether the rule that requires them to occur before the verbs in their clauses is **subject introduction** or **correlative construction** (as discussed in section 4). However, the use of *πρότερον* 'formerly' in example (90) and *δέ* 'but' in example (91) are not actually for the purpose of comparison or contrast at all since the context of these two examples does not mention anyone with whom the reader is to compare these two. *Πρότερον* is used simply to identify that the ones talked about lived in the past, whereas *δέ* clearly is used as a coordinate, rather than contrastive, conjunction.

¹¹Notice that in Heb. 13.1 the mood of the verb is imperative. This is the only example of such introductions being applied to clauses having imperative-mood verbs, but this kind of verb is not all that common in Hebrews. Therefore, further study is needed to determine whether the rule of subject introduction applies to all moods equally well.

¹²In the next section I will present the notion that accusative-noun phrases containing definite articles have special significance when they occur before the verbs in their clauses. Briefly, when accusative-noun phrases meet these two conditions (i.e., they contain definite articles and also occur before the verb), they are always a part of the **setting** of either the readers' situation or the historical situation being discussed by the writer.

¹³Birk and Birk (1968:897) define motif in English as 'a repeated detail . . . used to give texture and unity to a piece of writing'.

¹⁴Pike and Pike (1977:378-380) observe that the mention of certain situations gives rise to assumptions on the part of both speaker and hearer (or writer and reader) as to the setting (i.e., cast, props, or concepts) that is normally a part of such a situation.

They propose the treatment of such settings within the realm of **referential** (as opposed to grammatical or phonological) analysis. In light of their view that phonemic variations resulting from grammatical phenomena be treated as **morphophonemics**, I propose that referential phenomena affecting grammatical variations be treated under **refero-syntactics**. As an example of the effect that such assumptions of setting may have in English, consider the articles that may or may not accompany certain noun phrases in the following sentences:

I entered the restaurant and spoke to (a) the headwaiter, (b) a teacher (whom I knew), (c) * a headwaiter, (d) * the teacher.

I entered the classroom and spoke to (a) the teacher, (b) ? a headwaiter (whom I knew and who was taking night courses there), (c) ? a teacher, (d) * the headwaiter.

The mention of settings such as classrooms and restaurants sets up certain shared assumptions between communicator and audience that allow certain noun phrases to appear with definite articles the first time they occur. Without the mention of these settings, English would require the use of an indefinite article in the noun phrase on its first occurrence. As the above examples show, when the setting does not presuppose the presence of some participant, prop, or concept (i.e., teachers in restaurants and headwaiters in classrooms are allowed but not presupposed), the mention of those items as nouns also requires the use of an indefinite article within the noun phrase.

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SUBANEN NORMATIVE DISCOURSE: IMPLICATIONS FOR TRANSLATION

Robert Brichoux

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0. Introduction

During a naive check of 2 Corinthians, relatively mature Subanen Christians failed to answer many questions. Why was this? The words were correct. The sentences were correct. Why were they able to answer some questions and not others? This consideration prompted further study of Central Subanen¹ normative discourse.²

1. Previous studies

In a previous study of Subanen hortatory discourse (R. Brichoux and Hale 1977), we learned that each hortation, referred to then as hortatory point, has the following constituents: hortatory motivation, projected conflict situation, and command element. The hortatory motivation is the reason for compliance with the command element, which may be highly veiled but clearly points to the action called for within the projected conflict situation. The motivations almost constantly refer to societal norms among the Subanens. How to make such a normative discourse (Walrod 1983:17-18) effective was discussed, as well as how tension is built up within a normative discourse. The itch that failed to be scratched was, how does one translate New Testament writings into Subanen so that they contain effective hortations? This is an especially significant question in view of the fact that the cultures represented by the receptor language and the source language have different norms.

The same topic was taken up again during a discourse workshop conducted by Robert Longacre in 1982. With Charles Peck's help, we concluded that in Subanen hortatory discourse there are three strands of thematic material: the backbone consisting of exhortations, the thread of constructions marked as topic, and the occurrences of the thematic case-marking particle *ki* (R. Brichoux 1984, F. Brichoux 1984). In addition, a surface structure was postulated which generally handled the data well, including a tagmemic representation of it. But

again, we did not lay out arrangements of units in such a way that we had a model to follow in translation. It was descriptive, but not prescriptive. The tagmemic representation for Subanen hortatory discourse could probably be duplicated for hundreds of languages:

+/- Introduction +Hortatory Point *n* +/- Conclusion +/- Closure.

That study highlighted mitigation. What we learned was valuable and necessary, but we have continued to wonder what surface features are expected in Subanen normative discourse.

2. The current study

In order to find answers to my questions, I studied six Subanen normative discourses in depth, five written ones and one spoken. Of the five written ones, three were done for publication with a view to making a genuine impact on people, and one was an exercise in combining the Subanen tradition of ancient history with the biblical account. The other written one and also the oral one were contrived wedding speeches referred to as *kamal* and traditionally spoken to bride and groom with only the parents present.

3. Surface structure of hortatory points

Since the syntactic shape of the hortatory points is the focus of this study, the shapes of all the tagmemes will be presented first. I have altered the tagmemic representation to read as follows:

+ Introduction + (+/- Hortatory Point *n* + PEAK) + Conclusion +/- Closure

Thus the minimal normative discourse would consist of an introduction, a hortatory peak, and a conclusion. This is not to say that *Ndi'a menaug!* 'Get out of here!' is not a hortatory discourse, but it is maintained that such a statement is actually a discourse fragment whose introduction and conclusion are nonlinguistic, which may well be true of many 'normative discourses' in the world. Those kinds of discourses are irrelevant, I believe, to the study appropriate for making New Testament exhortations intelligible in Subanen.

3.1. Introduction. Each normative discourse studied had an introduction, ranging from half a sentence (nine words) in one discourse to a sentence of forty-one words of a paragraph in another. The sentence types were cleft sentences (Jones 1977:195-96), equationals,

circumstantials, and conditionals. The end of each of the introductions in my corpus was signaled by the onset of the first hortatory point and paragraph, which perhaps goes without saying.

Example of cleft sentence:

Now then, this is what my advice to you all is like.

Example of equational plus simple sentence:

I am Dulin the one who is writing this short bit of advice, which is good for young people to follow. Today **I have written you what is good to be followed**, which won't hurt yourselves nor bother your situation.

Example of circumstantial sentence:

Now then, when there was nothing called government yet, the way things were was very different.

Example of conditional sentence:

Now then, as for what is ahead, if we do not know what will happen to us in the future, it is worse if we do not seek the way which is good for us to travel, leading to life in the future.

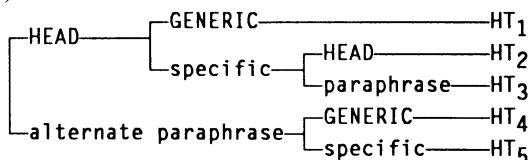
No doubt these sentence types do not exhaust the possibilities; but, given their notional function of introducing new information, they are probably fairly representative.

3.2. Hortatory point. Although we said previously (R. Brichoux 1984) that the lengthier text in the appendix of that article had four hortatory points, now we say that it had four 'hortatory packages' consisting of several 'hortatory points.'

A hortatory point in Subanen normative discourse consists of one exhortation or a group of exhortations. If a group, then the exhortations in the group can be shown to be related syntagmatically; that is, they have interpropositional relations such as paraphrase, alternation paraphrase, generic-specific, etc., between them (Barnwell 1980; Beekman, Callow, Kopesec 1981). These relations between exhortations are in addition to any interpropositional relations between hortations and other nonhortatory supportive sentences in the paragraph. For an example of interpropositional relations between exhortations, note that in the following example, the second exhortation is a paraphrase of the first:

When your parents tell you to do or not to do something, **obey them**, because it is not good to disregard what our parents say. For you haven't yet experienced what your parents have, **so keep on agreeing to** [what they say].

One text, too lengthy to quote and translate here, has a series of five exhortations with the following propositional relations (HT = exhortation):



A hortatory package, by contrast, consists of a series of paradigmatically-related hortatory points; that is, they have a single topic, in the traditional sense of the term. In his own account of the Decalogue, a young Subanen author grouped all those commands having to do with one's fellow person as the first five. Then he grouped three, pertaining to the unseen world (the devil and God), and finally one about one's parents and one about the day of rest. There are ten hortatory points grouped into four hortatory packages. The first five lack the cohesiveness of being a hortatory point, as do the second three. To save space, they are cited here in abbreviated translation:

First, don't kill because it will bring supernatural retribution.

Second, don't steal because it is a great offense.

Third, don't be immoral because it is a great offense.

Fourth, don't covet another's house because it is a great offense.

Fifth, don't backbite; don't lie to me.

It should be noted that the final injunction sets the stage for the next hortatory package by introducing a new topic (the beneficiary) for the exhortations: the unseen, rather than one's fellow persons.

Sixth, don't make any image of me because it is an offense.

Seventh, don't offer sacrifice to the devil because it is an offense.

Eighth, don't call on other gods outside myself . . . because I am jealous.

The ninth and tenth injunctions are related to the preceding only in that they are members of the series given by God.

3.3. Hortatory peak. The hortatory peak is not structurally different from other hortatory paragraphs, except that its nuclear exhortation is marked by extreme length or unusual shortness and possibly by

other phenomena still to be discovered. For example, in a text by Basilio Promon (1987), the average sentence length is fourteen words, and the sentences vary from two to thirty-six words in length. Yet the sentence that seems to contain the projected resolution of the projected conflict situation contains just seven words and they are minimal. There are no conjunctions, interjections, emotive particles, or modifiers. It consists only of an imperative clause, translated literally as (PL = plural—parenthesis indicates that the marker is attached to the pronoun):

Not you(PL) talk-back-to the PL parents your(PL).

On the other hand, in the text by Dulino Anulay (1987), where the average number of words per sentence is twenty-one, the peak exhortation contains no less than forty-six words, including vocative, two sentence-level and two clause-level conjunctions, and three clauses:

So, today, my fellow young people, finally I say to you, this is what is good for us to study well, the written Word of God, because there we can acquire and can know good motivation (lit., ability to be good and generous), and true experiential-good is good for us to follow.

One could characterize the peak as minus embellishment (unmitigated) or plus embellishment (mitigated).

3.4. Conclusion. Two normative texts in our corpus end (both are truncated) after the final hortation. Others have a conclusion in the form of an expository paragraph expressing an apologetic statement (e.g., ‘You probably know more about this than I do, anyway’) or a projected outcome (‘Maybe God will cause the government to help us’).

3.5. Closure. Actually, closure, in a text that subsequently proved to be very effective, was the first sentence of the conclusion; hence it may be that closure is a part of conclusion or vice versa. A wider corpus may prove the point. Since neither tagmeme appears to be necessary, for translation purposes we only need to know the form a conclusion takes.

4. Hortatory paragraphs

Hortatory paragraphs realize hortatory points, which have the shape:

+ onset +/- body +/- coda

The nuclear exhortation may occur in **any** of the three slots, but in only **one** of them; and although the onset and coda appear to have restricted sets of sentence types, sentences that make up the body do not. Sixty-nine percent of the nuclear exhortations in my corpus occur in the onset slot, twenty-four percent in the next sentence, that is, in the first sentence of the body of the paragraph, five percent elsewhere in the body, and two percent (one occurrence) in the coda.

In terms of the interpositional relations between the exhortations within any hortatory point, the nuclear exhortation comes first, and successive exhortations, if there are any, are related to it (for a list of constructions that qualify as 'exhortations' see R. Brichoux 1984:96). No exception has been found to this rule.

4.1. Onset. The onset of a hortatory point is filled by a sentence beginning with any of these six conjunctions: *naa* 'now then,' *sa* 'if (contingent),' *laak* 'but (weak adversative),' *muka* 'and,' *mendadi* 'so then', and *kaas* 'therefore'. Or it may be filled by a sentence beginning with a time word such as *nandaw* 'nowadays', an ordinal number such as *kedua'en*, or any of the following, with or without one of the preceding conjunctions: a vocative noun or second person pronoun (often both), a polite word such as *meketabia* 'excuse the mention of it', a preposed noun phrase, or a relative clause introducing a cleft sentence such as *as iin ig melengas . . .* 'this is what is good [to do] . . .'

4.2. Body. Almost any type of Subanen sentence may occur in the body of a hortatory paragraph. However, unless they are part of embedded narrative or procedural paragraphs, sentences with characteristically chronological linkage do not occur. When a non-onset sentence contains an exhortation, it also contains a clause or is followed by a sentence that states a reason, a result, or a purpose.

4.3. Coda. The coda of the hortatory paragraph is filled by a sentence beginning with one of the following conjunctions: *naa* 'now then,' *sa* 'if,' *muka* 'and,' *mendadi* 'so then', *kaas* 'therefore', *pu* 'because', or with a preposed noun phrase, a rhetorical question, or again, the cleft-sentence introductory clause. Such sentences often take the form of reason–result, the latter half of which is introduced by the conjunction *adun* 'so that.' A large number of codas are also filled by a result–reason sentence in which the final clause is introduced by *pu*. Thus the onset and coda of hortatory paragraphs or points share five of seven conjunctions as the potential filler of the sentence-initial slot as well as preposed noun phrase and cleft-sentences. When any two such sentences occur successively, very likely there is a paragraph break between them. There is a long list of

sentence types which do not occur in the onset and coda slots—for instance, simple VSO (i.e., verb-subject-object) sentences, existentials, examples, quotations, and sentences with preposed time margins or negatives, to name a few.

5. Application

The crucial step in this analysis is to apply our conclusions to already translated hortatory material and see if the surface features match. The following back translation is the result of analysis of 2 Corinthians 6:14-18 to see if it matches the conclusions of this study (RHQ = rhetorical question marker—unattached).

14. Now-then, not you be-one with PL not yet believed in *Isukristu*, because not can-be-one. Partners RHQ the wise-good and wrongdoer? Be-one RHQ to-dwell the brilliance and darkness? 15. The *Kristu* and the Perverter, not can-mutually-agree. Not also can-be-companion the one-who-believes in *Kristu* and the one-who-disbelieves him. 16. Not can-mix-the worship to God there-at-the beseech-place to-him and the worship to images. Because beseech we(inc) the God no-the end-of-life-span-his. Because like that-the was-said by God written in-the written Word-his, Go-home-I to-the PL people-my, be-one-I to-dwell with-them; become-I worshipped-one their, and become they my people. 17. Like spoke also the Lord, must go-out you(PL) from-the PL ones-who-worship the PL arbitrary gods, separate you(PL) from-them. Must not the doing your with-the defiled and dirty; accept-I you(PL) then. 18. Become-I Father your-I, and child-my you(PL), the child-female and child-male. That the said by-the Lord, the ultimate powerful God.

There are several observations to be made about this translation and the text that underlies it. First of all there is no introduction, which is a constituent apparently required by the language. Paul had finished what he wrote about his struggles that vindicated his ministry and apostleship; then he had given a short apologetic, apparently to enlist their sympathy; and then he launched into the subject of relations with unbelievers.

The first hortatory point is, 'Don't try to be partners with unbelievers.' It is supported very nicely with a reason clause, 'because (you) can't be one (with them).' Two rhetorical questions follow, which are examples of different things that cannot be united. Then

statements are made that specify three instances of what cannot be one: Christ and the devil, believers and unbelievers, worship of God and pagan worship. A reason sentence follows. A second-reason sentence follows that, introducing the Old Testament quotations. The transition to the quotation is parallel to the transition to the imbedded narrative in one of the texts in my corpus, but not parallel to the introduction of quotations.

Finally, the conclusion is not in the final sentence of the hortatory point, as is always the case in my Subanen corpus. Another sentence follows the conclusion, which in the Greek text, is just a present active participle with its object and a prepositional phrase and which could be interpreted as result.

I suggest the following restructuring, based on my findings in this study:

(1) In the first sentence, add an introduction such as 'Now-then this being-partners with-the PL not yet believed in *Isukristu* . . .'

(2) Change the introduction to the Old Testament quotations to read: 'Not RHQ written in-the Written Word by God . . .'

(3) Finally, combine the last sentence with the preceding one with 'so-that'.

These simple kinds of surface markings may seem inconsequential. However, they can make or break our translations and thus are well worth the discovery process and the revision they provoke.

NOTES

¹Central Subanen was formerly referred to within SIL by the name **Sindangan Subanun**. The designation has been changed since the approximately 110,000 Subanens, who speak one of a group of dialects called by this name, actually inhabit thirty some municipalities on southwest Mindanao, Philippines, not just the town of Sindangan.

²For, though I have been translating Scripture for seventeen years into the central Subanen language, I need the answer as I face the translation of the remaining eleven percent of the New Testament.

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OPTAT STYLE SHEET

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 the placing of complete bibliographical references and footnotes at the end. Please note also the conventions in regard to capitalization, language forms, translation glosses, and the use of quotation marks.

For the 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 or Hebrew alphabet is used, hand-printed forms are not acceptable. Either a Greek or Hebrew typewriter/typehead must be employed or good black fotocopy must be made, cut, and pasted in the appropriate spaces.

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4. Punctuation.

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(c) Words containing prefixes are written solid, without hyphens, when no misreading will result: antimentalism, contradistinction, extrasystemic, prevocalic, semivowel, subdialect, superstock. The prefix is followed by a hyphen when the next element begins with a capital: non-Germanic, pre-Greek.

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Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1965. The atomization of meaning. *Language* 41:555-73.

Brugmann, Karl. 1906. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1. Strassburg: Trubner.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1965. Review of grammar discovery procedures, by R. E. Longacre. *Language*, 41:640-7.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic structures*. (*Janua linguarum*, 4.) The Hague: Mouton.

Hockett, Charles F. 1964. The Proto Central Algonquian kinship system. *Explorations in cultural anthropology*, ed. by Ward Goodenough, 239-58. New York: McGraw-Hill.

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(a) Consonants: ^ʾ b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ^ʿ p q r š ś t (ʿ Alep and ʿ Ayin should be written in with a pen, if the raised semicircle is not available on a typewriter/typehead. Do not use ʾ for alep or raised ^ʿ for ayin.)

(b) Vowels: a (pataḥ), ā (qāmeṣ), â (final qāmeṣ hē), e (sēgōl), ē (šērê), ê (final and medial šērê yōd and medial sēgōl yōd), i (short ḥîreq defectively written), î (medial or final ḥîreq yōd), o (qāmeṣ ḥâtûp), ô (ḥōlem defectively written), ô (ḥōlem fully written), u (short qibbûṣ), û (long qibbûṣ defectively written), û (šûreq). Other final vowels are to be written with the appropriate vowel sign followed by hē (or âlep) or mater lectionis (e.g., Šēlômôh, yigleh, qārâʾ (but qārâ), hinnêh, sūsāyw). Furtive pataḥ is to be recorded as pataḥ (e.g. rūaḥ). Reduced vowels are to be written with the breve: ä, ë, ö. (No distinction is made between simple šewâ and hâtêp sēgōl.) Short vowels fully written should be shown as o(w), u(w), i(y), e.g., bëqu(w)štâʾ. 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 maqqêp.

2. 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.

3. Transliteration of Greek. Th is to be used for θ, ph for φ, ch for χ, ps for ψ, ê (not ê) for η, ô (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: ã for α, ç for η, ç for ω.