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<b>Knut M. Heim:</b>	183
Coreferentiality Structure and Context in Proverbs 10:1–5	
<b>Loren F. Bliese:</b>	210
Chiastic and Homogeneous Metrical Structures Enhanced by Word Patterns in Obadiah	
<b>Jeffrey T. Reed:</b>	228
Discourse Features in New Testament Letters with Special Reference to the Structure of 1 Timothy	
<b>Tim Hawthorne:</b>	253
A Discourse Analysis of Paul's Shipwreck: Acts 27:1–44	
<b>Robert F. Wolfe:</b>	274
Rhetorical Elements in the Speeches of Acts 7 and 17	

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# COREFERENTIALITY, STRUCTURE AND CONTEXT IN PROVERBS 10:1–5

Knut M. Heim

## 1. Introduction

The book of Proverbs in the Old Testament does not feature much in Christian teaching and preaching. Part of the problem lies with the fact that in the past the vast majority of individual sayings have been understood as a merely haphazard collection of atomistic aphorisms, especially in the second (10:1–22:16) and fourth (chaps. 25–29) collections of the book. The purpose of this investigation is to assess whether groups of individual proverbs in the second collection can be understood as **coherent discourse**.<sup>1</sup>

As a testcase we will take Prov. 10:1–5, which consists of five apparently independent and unrelated sayings. This particular passage was chosen because it stands at the beginning of the collection and thus serves as its introduction, deciding the text processing strategies the reader will adopt for the rest of the text corpus. In order for Prov. 10:1–5 to function as coherent discourse, four conditions should be met:

1. Coreferentiality of the main protagonists (or some of them)
2. Coherence between the sayings (through semantic links and inference)
3. Coreferentiality and coherence should coincide
4. If the first three conditions are met, the expected result is that the individual sayings give a context to one another and thus mutually influence their meaning. This meaning in context should manifest itself in a logical development of thought.

Should these conditions be met, we would not be talking about these verses as “no more than a gathering together of a large number of

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<sup>1</sup>The expression **coherent discourse** is used in a technical sense: Every saying in Proverbs is understood as a **text**, that is, ‘a meaningful sequence of symbols in a natural language’. Each of them can stand as a text on its own. A **discourse**, in contrast, is understood as a communicative act, that is ‘text in context’. By calling it **coherent** discourse we mean that there are links between those sayings that do not necessarily manifest themselves through **cohesion**, overt linguistic elements (such as pronouns, etc.), but rather through semantic relations and inference. For an introductory discussion of these terms, see Enkvist (1989:369–82). This article is part of research in progress for a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Liverpool, Department of Oriental Studies, under the supervision of Prof. Alan Millard.

independent sentences" with "no context" which have an "atomistic character" (McKane 1985:413). Rather, it is possible that the original recipient of the collection perceived it or parts of it as a coherent discourse. Those sayings with characters that can be interpreted as coreferential were then addressed to a particular person or a particular group of people and the meaning of one saying shaped and influenced the meaning of others in context and vice versa. This could mean that our understanding of the individual sayings in Proverbs and in the collection(s) as a whole will be greatly enhanced.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Method

**2.1 Method for the study of coreferentiality.** The study of coreferentiality follows the methods established in modern linguistic semantics. Two major steps are taken.

**Step 1. Demarcation.** First an inventory of all the terms and expressions are listed (these can be single lexemes, their wordforms, and compound forms). These fall into a broad semantic field which we tentatively call **characters**.<sup>3</sup> These character terms are demarcated with the help of established lexical meanings as found in the major dictionaries. A tentative relationship is established between the different terms. Synonyms and antonyms are listed following the surface structure of synonymous and antithetic parallelism.<sup>4</sup> In order to distinguish them more precisely, a network of relationships is demonstrated by grouping them into semantic fields. This should give a clearer picture of the differences and similarities between the terms. It is very important to take this initial step because it safeguards against blurring the distinctions between the characters in the

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<sup>2</sup>Such a coherent discourse may have a discernible structure which can facilitate the understanding of the whole collection. A hierarchy in the text may be discerned, different groups of sayings being identified. Also, it may be possible to find different themes within the work. However, these questions are not under the scope of this present investigation, which is merely designed to build the basis for further studies in those areas.

<sup>3</sup>Interestingly, other persons appear in the chapter as well. They are not characterized, however. Rather, they are—sometimes implicitly—used as **points of reference** for characterizations. These can be Solomon (in the universe of the discourse) and specified or unspecified other persons, implicit or explicitly mentioned. It can be the characters themselves and it can be YHWH.

<sup>4</sup>The expressions synonym and antonym are used here in a very imprecise way, see below.



chapter and takes account of the intuitive perception of the original readers or listeners.

**Step 2. Distribution analysis in context.** This second step attempts to examine the features of the persons addressed in Proverbs 10 in more detail, using insights gained from step 1. By distribution analysis we mean the "sum of all contexts in which a given word occurs" (Kedar 1981:46, translation mine) within a given text corpus. The question to be answered is in what way the synonyms and antonyms established in step 1 are related to one another. In which syntagmatic relationships do they arise? Naturally, they will be very similar, as all expressions studied belong to the same semantic field (persons) and the same word class (nominal forms). However, this procedure may reveal some areas which are featured prominently and other areas which are mutually exclusive. The syntagms of each term are categorized and the contexts in which each character occurs are compared; common and disparate categories of the different characters will be noted. Paradigmatic and mutually exclusive character terms will be related. The important question is: which character terms can refer to or substitute for one another in certain contexts within Proverbs 10?

**Conclusion.** The preceding two steps provide a sound basis for judging whether and how the characters addressed in Proverbs 10 relate to one another. If the commonalities are striking and they have similar features, syntagmatic relations, and connotations, the most plausible explanation is that they can have the same referent. Put another way: the sayings about different characters in Proverbs 10 may be addressed to the same person(s). However, if differences, incongruity, and dissimilarities between character terms at different levels of the investigation are detected, the most plausible conclusion would be that the characters addressed in the collection and thus their referents in the real world are different. Nevertheless, the results of this investigation may still help to establish groups of characters. This may lead to a disclosure of the 'inner structure'<sup>5</sup> of the collection.

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<sup>5</sup>For this term and a related study see Conrad 1967:67-76. He looks at the two major antonymous word-pairs, righteous—wicked and wise—fool with their respective synonyms. His conclusion is that the synonyms can be identified with their main terms and thus two main complexes arise, which are general, but do have concrete traits as well. Thus an inner structure is discernible. "Sie dient der Übersichtlichkeit des Stoffes... aber darüber hinaus der inhaltlichen Deutung der Hauptbegriffe, die durch Beobachtung der vielfältigen Beziehungen, in denen sie stehen, wenigstens teilweise erklärt werden können." (p. 75)

**2.2 Method for the study of coherence.** In order to select the appropriate method to identify coherence in Proverbs 10:1–5, some reflection on the nature of the text in question is necessary. It is clear from the outset that our passage belongs to biblical poetry. This means that we should not expect **coherence** to the same degree as is found in narrative or other prose texts. In an article on the function of incoherence in modern poetry, Klopfer (1988:280) mentions that poetry was traditionally described through negative categories like incoherence, abnormality, deviation, deformation, discontinuity, dissonance, and obscurity. This is to some degree true of all poetry. At the same time this problem is increased because we are dealing with an anthology of proverbs. These are syntactically independent units which can stand on their own. Thus we should also not expect a great degree of **cohesion** between those proverbs.<sup>6</sup> This lack of coherence and cohesion on the surface level of the text is no proof that there are no links at all. Rather, we should assume that apparent incoherence in a text may be intentional. Incoherence can be an organizing principle which stimulates coherence re-construction, as a cold shower stimulates circulation (Klopfer 1988:279). Therefore we will look for coherence and/or cohesion on different levels.

On the first level, attention will be given to phonological, semantic, syntactic, and rhetoric links. On the second level, which will draw together the findings about coherence and coreferentiality, thematic links will be established and inferences about the connections between proverbs will be made.

### 3. Coreferentiality in Prov. 10:1–5

**3.1 Demarcation.** The inventory lists all relevant character terms in Prov. 10 with an English translation and the verses in which they occur. No account is taken of different word-forms, e.g., plural or construct forms, unless they are an essential part of the expression's meaning.

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<sup>6</sup>However, such cohesion does occur; cf. Prov. 10:24. *What the wicked fears, that overtakes him, but the desire of the righteous HE will grant.* The pronoun *he* here needs an antecedent which is found in the person of YHWH in verse 22. In such an instance cohesion and coherence must be assumed unless one postulates ungrammaticality (indeed some emendations have been suggested).

Character term <sup>7</sup>	English translation	Reference (chapter 10, verse)
<i>ṣaddīq</i>	righteous	2*, 3, 6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32
<i>rāšāʿ</i>	wicked	2*, 3, 6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32
<i>ḥākām</i>	wise	1, 8, 14
<i>maškīl</i>	competent	5, 19
* <i>ʾōgēr baqqayīš</i>	someone who gathers in summer	5
* <i>nirdām baqqāšīr</i>	someone who sleeps during harvest	5
<i>bēn mēḥīš</i>	disgraceful son	5
* <i>kap-rēmiyyāh</i>	lazy worker	4
* <i>yaḍ ḥārūšīm</i>	diligent worker	4
<i>kēsīl</i>	fool	1, 18, 23
* <i>ʿēwīl</i>	simpleton	8, 10, 14, 21
<i>āšēl</i>	sluggard	26
* <i>bērōḥ dēbārīm</i>	someone who speaks too much	19

*ṣaddīq* and *rāšāʿ* are the dominating terms (27 occurrences). This word pair belongs in the realm of **moral** language. A second word pair is formed by the terms *ḥākām* and *kēsīl* or *ʿēwīl*.<sup>8</sup> These three terms together make up ten occurrences. The word pair belongs to the realm of **intellectual** terms. The *maškīl* (two occurrences) can be grouped with them,<sup>9</sup> adding up to a number of 12 terms in the realm of intellectual language. Thus two groups of characterizations dominate this chapter in Proverbs: moral and intellectual. Besides these, there is a third group of terms which belong to the semantic field of diligence. These are the phrases *ʾōgēr baqqayīš* and *nirdām baqqāšīr* together with the metonymies *kap-rēmiyyāh* and *yaḍ ḥārūšīm*.

<sup>7</sup>In some contexts no direct character term appears where there is still a character implied. This is the case, e.g., in verse 2, where *ʾōšērōt rešaʿ* 'illgotten treasures' implies 'someone who acquires wealth by devious practices'. In such instances an asterisk is used to indicate the implication.

<sup>8</sup>The term *ʿēwīl* has been included because of its close relationship to *kēsīl*.

<sup>9</sup>The antonyms of the 'competent' do not belong in this group semantically; but see below.

Another important observation is that all these character terms can be grouped in either positive or negative characterizations.

**3.2 Synonyms and antonyms.** An important feature of the sayings in Proverbs 10 is their style. All of them display some kind of *parallelismus membrorum*, a typical mark of Hebrew poetry. Verses 10, 18, 22, and 26 have two cola in **synonymous** parallelism. All other sayings have two cola which stand in **antithetic** parallelism to each other. How can parallelism be used to establish synonyms and antonyms? Under step 1 the analysis of synonyms and antonyms follows the surface structure of antithetic and synonymous parallelism, as well as the sentences with the topic-predicate relationship of the type (X = Y). That is, contrasted, compared, and juxtaposed terms are related to one another without giving attention to focus of comparison, context, and other features within the deep structure of the sentences.<sup>10</sup> From a psycholinguistic point of view it seems reasonable to assume that the original recipient will first of all be sensitive to the surface structure of contrasts and comparisons in parallelism, rather than their deep structure.

**Relationships between moral terms.** Generally, it is noticeable that, although moral terms make up the bulk of character terms with respect to their frequency, they do not seem to display a diversity of semantic relationships on this level. The *ṣaddîq* is identified with the metaphorical *mēqôr ḥayyîm* (v. 11), and the semantically related term *tôm* (vv. 9, 29) is also synonymous. Its antonyms are *ʿēwîl* (v. 21), the metonymy *lēšôn tahpuḱôṭ* (v. 31) and *rāšāʿ* (vv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30, and 32). The antonym *ʿēwîl* from the semantic field of intellectual terms is particularly interesting, as it shows that there can be a direct relationship

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<sup>10</sup>At first sight, this procedure seems to state the obvious. However, when reading through the tenth chapter of Proverbs, the reader is immediately struck by the diversity of character terms. They are distributed throughout a text corpus consisting of thirty-two apparently independent syntactic units which are hardly ever connected by obvious links (particles, conjunctions, etc). In addition, they display a variety of forms and most of them are antithetical in themselves. To the modern reader this inevitably creates the impression that this part of the collection is hopelessly disparate and without any coherence, especially if he is dependent on a translation of the text. As an illustration, consider the following analogy. A mixed forest consists of a variety of trees, such as fir, pine, maple, beech, etc. If one only concentrates on their peculiarities and differences, studying each one of them isolated from its environment, it is easy to miss 'the forest for the trees'. One misses the fact that their common features make it possible to group them in different classes (coniferous trees, deciduous trees). Ultimately, one fails to recognize that they are all trees, and together they make up a forest, a coherent whole.

between terms from the different semantic fields. In the same way, *lēšōn tahpuḳōt* demonstrates affinity to the phrase *bērōḥ dēḥārīm* (see below), which is also related to the field of intellectual terms.

The *rāšāʿ* has the *ṣaddīq* and the character implied by the phrase *yirʾaṭ YHWH* (v. 27) as antonyms. With reservation the two terms *mēʿaqqēš dērākāw* (v. 9) and *pōʾālē ʾāwen* (v. 29), which both appear as antonyms to *tōm* and are thus related to one another, may be classified as synonyms to *rāšāʿ*. They also portray meanings which are semantically related.

**Relationships between intellectual terms.** The picture here is much more complex. The *ḥākām* has two semantic synonyms, the *nāḥōn* (v. 13, 23) and the *maškīl* (vv. 5, 19). However, *maškīl* has two other synonyms, *ḥōšēk šēpātāw* (v. 19) and *ʾōgēr baqqayyis* (v. 5), which are thus also related to the 'wise'. Furthermore, there is *ḥākām-lēb* (v. 8, in antithesis to *ʾēwīl*). The antonyms are *kēsīl* (vv. 1, 23), *ʾēwīl* (vv. 8, 14) and *ḥāsar-lēb* (v. 13). The antonyms of the 'competent', *bēn mēbīš* and *nirdām baqqāšīr* in verse 5 and the character implied by the phrase *bērōḥ dēḥārīm* in verse 19a, may also be included here. Closely related to the *nirdām baqqāšīr* is the term *ʾāṣēl* with its similes (v. 26).

The *kēsīl* has first of all the semantically related *ʾēwīl* and the *ḥāsar-lēb* (v. 13) as synonyms. In direct synonymous parallelism to the 'fool' are the terms *mēkasseh šinʾāh* and *mōšīḥ dībbāh* (v. 18). In addition, the 'simpleton' appears in direct synonymous parallelism with *qōrēš ʾayin* (v. 10). The antonyms of 'fool' are, as mentioned above, *ṣaddīq* (in opposition to *ʾēwīl*) and *ḥākām* (also in opposition to *ḥāsar-lēb* and *kēsīl*).

**Relationships between terms in the semantic field of diligence.** Two of the antonyms of the *maškīl*—the *bēn mēbīš* and the *nirdām baqqāšīr*—can be grouped with *ʾāṣēl* (v. 26) and the antonymous *kap-rēmiyyāh* and *yad ḥārūšīm* (v. 4) because of their meaning. These six terms belong to a semantic field concerned with diligence which is part of the intellectual domain, for *maškīl* also belongs to the semantic field of intellectual terms.

In sum, the most frequent terms in the chapter are *ṣaddīq*, *rāšāʿ*, *ḥākām*, *ʾēwīl*, and *kēsīl*. The majority of the other terms cluster around them. Other important terms which attract similar terminology are *maškīl* and *ʾāṣēl*. Three semantic fields have been detected among which the vast majority of character terms in Proverbs 10 are distributed. Each of these fields is separated into positive and negative characterizations. There is some interaction between these three clusters, and positive or negative

characterizations on either side are not incompatible amongst themselves, even if they belong to different semantic fields.

**3.3 Interaction between the semantic fields.** The interaction between the semantic fields of moral and intellectual terms happens in two ways. The first is the antithesis between *ṣaddîq* and *ʿēwîl*. Secondly, one term from each group is related to a common area, namely the usage of speech. The *ṣaddîq* stands in opposition to the *lēšôn tahpukôt* and the *maškîl* is in antithesis to *bērōb dēḥārîm*.

The interaction between the field of intellectual terms and the semantic field of terms related to diligence again happens via the *maškîl*. We can therefore conclude that, according to step 1, there are no reasons for denying the possibility that the original hearer or reader could identify himself as the intended referent of all character terms employed in Prov. 10:1–5. Taking this as a basis for further study, we now turn to step 2 of our investigation.

**3.4 Distribution analysis.** The following investigation looks more closely at each expression in context.<sup>11</sup> It has to be accomplished on a different level in step 2. The reasons will be set out in the following paragraphs.

**Antonyms.** Firstly, antithetic parallelism does not mean that all features in the two cola are contradictory. Rather, some of their elements or the two propositions as a whole are contrasted. Secondly, by contrast we do not mean an absolute opposition. If character terms are contrasted, we do not necessarily assume that they are binary antonyms (i.e., opposites which contradict each other, as for example ‘true’ and ‘false’ or ‘married’ and ‘unmarried’),<sup>12</sup> nor converses (e.g., ‘buy’ and ‘sell’). The most likely contrast to be expected in antithetic parallelism is that of gradable antonyms (like ‘love’ and ‘hate’, ‘easy’ and ‘difficult’, ‘good’ and ‘bad’). They are at opposite ends of a continuous spectrum. Other important types of oppositions are orthogonal and antipodal oppositions. This kind of contrast can best be illustrated with the following example (Lyons 1979:285f.). The antipodal oppositions in the set ‘north, south, east, and west’ are between north and south on the one hand, and east and west on

<sup>11</sup>There is an “intrinsic connexion between the meaning of words and their distribution” (Lyons 1979:375).

<sup>12</sup>For a short discussion of these and the following terms see Cotterell and Turner (1989:157f.). A fuller discussion may be found in Lyons (1979:270–90).

the other hand. They are the more dominant oppositions compared to the orthogonal oppositions between, let's say, north on one side and east or west on the other.<sup>13</sup> In the following section we make use of this feature of parallelism. The antonyms listed under step 1 are examined indicating the type of their antonymy with special reference to the focused elements of their contrasts.

**Synonyms.** In analogy to antonyms only one element in parallelism or the whole proposition in each colon may be compared. Absolute synonymy hardly ever occurs. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between absolute synonymy, near synonymy (mere overlap of meaning between otherwise distinguishable senses), and partial synonymy (a true identity of meaning between two character terms in *some*, rather than all contexts, or for *some*, rather than all senses of the term). The synonyms established during step 1 will now be studied with an emphasis on the type of their synonymy, considering which features are compared (cf. Cotterell and Turner 1989:159f.).

**Existential assertions.** Sentences where two noun phrases (in our case character terms) are connected as topic and predicate are commonly called existential assertions. In such a proposition, the predicate can either be nonreferring, i.e., it says something *about* the topic, describing it more closely, or it can be referring, that is, it makes an *equative* statement. Then, the two expressions are identical (= synonymous) (Lyons 1979:185). This distinction must be considered when synonyms established in step 1 are considered.

**3.5 Analysis of syntagmatic relationships.** In step 2, those terms which were initially identified as synonyms and antonyms are compared according to the principles outlined in the preceding paragraphs, giving special attention to the contexts in which they occur. Rather than treating all terms mentioned in §3.2, we restrict the investigation to those relevant for Prov. 10:1-5. Concerning the evidence for the categorizations of the different syntagms treated here, the reader is referred to the tables giving syntagmatic relationships of characters in the appendix at the end of this paper.

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<sup>13</sup>For a full treatment of the subject see Lyons (1979:281-87).

### Synonyms and antonyms in the semantic field of moral terms.

*ṣaddîq*: With fourteen occurrences the *ṣaddîq* is the most frequent character term and dominates this field. Central to an understanding of the interrelationships of character terms is the fact that the syntagmatic distribution of the righteous has a clear structure. The syntagms of *ṣaddîq* in table 1 in the appendix can be grouped into seven different categories: YHWH, prestige, produce, hope, speech, life, and wisdom. Most interesting are the categories life and wisdom. Life is one of the most persistent features associated with the righteous. Wisdom, on the other hand, occurs only once. However, this is all the more surprising as there is another character term, *ḥākām*, which is directly associated with wisdom. The fact that *ṣaddîq* was chosen in connection with it is therefore not a coincidence. Wisdom can be a feature of the righteous. This will become important at a later stage of our study.

*rāšā'*: The *rāšā'* is the most frequent antonym of the righteous. They appear in opposition twelve times. Yet they are not binary contrasts, but gradable antonyms, because they can be compared. A *ṣaddîq* is more righteous than a *rāšā'*. Someone who is not a *ṣaddîq* is not necessarily a *rāšā'* and vice versa. The antonymy between *rāšā'* and *ṣaddîq* can be described as an antipodal opposition (see below). The lists show that both antonyms are combined with syntagms which fall into seven (righteous) or eight (wicked) categories. Apart from the category related to violence in connection with the latter, these categories match one another, those connected with the wicked normally being the negative counterpart. We can thus conclude that *rāšā'* is an antonym to *ṣaddîq* in almost all syntagmatic relationships. The only marked difference in distribution is that the sinful actions of the wicked are mentioned explicitly (table 2). Like the righteous, the wicked also has a syntagm that can be related to the category wisdom (table 2). The most revealing syntagmatic relationships, however, arise where one or the other term does not appear with its normal antonym.

*ʿēwîl*: In verse 21 *ʿēwîl* is the antonym of the righteous. Its syntagms can be grouped in the two categories death and (lack of) wisdom (table 5). The latter is not surprising; however, the category of death coincides with the corresponding syntagms of the wicked (death) and the righteous (life). In fact, this category is a dominating feature associated with the simpleton (cf. table 5). The contrast between *ṣaddîq* and *ʿēwîl* in verse 21 lies between the positive (life-bringing) effect of the righteous to others and the fatal effect of the simpleton on himself in the area of speech (cf. table 1). The metonymy *šiptê* in 10:21a is simply omitted in the second line.



The *ʔēwīl* cannot be considered as a binary contrast to the righteous. Rather, it is contrasted only in some areas (behavior and consequences concerning speech). In analogy to the set of the four cardinal points we may say that the simpleton stands in an orthogonal opposition to the righteous (see below).

The investigation of the syntagmatic relationships has shown that the terms listed in §3.1 are in fact closely related to one another. Most interesting are the relationships between *ṣaddīq*, *rāšāʿ*, *ḥākām*<sup>14</sup> and *ʔēwīl*. Together with *kēsīl*, these four terms may be considered as the cardinal points of characterization in Proverbs 10. Righteous and wicked, as well as wise and simpleton, stand in antipodal opposition. At the same time, wise is in orthogonal opposition to righteous and wicked, righteous to simpleton and wise, simpleton to wicked and righteous, wicked to fool and wise. However, there is yet another dimension of opposition between these terms. It hinges on the fact that, on one side, righteous and wise are considered as positive characters, while wicked and simpleton are characterized negatively. As the wise and the righteous on one hand, and the simpleton and the wicked on the other hand share common features (see the relevant sections), it is highly likely that the distinction positive versus negative characterization is the dominant contrast between the four characters. This leads to the conclusion that in given contexts the positive pair on one side and the negative pair on the other side can be coreferential.

#### **Synonyms and antonyms in the semantic field of intellectual terms.**

*ḥākām*: Although it is the most important positive member in this field, the lexeme *ḥākām* occurs only thrice in the whole chapter.<sup>15</sup> It is much more restricted in its distribution than the righteous. In trying to categorize its syntagms, two, possibly three divisions emerge. The first is the category family, the second is the category of speech and the third is the category of instruction (table 3). However, some qualifications concerning the category speech are in order.

<sup>14</sup>Although *ḥākām* has not yet been studied according to its syntagms, it is necessary to include it in our treatment here (for details, see next paragraph).

<sup>15</sup>In two occurrences it is part of a construct form; the third form gives the plural. Therefore, in considering the syntagmatic distribution of this term, we must take into account the different expressions within which the lexeme occurs. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be a real distinction between a 'wise son' (10:1), a 'wise in heart' (10:8) and 'wise' (pl., 10:14). Each expression could occur in the other syntagmatic environment (whereby the plural lexeme would have to be incorporated by altering the relevant verb forms). This observation holds for other characters which are expressed through different constructions.

The phrase *yiqqah mišwôt*, categorized under 'instruction', may also be classified under 'speech' because 'to accept commands' may be understood as 'listening' to commands. This would be the converse to 'speaking' in the category 'speech'. Besides, the phrase *yispēnû-da'aṭ* of course rather talks about the opposite of speaking, namely, 'to be silent'. Yet this is not an absolute statement, for the context (10:8) shows that 'not speaking too much' is implied.<sup>16</sup>

The wise is clearly distinct from the righteous in meaning and distribution. However, the category of speech coincides with the righteous and, as has been mentioned before, the righteous is also characterized as wise. The other syntagms are not incompatible. They can be coreferential.

*ʿēwīl*: With four occurrences, *ʿēwīl* is the most frequent antonym of the wise. Yet it only occurs twice in direct antithesis (vv. 8, 14). Its syntagms can be grouped into three categories. The first is the area of speech, the second is the area of death, and the third is the category lack of wisdom (table 5). The latter is not surprising and need not concern us here. The area of speech, however, is a notion closely related to the evaluation of the simpleton, as it appears three times out of four. This coincides, not only with the relevant syntagms of the wise, but also with those of the wicked and the righteous. The area of death seems to be the most pervasive feature connected with the simpleton, as it appears in all of its occurrences. This coincides with the same category connected with the wicked (orthogonal opposition). Similar to the relationship between righteous and wicked, *ʿēwīl* and *hākām* are gradable antonyms. Direct features of contrast are in the realm of obedience and results of the use of speech (cf. 10:8 and 10:14). Clear differences exist in the possession of knowledge (cf. 10:21 and 10:14) and the association of the simpleton with death. According to its syntagms, the simpleton may be interpreted as coreferential with the wicked, although it is much more restricted in its distribution.

*kēsīl*: This is the next important antonym of the wise. Its syntagms can also be grouped into three categories. The first is the area of family, the second is the area of speech and the third is the area of evil actions (table 4). The expression *kišhōq... ʿāšōṭ zimmāh* categorized under evil actions is very general and coincides with the category of violence associated with

<sup>16</sup>This is the view of Meinhold (1991:174f.), Ringgren and Zimmerli (1980:47), and Plöger (1984:126). But see Gemser (1963:50) and McKane (1985:416).

the wicked. However, it is contrasted with *ḥokmāh* in verse 23 where the fool is contrasted with *ʾiš tēbūnāh*. In verse 1, the fool is contrasted with the wise. The contrast focuses on the positive or negative feelings which the characters evoke in their parents. This contrast belongs in the realm of family life. Similar to the simpleton and the wise, *kēsīl* and *ḥākām* are gradable antonyms. There is some overlap with the wicked, as both characters are connected with evil action and negative usage of speech (orthogonal opposition). The fool and the simpleton are near, if not absolute synonyms. They share a common antonym, the wise, and are both related to the area of malevolent speech. Differences in distribution might be important in that the simpleton is strongly related to death, whereas the fool is evaluated in the realm of family relations. There is no reason to deny the possibility that the mention of the fool could be interpreted as coreferential with either the simpleton or the wicked, for none of their syntagms are incompatible.

*maškīl*: The syntagms of the competent may be grouped in categories like family, diligence, and speech (table 6). The term itself belongs in the field of intellectual terms. In verse 5 it occurs as antonym of *bēn mēbīš* (cf. table 7; see also below). They are contrasted with respect to diligence. In verse 19, the competent is contrasted with the character implied by the phrase *bērōb dēbārīm* (cf. table 10; see also below). The contrast with the evil action of the character implied by the phrase *bērōb dēbārīm* is very instructive, as it shows that the competent is dissociated with negative moral characteristics. A comparison with *bēn ḥākām* (10:1) is revealing as well. Both terms are associated with syntagms in the category family. While the wise son is said to delight the father, the competent son is said to be diligent. It is not far-fetched to identify the diligence of the competent son as one way in which a competent (and thus wise) son can delight his father. In conclusion, it can be said that it is highly likely that the competent son is intended to be coreferential with the wise son. There is (partial) synonymy between the competent and the wise in contexts connected with family and speech. The syntagms of the competent are also not incompatible with *šaddīq*, as his speech is characterized as morally positive (cf. the antithesis in 10:19 and the syntagms of the righteous in 10:11, 20). Although the connection is not very close, they may nevertheless be coreferential. It is possible to understand the *maškīl* as a gradable antonym to the fool (cf. 10:19b with 10:18 and 10:5a with 10:1c) and perhaps to the simpleton in some contexts. Concerning the expression *bēn maškīl*, see below.

*bērōb dēbārīm*: The one who speaks too much, the character implied by the expression 'where there are many words' (category speech), is combined with syntagms that can be categorized as evil action (table 10). The phrase is contrasted to *maškīl*, who belongs in the realm of intellectual terms. The categories speech and evil action are both associated with the wicked (see table 2). It is possible to assume that *bērōb dēbārīm* is a metonymy for the incompetent in that it mentions the action instead of the agent. However, as no such antonym to *maškīl* exists in Hebrew, the *kēsīl* may be substituted. This brings *bērōb dēbārīm* in close connection with the wicked as well as the fool. The phrase is not synonymous with either of them, but it can be coreferential with both of them.

The study of syntagmatic relationships in the semantic field of intellectual terms has confirmed the initial perception that they are closely related. At the same time, numerous connections between the semantic fields of moral and intellectual terms have been detected.

Although *hākām* and *ṣaddīq* are distinct in meaning and distribution, their features are not incompatible and commonalities confirm that they can be coreferential.

ʔēwīl can be coreferential with *rāšāʿ*, and *kēsīl* can refer to both.

*bēn maškīl* is intended to be coreferential with *bēn hākām*.

*maškīl* can be coreferential with *hākām* and *ṣaddīq*.

The character implied by *bērōb dēbārīm* may be coreferential with the fool, the wicked, and possibly the simpleton.

These findings corroborate strongly the results mentioned in the summary of the preceding section. The majority of either negative or positive characters can be coreferential. Yet negative and positive characters are consistently incompatible, even if they belong to different semantic fields. In addition, there are more general characterizations which can be coreferential with characters in both semantic fields.

**Synonyms and antonyms in the semantic field of expressions related to diligence.**

ʔōgēr *baqqayis*: Someone who gathers in summer appears as topic in the existential assertion of verse 5a (table 6). The predicate is *bēn maškīl*. Is this an equative or a predicative statement? An equative statement would be used as an answer to a question like: who is someone who gathers in summer? A predicative statement would answer the question: what is

someone who gathers in summer (like)? (cf. Lyons 1979:472f.). The second question would be a much more natural context for the statement in 10:5a. Therefore we can conclude that *bēn māškīl* says something about someone who gathers in summer. The two expressions are not synonyms. Rather, a diligent son who works when his help is needed is classified as a competent son.

*bēn mēbīš*: The disgraceful son (table 7) appears in opposition to the competent son in verse 5 with respect to diligence. They are not antonyms, but rather co-hyponyms, subordinated under the term son. As such they belong to a series together with expressions like 'wise son' and 'foolish son' (10:1b-c). Their relationship is not contradictory. It is based on contrast within similarity.<sup>17</sup>

In this string, the wise and the foolish son on one side, and the competent and the disgraceful son on the other side are incompatible in context. At the same time, the competent son is compatible with the wise son, and the foolish son is compatible with the disgraceful son. This does not mean that the compatible expressions are synonyms, nor that the incompatible expressions are binary contrasts. Rather, they all differ in meaning, but the compatible phrases can be coreferential.

*nirdām baqqāšīr*: Someone who sleeps during harvest is the topic in the existential assertion of verse 5b (table 7). Similar to verse 5a treated above, this is a predicative statement. *nirdām baqqāšīr* is not a synonym of 'disgraceful son'. The latter is a classification of the first noun phrase.

*kap-rēmīyyāh*: 'Lazy hand' is a metonymy<sup>18</sup> for 'lazy worker' or 'sluggard'. Its syntagms (table 8) can be grouped into the categories diligence and produce (poverty). The first category coincides with the one who sleeps during harvest and the disgraceful son (cf. table 7), as well as the sluggard (cf. 10:26). The second category coincides with the wicked (cf. table 2) and the poor (cf. 10:15; see below). There is at least near synonymy between 'sluggard' and *kap-rēmīyyāh*; they may be coreferential. While differing in meaning from 'one who sleeps during harvest',

<sup>17</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of such relationships see Lyons 1979:287-95. "Hyponymy is a paradigmatic relation of sense which rests upon the encapsulation in the hyponym of some syntagmatic modification of the sense of the superordinate... Generally speaking, co-hyponyms of the same superordinate will contrast in sense... and the nature of the contrast can be explicated in terms of a difference in the encapsulated syntagmatic modification of the superordinate." (p. 294)

<sup>18</sup>It is a synecdoche in which a part has been substituted for the whole (*pars pro toto*). Therefore, 'hand' stands for 'worker'. (For this particular interpretation see Baldick (1990:135.) More generally, the compound term may mean 'lazy worker' or 'lazy man'.

‘disgraceful son’ and ‘foolish son’,<sup>19</sup> it can nevertheless be coreferential. The same is true for the poor and possibly for the wicked.

*yaḍ ḥārūšīm*: *yaḍ ḥārūšīm* is a gradable antonym of *kap-rēmīyyāh*. They are contrasted concerning the produce of their diligence or laziness, respectively. The syntagms (table 9) can also be grouped into the categories diligence and produce (wealth). The first category coincides with the competent son and the one who gathers in summer (for both terms cf. table 6 and 10:5). The second category coincides with the righteous (cf. table 1). Although ‘diligent hands’ has no synonyms, it may be coreferential with the competent son, the wise son,<sup>20</sup> as well as the righteous.

<sup>21</sup>*āšēl*:<sup>21</sup> The term ‘ sluggard’, of course, falls into the category of diligence, which coincides with the statement about the *nirdām baqqāšîr* in verse 5b. It is justifiable to say that a statement like ‘a sluggard is a disgraceful son’ is equivalent to verse 5b, and the phrase ‘a sluggard is his mother’s sorrow’ may be equivalent to verse 1c. However, ‘sluggard’ and ‘someone who sleeps during harvest’ or ‘foolish son’ are not synonyms. Rather, *āšēl* may be a classification of someone who sleeps during harvest. In the same way, *bēn meḥīš* may serve as a classification of sluggard in a given context, and sluggard may be an example of how a foolish son causes his mother’s sorrow.

The tentative observations concerning characterizations in this semantic field have been authenticated. Again, numerous connections to other semantic fields have been demonstrated.

*ōgēr baqqayīš* is classified as a competent son.

*nirdām baqqāšîr* is classified as a disgraceful son.

The competent son can be coreferential with the wise son (diligence—intellect) and the disgraceful son can refer to the foolish son (diligence—intellect).

*kap-rēmīyyāh* may refer to the sluggard, the one who sleeps during harvest and thus to the disgraceful, the foolish son, and the poor (and even to the wicked).

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<sup>19</sup>For this connection, see above concerning *bēn meḥīš*.

<sup>20</sup>For this connection, see above concerning *bēn meḥīš*.

<sup>21</sup>*āšēl* has been included in the discussion although it does not occur in the first five verses because it is particularly illuminating.

*yaḏ ḥārūšîm* can refer to the competent son, the wise son, and the righteous.

*ʾāṣēl* can refer to all negative characterizations in this field.

The results obtained in this section reveal that all positive characterizations can be coreferential, and the same is true for the negative ones. Furthermore, weak connections to the realm of moral characters have been discovered. Interestingly, six of the seven characterizations in this field occur in the same context (vv. 1–5), together with coreferential terms from the fields of intellectual and moral terms.

**3.6. Conclusion.** The characterizations in Prov. 10:1–5 have corresponding expressions which reveal common features and syntagmatic relationships. In addition, corresponding expressions are characterized as either positive or negative, that is, they have similar connotations. What remains to be shown are clues which demonstrate that such coreferentiality really was intended. As a result we may say that the way is now open to analyze the sayings in context.

#### 4. Coherence in Proverbs 10:1–5

The first section of our investigation concluded that characters in Proverbs 10 can be coreferential according to their meanings, syntagms and connotations. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate whether they were also intended to be understood in this way, or not. The underlying assumption is that intended coreferentiality is the best explanation for passages in which possible coreferentiality coincides with coherence. The text and transliteration of Proverbs 10:1–5 reads as follows:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>A wise son delights the father,<br/>but a foolish son is his mother's<br/>sorrow.</i>   | <i>bēn ḥākām yěšammāḥ-ʾāb<br/>ûbēn kēsîl tûgaṭ ʾimmô</i>     |
| 2. <i>Ill-gotten treasures are without profit,<br/>but righteousness delivers from death.</i> | <i>lōʾ-yôʿîlû ʾôṣērôt rešaʿ<br/>ûṣēdāqāh taṣṣîl mimṁāwet</i> |





of the second line of verse 2 corresponds with the first line in verse 3 (positive).<sup>24</sup> Verses 4 and 5 correspond in content, as the lazy and diligent hand of verse 4 are explained as the (diligent) *bēn maškīl* and the (lazy) *bēn mēbīš* in verse 5.<sup>25</sup> The chiasmus resulting from the positive-negative pattern mentioned above also links them together (lazy—diligent—diligent—lazy). Verses 1 and 5 also correspond in that verse 5 is a specification of verse 1, as the wise son is characterized as diligent and the foolish son as lazy.<sup>26</sup> In the same way verses 2 and 4 are connected through the correspondence of ‘without profit’ and ‘make needy’ on one side and ‘delivers from death’ and ‘enriches’ on the other, thus putting verse 3 at the center of a chiastic arrangement (cf. positive-negative pattern!).

The conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that verses 1–5 are indeed a coherent passage.<sup>27</sup> In the following section we will try to combine this insight with the observations about coreferentiality made in the previous section.

**4.2 Verses 1–5 in context.** Verse one is a “consciously general” statement which is thus open to different specifications (Plöger 1984:123). This makes it possible that the closely linked verses 2 and 3 explain this verse.<sup>28</sup> According to our semantic analysis of characters, they are not identical but they can be coreferential. What is the consequence for the understanding of these verses?

<sup>24</sup>Chiasmus is mentioned by Murphy (1981:68), but he gives no detail about it.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Plöger (1984:123), who states that verse 4 prepares the specification of verse 5. Hermisson (1968:174) groups them together according to their theme (laziness and diligence). The second verse explains the first.

<sup>26</sup>See also Plöger. Krispenz (1989:188) detects a wordplay with *kēsīl* and *maškīl*. However, such alliterations, if not literal repetitions, are questionable, as we do not really know how the consonants were pronounced in biblical times.

<sup>27</sup>Kugel (1981:90–92) draws attention to terseness as an important feature of biblical poetry. It exerts a constant pressure toward concision and ellipsis, such as the omission of the definite article, the frequent use of constructs and inconsistent use of personal suffixes, randomly distributed possessives, omission of indicators for subordination, the relative *ʾāšēr*, personal suffixes, the ellipsis of particles, the copula, and the apparent lack of thematic connectives, leaving unstated a rather complex relationship between clauses. It can be evident “in the lack of specified connection between successive lines of a given passage . . . Many psalms and songs seem to be more a collection of individual ‘oneliners’ than unified compositions” (p. 91). According to him, “often there is little connection between one verse and the next, and when such connection does exist, quite often it is left to the reader or listener to figure it out” (p. 92). This is what we intend to do in the following treatment.

<sup>28</sup>So Krispenz (1989:42), whose premise for this understanding is the identification of *bēn ḥākām* with *šaddīq* and of *bēn kēsīl* with *rāšāʿ*.

Verse 2 would state one reason why the foolish son is his mother's sorrow. Because of his folly he would only be able to make riches by wicked tricks, which would not help him in a given crisis (see verse 3). On the other hand, the wise son delights the father, because he is clever and can gain riches righteously. His righteousness would help him in a given crisis. Verse 3 would then give the reason why righteousness helps, while wickedness is useless. The positive and negative results of verse 2 come from the Lord! He satisfies the positive expectation of the righteous, but rejects the negative desires of the wicked. Meinhold (1991:165) draws attention to the fact that this statement about the Lord is positioned in the center of this first paragraph. This is significant, because it not only affects the first two verses, but also the following two.

Verse 4 states another reason for the parents' reaction. A foolish son is prone to be lazy which would make him poor, while the wise son would be diligent and thus likely to gain some wealth.<sup>29</sup> Closely linked to this statement is verse 5. The participles in it show the diligent at work and the lazy in sleep. They are classified as a competent and a disgraceful son respectively. Again, this proverb is open for application in other situations.<sup>30</sup> As has been demonstrated, the *bēn maškīl* and the *bēn ḥākām*, as well as the *bēn kēsīl* and the *bēn mēbīš* can be coreferential. This brings the argument back to the statement of verse 1. The observations about the openness of both proverbs suggest that, in the light of the overall unity of this passage, the characters in both sayings were actually intended to be coreferential.

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<sup>29</sup>Interestingly, transposing verse 4 before verses 2–3 would have made the train of thought more accessible. As the foolish son is likely to be lazy, he becomes poor, unless he takes to illegal practices (v. 2) to enrich himself. This will be judged by the Lord (v. 3). This sequence was not followed because it would have jeopardized the chiasmic relationships (1:5, 2:4, 3 central). It was more important for the editor to communicate the unit's coherence than to follow the train of thought in a logical sequence. Yet, for the discerning, the logic behind the argument is clear, even if it is out of sequence.

<sup>30</sup>Plöger (1984:123); see also McKane (1985:414f.): He understands it as 'proverb' in a specialized sense: "I have developed an exact definition of 'proverb' in which the emphasis is laid on representative potential and openness to interpretation." The proverb in his sense has, "in virtue of its concreteness, sometimes in virtue of the organization of imagery . . . a representative capacity which can be intuited by future interpreters. The paradox of the 'proverb' is that it acquires immortality because of its particularity" (see also pp. 23, 129ff., 157, 183ff., 414ff.). The problem with his classification of proverb in this sense is that the criteria by which to determine what saying is such a proverb are too imprecise. He thinks that there are not many such proverbs in the book of Proverbs. Yet there are numerous sayings in Proverbs which fit his description, as for example 10:1 or 10:9 *hōlēk batōm yēlek beṭaḥ* 'who walks uprightly walks safely'. In classifying them it seems that he is more guided by intuition than exact criteria.

**4.3 Summary.** The wise son who delights the father (v. 1) is the competent son who works in summer (v. 5), so becoming rich through his diligent hand (v. 4). He does not need wicked tricks in order to make a living, so his righteousness saves him from death in a (financial?) crisis (v. 2) because YHWH will fulfill his expectations (v. 3). The foolish son who is his mother's sorrow (v. 1) is the disgraceful son who sleeps during harvest time (v. 5), becomes poor because of his laziness (v. 4), and has to use tricks to gain wealth (v. 2). So the Lord will reject his desires (v. 3). This is the information expressed in the passage. The speech-act, however, is manipulative. By stressing the negative and positive results of folly and wisdom, of wickedness and righteousness, of laziness and diligence, the teaching/instruction in this passage is:

Be a wise son and be diligent, because then you will not have to gain money through unrighteous practices, so your parents can be proud of you and the Lord will bless you!

The result of finding a coherent structure with coreferentiality right at the beginning of this collection has far-ranging consequences. From the start the editor makes it clear that he wants the different characters to be interpreted as coreferential. He uses different positive classifications like *ḥākām*, *ṣaddīq*, *maškīl*, which describe the character of someone who is diligent (diligence and its antonym laziness are the only concrete attitudes and activities mentioned in this section). Other classifications like *kēsīl*, *rāšāʿ* or *mēbīṣ* characterize a lazy person. Thus the editor of this collection generally portrays two opposite characters: the good and the bad. Although the characters and protagonists on either side are not synonymous, they are to be understood as referring to the same character, the good and the bad.<sup>31</sup> By demonstrating the positive and negative results arising from being good or bad, in this case applied to the question of diligence, the reader is urged to choose the better option.

<sup>31</sup>This goes far beyond statements like Ringgren's: "Der Spruchdichter findet offenbar keinen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den beiden Gegensatzpaaren (i.e., the righteous and the wicked, the wise and the fool), es empfiehlt sich aber, sie getrennt zu behandeln" (1980:46). In contrast to him, the consequence for us is that the editor actually intended to treat them together! Meinhold (1991) is right when he states: "Der gerechte ist der weise, also erzogene, und barmherzige Mensch. Die erste Teilsammlung (10:1b–15:33) setzt den gerechten und den weisen Menschen einander gleich" (p. 160) and concludes after establishing the coherence of verses 1b–5 that this demonstrates "in geradezu programmatischer Weise, daß weisheitliche, religiöse und moralische Begrifflichkeit miteinander in Einklang gebracht werden sollen" (p. 165). Concerning verses 3 and 4 he states: "Das Spruchpaar deutet den weisen und törichten Sohn von V.1b.c als Gerechten bzw. als Frevler. Das folgende Spruchpaar sieht in ihm den Fleißigen bzw. den Faulen" (p. 167). Our investigation provides the objective basis for his intuitive discovery.

## Appendix

### Syntagms of the relevant characters in Proverbs 10

#### (1) *ṣaddāq*

Wisdom	Life	Speech	Hope	Produce	Prestige	YHWH
<i>yānûḇ</i> <i>ḥokmāh</i> (31) <sup>32</sup>	<i>taṣṣîl</i> <i>mimmāwet</i> (2)	<i>pî</i> (11)	<i>nepeš</i> (3)	<i>pěʿullaṭ</i> (16)	<i>běṛākôṭ</i> <i>lēṛōš</i> (6)	<i>YHWH</i> (3)
<i>yedʿûn</i> (32)	<i>lōʾ yarʿîḇ</i> (3)	<i>lēšôn</i> (20)	<i>taʾāwat</i> (24)	<i>kesep</i> <i>nibhār</i> (20)	<i>zēker . . .</i> <i>librākāh</i> (7)	<i>yittēn</i> <sup>33</sup> (24)
	<i>měqôr</i> <i>ḥayyîm</i> (11)	<i>šiptê</i> (21)	<i>tôheleṭ</i> (28)		<i>yedʿûn</i> <i>rāšôn</i> <sup>34</sup> (32)	<i>yedʿûn</i> <i>rāšôn</i> (32)
	<i>lēḥayyîm</i> (16)					
	<i>yirʿû</i> <i>rabbîm</i> (21)					
	<i>yěšôḏ</i> <i>ʿôlām</i> (25)					
	<i>šimhāh</i> <sup>35</sup> (28)					
	<i>lēʿôlām bal-</i> <i>yimmôṭ</i> (30)					

<sup>32</sup>Numbers in parentheses refer to verse number.

<sup>33</sup>The antecedent of the finite verb's subject is YHWH in verse 22.

<sup>34</sup>This syntagm can also be grouped under category YHWH.

<sup>35</sup>The term is very general and can be grouped here.

(2) *rāšā*<sup>c</sup>

Violence Wisdom Death/life Speech Hope/fear Produce Prestige YHWH

<i>yēkasseh</i> <i>ḥāmās</i> (6)	<i>lēb</i> . . . <i>kimʿāt</i> (20)	<i>lōʿ-yôʿîlû</i> (2)	<i>pî</i> (6)	<i>ḥawwat</i> (3)	<i>ʾôṣērôt</i> (2)	<i>šēm</i> . . . <i>yirqāb</i> (7)	<i>yeʿdōp</i> <sup>36</sup> (3)
<i>yēkasseh</i> <i>ḥāmās</i> (11)		<i>[yirqāb]</i> <sup>37</sup> (7)	<i>pî</i> (11)	<i>mēgōrat</i> (24)	<i>tēbûʾat</i> (16)		
		<i>leḥattā(ʿ)î</i> <sup>38</sup> (16)	<i>pî</i> (32)	<i>kaʿābôr</i> <i>sûpāh</i> (25)			
<i>lēḥattā(ʿ)î</i> (16)		<i>hî</i> <i>tēbōʿennû</i> <sup>39</sup> (24)		<i>wētiqwat</i> (28)			
		<i>wēʿên</i> (25)					
		<i>šēnôt</i> . . . <i>tiqšômāh</i> (27)					
		<i>tō(ʿ)bēd</i> (28)					
		<i>lōʿ</i> <i>yīškēnû-ʾāreṣ</i> (30)					

<sup>36</sup>The subject of the verb is YHWH in the first colon of verse 3.<sup>37</sup>This and other terms below are open for an interpretation in the category 'death'.<sup>38</sup>This syntagm can also be grouped under category 'violence'. See footnote 36.<sup>39</sup>See footnote 36.

(3) *ḥākām*

Instruction	Speech	Wisdom	Prestige/family
<i>yiqqah miṣwōt</i> (8)	<i>yiqqah miṣwōt</i> <sup>40</sup> (8)	<i>ḥākam-lēb</i> (8)	<i>bēn . . .</i> <i>yěšammaḥ-ʾāb</i> (1)
	<i>yispēnū-dāʿāt</i> <sup>41</sup> (14)	<i>yispēnū-dāʿāt</i> <sup>42</sup> (14)	

(4) *kēsīl*

Evil action	Speech	Family
<i>mēkasseh</i> <i>ʾšinʾāh</i> <sup>44</sup> (18)	<i>šiptē-šāqer</i> <sup>43</sup> (18)	<i>bēn . . . tūgaṭ</i> <i>ʾimmō</i> (1)
<i>kišhōq . . . ʿāšōt</i> <i>zimmāh</i> (23)	<i>môšīʾ dibbāh</i> (18)	

(5) *ʾēwīl*

Death	Speech	Wisdom
<i>yillābēt</i> (8)	<i>šēpātayim</i> (8)	<i>baḥāsar-lēb</i> (21)
<i>yillābēt</i> (10)	<i>šēpātayim</i> (10)	
<i>mēḥittāh qērōbāh</i> (14)	<i>pī-ʾēwīl</i> (14)	
<i>yāmūtū</i> (21)		

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<sup>40</sup>This phrase can be interpreted as 'listening', the converse to 'speaking'.

<sup>41</sup>See footnote 42.

<sup>42</sup>This phrase can be interpreted in two categories.

<sup>43</sup>See footnote 45.

<sup>44</sup>This term belongs to verse 18a, cf. discussion of syntax in main text.

(6) *maškil*

Evil action/sin	Speech	Family	Diligence
<i>lōʾ yehdal-pāša</i> <sup>45</sup> (19a)	<i>ḥôšēk šēpātāyw</i> (19)	<i>bēn</i> (5)	<i>ʾōgēr baqqayiš</i> (5)

(7) *bēn mēbīš*

Family	Prestige	Diligence
<i>bēn</i> (5)	<i>mēbīš</i> (5)	<i>nirdām baqqāšîr</i> (5)

(8) *kap-rēmīyyāh*

Diligence	Produce
<i>kap-rēmīyyāh</i> (4)	<i>rā(ʾ)š ʿôšeh</i> (4)

(9) *yad ḥārūšîm*

Diligence	Produce
<i>yad ḥārūšîm</i> (4)	<i>taʿāšîr</i> (4)

(10) *bērōb dēbārîm*

Speech	Evil action
<i>bērōb dēbārîm</i>	<i>lōʾ yehdal-pāša</i> <sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>This is the antithesis in verse 19a.

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# CHIASTIC AND HOMOGENEOUS METRICAL STRUCTURES ENHANCED BY WORD PATTERNS IN OBADIAH

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## Introduction

The book of Obadiah can be analyzed as six poems which present an ABC:C'B'A' thematic inversion. The overall theme of the book is the LORD's judgment on Edom for its participation in the destruction of Judah. The first poem (vv. 1–4) describes Edom as being deceived by the false security of its rocky heights, from which the LORD will bring it down, and make it small and despised among the nations. The corresponding last poem (vv. 19–21) has a reversal, with Jacob inheriting the surrounding nations, with the kingdom belonging to the LORD, and saviors going up to Mount Zion and ruling Mount Esau of Edom. This can be summarized as:

A The LORD will make Edom small among the nations and  
bring it down from its heights.

A' The LORD will secure his people on Mount Zion, and  
give them the nations as their inheritance.

The second poem (vv. 5–7) describes the complete destruction of Edom and the people being sent to their borders. The second from the end (vv. 15–18) gives the contrast of the escapees and survivors of Jacob returning to holy Mount Zion and becoming the fire which burns Esau, who will have no survivors.

B Edom will be pillaged, and exiled by its allies.

B' The survivors of Jacob will return to rule in Zion.

The two center poems (vv. 8–11, 12–14) give the reason for the judgment. Esau stood aloof in the day of trouble, death, and destruction of *his brother* (v. 10), and even participated by entering the gates, looting, cutting off and handing over the *escapees* and *survivors* (v. 14). In this case the two poems are not contrastive, but both develop the offense of Edom, the passive and active.

C Edom will be cut off because of standing aloof when  
his brother was destroyed.

C' Edom should not have gloated, looted, cut off and  
locked up the survivors of Jacob.

These central poems form the peak of the chiasmic structure of the book. They also give an important theological message for all time concerning both passive and active sin in regard to one's stance toward the oppressed.

The book divides metrically into two equal halves between the third and fourth poems. Each half has twenty-two bicola lines and one monocolon line. The pattern of twenty-two lines, or multiples of eleven, is common in Hebrew poetry (Watson 1984:199), and has been described by the author in Hosea and Joel (Bliese 1982, 1988a:73). The addition of one (22+1) is a pattern that has been observed by Freedman (1986:415–6) and Schoekel (1988:191), and has been described by the author in his study of Nahum (1991).

The key word *Jerusalem* occurs only once in each half, near the end of the last poem in each half, the twenty-second line from the beginning and the twenty-first line of the second half. This is significant in comparison to the key word *Nineveh* which occurs only once in each of the three parts of Nahum (Bliese 1991), the key phrase *the day of the LORD* which occurs only once in each of the five parts of Joel (Bliese 1988a:73–74), and the key words *covenant* and *good* which occur only once in each of the five parts of Hosea (Bliese 1982). The line ending the first half especially points out the crime of Edom in regard to the events of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians and their allies: *Also you were as one of them* (v. 11).

In the first four poems the peaks emphasize the judgment which God will bring on Edom with the following words: (v. 2) *make small... despised*, (v. 6) *pillaged*, (v. 10) *shame, cut off*, and (v. 14) *you should not have*. The last two peaks have a shift to the salvation of Mount Zion: (vv. 17, 21) *escapees, holy*, and (v. 21) *saviors, kingdom will be the LORD's*. Other significant patterns of salvation oracles among judgment oracles have been noted in that salvation poems are found only in the first and last eighty-eight lines of Hosea (Bliese 1982), only the second half of Joel (Bliese 1988a:74), and only the first part of Nahum (Bliese 1991).

The following study of each poem in Obadiah follows the type of analysis the author has been using to describe metrical and lexical structures and how they point out emphasis in Hebrew poetry (see the references under Bliese). A poem with metrical chiasmus has the length of lines paired by the number of feet per line in an inversion beginning at the two ends, and coming to a pivot or peak in the center of the poem, such as 464 77 464 in verses 1–4. A homogeneous poem has basically the same number of feet in all lines, and builds up to a peak at the end, as in verses 12–14.

A line of poetry in Obadiah is normally made up of two parts or cola. These carry the essential pattern of parallelism or seconding in Hebrew poetry (Kugel 1981, Alter 1985). In contrast, the two monocola lines in Obadiah are considered emphatic because they depart from this pattern. Normally the line divides in the middle by counting the number of accents, which is determined by the number of words, or units of hyphenated words when they occur (Margalit 1975, de Moor 1978, Korpel and de Moor 1986, Renkema 1988, Schoekel 1988, Watts 1969:29). These counts are put at the end of each line in parentheses.

In the study below, the English words corresponding to the Hebrew words are put together by hyphens. When Hebrew words are joined in the Masoretic Text (MT) with a hyphen (maqep), this is indicated by =. If the pattern was found to be better without the hyphen, it is put in parentheses (=). If adding a hyphen was found to improve the metrical pattern, it is proposed to add one at those places marked with (+). The results of these variations are indicated below after the MT units, separated by a slash, such as (5/6). The MT hyphenation, although generally reliable, is not considered part of the original, not being finalized until around a millenium later (Watts 1969:29). The poetic option of grouping words into such hyphenated accentual units is generally recognized in Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry (de Moor 1978; Korpel and de Moor 1986:174). If a line divides other than in the middle (the normal pattern) or, for odd-numbered units, if the smaller half is first, the cola structure

is added in square brackets before the number of units, such as [3+4]. Except for combining short lines in verses 3 and 18, the lineation of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) has been followed. Strophic boundaries are marked with an asterisk (\*). Structurally defined peaks are printed in bold, and secondary peaks and other patterned repetitions are in italics. Words repeated in respect to peaks are underlined.

**Structural analysis of the six poems in Obadiah**

**1a Title**

v. 1 The-vision-of Obadiah.

**Poem A vv. 1–4 Chiasm 464 77 464**

*Thus = says the-Lord,*  
*the-LORD concerning-Edom:* (4)

We-have-heard a-report from(+)the-LORD,  
 and-a-messenger has-been-sent among-the-nations. (7/6)

‘Arise and-let’s-go  
 against-her for-battle!’ (4)

\*

v. 2 Behold, I-will-make-you small among-the-nations,  
 You-are very despised. (7)

v. 3 The-pride-of your-heart has-deceived-you,  
 you-who-live in-the-clefts-of = the-rock;  
 his-dwelling is high; [3+4](7)

Who-says in-his-heart,  
 ‘Who(+)will-bring-me-down to-the-ground?’ (5/4)

\*

v. 4 Though = you-soar like-an-eagle,  
 and-though your-nest is-set among-the-stars, [2+4](6)

*From-there I-will-bring-you-down,*  
*says(=) the-LORD.* (3/4)

The metrical chiasm of this poem is indicated by the 464 77 464 pattern in the heading, listing the number of accents in each line. Watts (1969:31)

also adds a hyphen combining *from the LORD*, but elsewhere sees a basic Qinah pentameter with a final hexameter. The central heptameters are clearly set off by the shorter 464 lines on each side. The cola structure in the center also reverses with the first heptameter a regular 4+3, and the second a less normal 3+4, which calls attention to itself.

Other features which give emphasis to the central lines are the initial *Behold*, the full pronoun *you*,<sup>1</sup> the word pair of *pride* and *high*,<sup>2</sup> the adverb *very*, and alliteration with two consecutive /b/ words and four geminate consonants in verse 2, and the several sibilants of 3a-b /z, š, š, ss, š/. The word *deceive* also comes in the next poem in verse 7. The /-kā/ second person masculine suffix comes once in the first line of the peak and twice in the second, giving repetition (see Bliese 1982; 1988a:78–79; 1990:269, 289, 291, 302, 314, 318 for repetition as an important feature of prominence at peaks). Switching to the “more specific” second person at peak is noted by Longacre (1983:29) and also found in my studies in Hosea (1982) and Nahum (1991). The last colon of the peak gets further attention by switching to third person masculine. This switch is particularly marked since verse 4 returns to second person masculine. It should also be noted that the pronoun *her*, for the same referent Edom, is feminine in verse 1, showing the fluidity of pronominal reference in Hebrew poetry.

The chiasmic nature of the poem is also supported by an inclusio in that *the LORD* comes in the first line and at the end of the last line. The verbs for *says* in these lines are only synonyms, but the *say* word in verse 1 is also on the other side of the center in verse 3. Although they are not interspersed as an inversion, two sets of repeated words occur on each side of the center giving balance. The second line has the same root twice in *hear a report*, and the third line has the root *rise* twice. The second from the end has *if* twice, and the word *bring down* comes in both the third line from the end and the final line. This final line is climactic with the same illocutionary function of a word of judgment by the LORD as is found only in the first line of the peak. The repetition of *bring down* which ends the pronouncement helps to bring out this emphasis.

In Hebrew poems with two lines in the center of a chiasm, secondary emphasis often occurs in the first and last line of the poem. The first line

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<sup>1</sup>Thompson (1956:861) writes, “Vividness is gained by the frequent direct addresses to Edom in verses 2–16. In verses 2–4 the Lord is the speaker.”

<sup>2</sup>Craigie (1984:203) notes, “Although the ideas of *pride* and *height* are often used in conjunction, they are joined with striking effect in these verses.”

here is also special with the occurrence of both *Lord* (Adonay) and *LORD* (Yahweh), and the thematic subject *Edom*.

Strophic structure can be seen in the thematic cohesion of the first three bicola with *report* and *messenger* followed by his words. The second triplet of bicola has cohesion in *make small* contrasted with *pride* and the words of boasting. The third strophe is the final two bicola contrasting the punishment of God, *I will bring you down*, with the previous boast of Edom.

Parallelism with seconding is clearest in 4a, where *though you soar like an eagle* is made even more exaggerated with *though your nest is set among the stars*.

The anatomy of such poetic devices may seem anything but poetic, but recognizing them helps to understand the richness of the original Hebrew poetry.

This poem is basically the same as Jer. 49:14–16, and the following verse 5 as Jer. 49:9. The poetic form of condemning neighboring nations is common in the prophets, and possibly had a liturgical function at festivals (Watts 1969:22–27).

**Poem B vv. 5–7 Chiasm 456 5 654 and a final 3**

v. 5 If=thieves come=to-you,  
if=plunderers by-night— (4)

How you-have-been destroyed!—  
would-they-not steal only-enough-for-themselves? [2+3](5)

\*

If=grape-gatherers come to-you,  
would-they-not leave gleanings? (6)

v. 6 How Esau has-been-pillaged,  
his-treasures sought-out! (5)

\*

- v. 7 They-have-driven-you to(=)the-border,  
     all the=men-of your-treaty. (5/6)
- They-have-~~deceived~~-you, overpowered you,  
     the-men-of your-confederation. (5)
- Your-companions set  
     a-trap under-you. (4)

\*

- There-is-no *understanding* in-him. (3)

The unique feature of this poem is the apostrophe (Schoekel 1988:154; Watson: 1989:418), *How you have been destroyed!*, the exclamation in dashes in verse 5. It is a sentence of its own, but comes inside another sentence. It serves to point to the central peak in verse 6, which also begins with the exclamation *How* (Clark and Mundhenk 1982:14), and has the same theme of amazement over the extent of the pillaging of Esau. This amazement is conveyed in the two rhetorical questions of the first half, which point out that normally something is left after thieves or even harvesters are finished. In contrast, see *how* Edom's hidden treasures are *sought out* by the pillagers from all the "secret and inaccessible places" (Bewer 1911:24). The idea of hidden *treasures* relates this peak thematically to *clefts of the rock* in the previous peak (Allen 1976:148).

The four words after *How* in the peak have assonance in that all end in /w/, with the first and third pronounced as /û/, and the second and fourth as /ā(y)w/ when read with their vowels. The switch to third person for Esau in the peak also gives prominence by "turbulence" (Longacre 1983:25) as in the previous poem, since the previous and following lines address Edom with the second person. The final line, which is considered climactic because of its shortness, also has the third person masculine suffix. In other than these two peak lines, the references are all second person. There is also a gender switch in verse 5 of the first half of the poem, in that the first example of (*come*) to you is masculine, and the second has a feminine *you*.

Another feature of this poem is that the first four lines, ending with the peak, all begin with the first Hebrew letter *alep*, and the last short climactic line also begins with *alep*. This pattern helps to mark prominence in the two peak lines as does the switch to third person.

The first half of the poem has three *if* clauses with destroyers: *thieves*, *plunderers*, and *grape-gatherers*. These are balanced in the second half with



three deceitful groups of people: *men of your treaty, men of your confederation, and your companions*.

The use of the second person masculine suffix /-kâ/ in both the first and last full lines gives something of an inclusio, and the repetition of *is it not* in the two lines before the peak, and *men* in the two lines after the peak gives some balance as in the previous poem. However, none of the other repeated words fall into a chiasmic inversion. Instead there seems to be a loose terrace pattern in the first half, ending with the emphatic *How* in the peak. The repeated words by lines are as follows:

If, thieves (stealers), come to you (masculine), if  
 How, is it not, steal  
 If, come to you (feminine), is it not  
 How!

The strophic structure first has two couplets, then a triplet of bicola, and finally a monocolon. The first line and the central peak both have parallelism with the second cola more specific, as follows: *thieves: plunderers by night, pillaged: treasures sought out*. The three lines with deceitful groups in 7 are also parallel to each other.

**Poem C vv. 8–11 Chiasm 467 8 764**

v. 8 Will-it-not-be on-that day,  
       says = the-LORD, [3 + 1](4)  
 That-I-destroy those-who-are-wise from-Edom,  
       and-*understanding* from-the-mountain-of Esau? (6)

\*

v. 9 And-your-mighty-men will-be-destroyed, O-Teman,  
       so every-man = will-be-cut-off from-mount Esau. [3 + 4](7)  
 Because-of-slaughter,

      v. 10 because-of-violence to-your-brother Jacob,  
 You-will-be-covered with-shame, and-you-will-be-cut-off  
       forever! (8)

\*

- v. 11 On-the-day that-you-stood aloof,  
           on-the-day that-strangers carried-off his-wealth,                   (7)[3+4]  
 And-foreigners entered his-gates,  
           and-cast lots over=Jerusalem.                                       (6)  
 Also(=)you-were  
           as-one of-them.   (3/4)

The first word *Will it not be* repeats the same word which introduces the two rhetorical questions in verse 5 of the previous poem.<sup>3</sup> The word *understanding* in the second line of verse 8 is the same as the next to the last word of the previous poem. The word *Edom* occurs only in verse 8 here and the first line of the book. And the last words of the first line in verse 8 are the same as the last words of the first poem *says the LORD*, giving cohesion to these first three poems.

The central peak line has three key words pointing in the other direction. *Your brother* is also in the first line of the next poem, and *Jacob* is twice (vv. 17–18) in the poem after that. *Cut off* also comes in verse 14 and has the same consonants as *misfortune* in the first line of verse 12.

Several other words occur in both this poem and the next. The final verse 11 has these: *day* occurs twice here, eight times in the next poem, and once in the first line of the last poem; *wealth*, *entered*, and *gate* occur also in verse 13; and *stand* occurs also in verse 14. The word *Jerusalem* occurs only here in verse 11 and in the last poem in verse 20. The word *Esau* which occurs at the end of the second and third lines here, also occurs in the second poem at verse 6, twice in the next to the last at verse 18, and twice in the last at verses 19 and 21. This makes a pattern with occurrences of *Esau* only in the last two poems of each half. *Mountain* also has two occurrences here, two in the fifth poem, and three in the last poem. The full pronoun *you* occurs in the last line of this poem, in the peak of the first poem, and together with *also* in the long central line of the next poem. These occurrences of key words from this first central poem in each of the other five poems help to give emphasis to the central poems of the book.

The peak line is the first place in the book to give a reason for God's punishment of Edom (Clark and Mundhenk 1982:19). This central line is also the longest with eight words, following the lineation of BHS and

<sup>3</sup>Eaton (1961:40–1) writes concerning verses 8–9, "A new oracle takes up the last thought of the preceding section, incidentally illustrating the close integration achieved throughout the whole composition."

ancient versions which put the last word of verse 9 in with verse 10 (Thompson 1956:863; Eaton 1961:41). This also gives alliteration with two /m/ words beginning the peak line, the second of which has another internal /m/. The letter /m/ is also the last letter of this peak line.

The peak line also is unique in having double verbal clauses within each colon: *because of slaughter, because of violence* in the first colon, and *you will be covered with shame, you will be cut off* in the second colon (see Bliese 1992 for similar patterns in peaks of Second Isaiah). The two lines before the peak, and one after it, have normal colon to colon parallelism (see Bliese 1982 for dropping parallelism at peak, following Longacre (1983:25) on exceptions at peak).

Repetition comes within the poem with the word *cut off*, in addition to that already noted with the next poem. *Cut off* occurs in the line before the peak, and the same consonants /nkr/ are found in the root of the word *foreigners*, the first word in the last full line.

The strophic structure combines the bicola lines into two strophes of two lines, followed by one of three lines.

**Poem C' vv. 12–14 Homogeneous tetrameters 44445444 (central 5)**

- v. 12 But-you-should-not=have-gloated  
           over-the-day-of=your-brother  
           on-the-day-of his-misfortune. (4)  
And-you-should-not=have-rejoiced over-the-sons-of=Judah  
           on-the-day-of their-ruin. (4)  
And-you-should-not=have boasted  
           on-the-day-of distress. (4)  
v. 13 You-should-not=have-entered the-gate-of= my-people  
           on-the-day-of their-calamity. (4)  
You-should-not=have-gloated even=you over-his-disaster  
           on-the-day-of his-calamity. [long](5)  
And-you-should-not=have-looted his-wealth  
           on-the-day-of his-calamity. (4)  
v. 14 And-you-should-not=have-stood at=the-fork  
           to-cut-off his-escapees. (4)  
And-you-should-not=have-locked-up his-survivors  
           on-the-day-of distress. (4)

The structure of this poem is unique because of the repetition in each line of the initial phrase *And you should not have*, and the phrase *on the day of* beginning the second colon in all but the next to the last line. This

makes a nice terrace pattern, building up to the final peak of this metrically homogeneous poem (see Bliese 1982; 1988a:55; 1990:269, 273–4; and 1991 for examples where metrical homogeneity is supported by terraced repetition).

The word *day* significantly occurs eleven times in the poem to this point (Craigie 1984:205). Thematically the last two lines note the worst offense of *cutting off the escapees* and *locking up the survivors*. The metrical structure is basically homogeneous, with four units in each line except one center line with five accents. Homogeneous poems predictably have such a final climax. This is brought out by key words at the end. The word *survivors* in the climax here, is also in the last full line of the next poem. *Escapees* in the next to the last line is in the peak of the next poem, and the frequency of the /nkr/ sequence of *cut off* was noted in the last poem.

The final phrase *in the day of distress* is the same as in the third line, giving more repetition of words in the climax with the rest of the poem. The omission of *his*, which occurs in the other lines with *day of his*, also marks this phrase as different.

The use of a homogeneous poem immediately after a chiasmic poem in the center is also found in Joel 2:21–22, and it also has its first two lines beginning with the negative particle /l/ (Bliese 1988a:65). The only other homogeneous poem in Obadiah is the last one, giving balance to the second half of the book. The unique repetition in all lines gives cohesion through the whole poem which overrides normal parallelism and grouping into strophes. This fits the pattern of exceptions at peak in regard to the structure of the whole book, since this is one of the central peak poems.

The exceptional pentameter in the center is metrically marked for emphasis. The extra accent comes with the repetition of the key phrase *also you*, which was noted to occur in the last line of the previous poem. The word *calamity* comes at the end of this line and is significantly repeated at the end of the lines on each side of this line. It is a play on the word *Edom* with the same consonants (Thompson 1956:864).

A semantic buildup to the two central lines begins with the repetition of *day of* in the first line and proceeds with a series of three phrases identifying the oppressed as *your brother* (v. 12a), *the sons of Judah* (v. 12c) and then as *my people* (v. 13a), bringing in the divine perspective. Series of synonyms in consecutive lines have been noted as a feature of Hebrew poetry (Watson 1989:418). The phrase *you should not have gloated* comes

significantly in the first and fifth (one of the central) lines.<sup>4</sup> The first central line (13a-b) also has the repetition of *enter the gate* from verse 11.

The author has found other Biblical poems where a homogeneous structure will have obvious emphasis in the center as well as at the end. (See Joel 3[4]:18–21 in Bliese 1988a:73, and Hosea 8:1–4 in Bliese 1982. The Hosea poem is significantly the central poem of the whole book as is this poem, and is seen as an example of using exceptional patterns at the peak of the book.)

**Poem B' vv. 15–18 Chiasm 6675 6 5766**

v. 15 *Truly*(=)it-is-near, the-day-of(=)the-*LORD*,  
on = all(=)the-*nations*. [4 + 2](3/6)

*As* you-have-*done*, it-will-be-*done*(+)to-you,  
your-deeds will-return on-your-head. (7/6)

\*

v. 16 *For*(+)as you-have-*drunk* on = my-holy mountain  
all-the-*nations* will-*drink* continually. (8/7)

And-they-will-*drink* and-stagger,  
and-will-be as-though-they-had-not been. [2 + 3](5)

\*

v. 17 But-in-mount Zion there-will-be escapees.  
and-it-will-be holy. [4 + 2](6)

\*

And-the-house-of *Jacob* will-possess  
their own-possessions. (5)

v. 18 The-house-of(=)*Jacob* will-be fire,  
and-the-house-of *Joseph* flame. (6/7)

\*

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<sup>4</sup>Thompson (1956:864) writes, "The crimes of invasion, gloating, and looting are again mentioned and thereby emphasized."

And-the-house-of *Esau* will-be-stubble,  
 and-they-will-burn them and-consume-them; (6)  
 And-there-will-be = no survivor to-the-house-of *Esau*,  
 for(+)the-LORD has-spoken. [4 + 2](7/6)

Another 11+1 pattern comes with the thematic word *day*, which after the buildup to the eleventh occurrence in the last line of the previous poem, now comes in the first line with the contrast of the *day of the LORD*, the reversal of the previous day of *calamity* and *distress*. This also makes an inclusio in that the first *day* mentioned is the *day* when the *LORD* destroys Edom in verse 8, while all those in verses 11–14 are referring to Edom's day of crimes against Israel (Allen 1976:154). There are significantly no more occurrences of *day* in the book. The *day of the LORD* ends all days of trouble.

Structurally there are two patterns of word repetitions which build up first to the central line and then to the final line. The first is as follows by lines:

*nations*

*as, do, do*

*as, drink, mountain holy, drink, nations*

*drink, be, be*

**mountain (Zion), be (escapees), be holy**

Besides the repeated words, the peak line also has the key word *Zion* which only comes again, along with *mountain*, in the final climax of the book in verse 21. The key word *escapees* was noted in the final verse 14 of the previous poem. The repetition of *be* here and in the previous line is significant since Hebrew poetry usually omits the word and uses nominal sentences. The only other occurrence in Obadiah is significantly in the last line of the book. The word *holy* in this central peak follows the prevalence of religious terminology in peak lines of Biblical poetry. Its meaning is elaborated in Joel 2:32 in that *Jerusalem will be safe from heathen profanation* (Thompson 1956:865). The peak line is also set off by the switch to the salvation of *Zion* which “contrasts sharply” with the previous judgment prophesies on the nations (Clark and Mundhenk 1982:32).

The metrical chiasm has its shortest lines adjacent to the central peak, which helps to set it off (see Bliese 1992 for examples in Second Isaiah).

The other hexameters are on the ends which also gives balance. Watts (1969:35) proposes the same hyphenation as above for verse 15. The word *LORD* forms an inclusio by coming in the first and last cola of the poem. The word /kî/ 'truly' which begins the poem, is the same as the word *for* which begins the last colon, also forming an inclusio. The word *LORD* also forms anaphora with poems A and C, since every second poem has *LORD* in its first line. The key phrase *the day of the LORD* coming at the beginning of the poem is echoed by its repetition usually near the beginning of the five parts of Joel (Bliese 1988a:73; see Thompson 1956:858 for a list of phrases common to Joel).

The second build-up of repeated words points to the final line as follows:

*possess, house of Jacob, possess(ions)*

*be (also in peak), house of Jacob, house of (Joseph)*

*house of Esau*

*be (survivor), house of Esau (for the LORD)*

Besides the repeated words, the word *survivor* from the previous climax, and the inclusio of *for the LORD* help to give emphasis to this final line. The first three line-initial letters are /k/, while the other six lines begin with /w/, which also serves as a build-up to the end (see Bliese 1991 and 1992 for patterns of first letters in lines). Secondary emphasis is not consistently predictable at the end of chiastic poems unless there is a double line in the center. However, final emphasis is often found in any type of literary structure. Strophic structure divides into bicola couplets on each side, leaving the peak a single bicola in the center. Parallelism is clear in the second and third lines of each half. The second line also has extra repetition of *do* in the first colon.

**Poem A' vv. 19–21 Five homogeneous heptameters and a final 3**

v. 19 And-the-Negev will-possess the = mountain-of Esau,  
and-the-Shephelah the(=)Philistines. (6/7)

And-they-will-possess the = land-of Ephraim  
and-the(+)land-of Samaria,  
and-Benjamin = Gilead; [5 + 2](7)

- v. 20 And-exiles-of this = host of-the-sons-of Israel  
       those-who(=)are-Canaanites as-far-as = Zarephath. (6/7)  
 And-the-exiles-of Jerusalem who-are in-Sepharad  
       will-possess the(+)cities-of the-Negev. (8/7)

\*

- v. 21 And-deliverers will-go-up in-Mount Zion  
       to-judge the = mountain-of Esau! (7)  
 And-the-kingdom will-be the-LORD's! (3)

The homogeneous structure of this final poem is shown by the five heptameters and by their initial letters which are all /w/s. The final short line also begins with /w/. A build-up of repeated words also points to the final verse 21, both lines of which are climactic.

*possess, /ʔt/ mount Esau, /ʔt/*

*possess, /ʔt/ fields, /ʔt/ fields, /ʔt/*

*and exiles, /ʔtr/*

*and exiles, /ʔtr/, possess, /ʔt/*

**mount (Zion), /ʔt/ mount Esau**

**(kingdom will be the LORD's)**

The Hebrew accusative particle /ʔt/ and the relative pronoun /ʔšr/ are significant in the buildup, since they are usually omitted in Hebrew poetry. /ʔt/ occurs only once each in the two previous poems at verses 14 and 17, and in verse 1 of the first poem together with *from*. /ʔšr/ occurs only in the two adjacent lines in verses 15–16 together with *as* in the previous poem. /ʔt/ *Mount Esau* forms an inclusio by coming significantly in the first and last heptameters.<sup>5</sup> The important Biblical words *deliverers*, *judge*, and *kingdom* give special meaning in this final climax. The final *LORD* is especially significant since it forms an inclusio for the whole book, and epiphora with the last line of the previous poem. The word *be* was also noted as a key word in both the central peak and final line of the previous poem. *Zion* comes in the previous peak at verse 17 showing

<sup>5</sup>Thompson (1956:867) writes, "The use of *mount* with both names sharpens the contrast between these two nations, the one holy, the other profane; the one destined to triumph, the other to destruction."



the Hebrew discourse feature of peak to peak repetition (see Bliese 1982; 1988b:210).

Another interesting grammatical feature of this poem is verb gapping. The first line has two subjects and objects, but only one verb which serves both clauses by the gapping rule. The second line has two subjects and three objects, the final clause also with no verb. The third line has no verb nor object marker, which makes it ambiguous. The translation above follows GNB assuming that the grammar of this clause is the same as of the previous clause, *And Benjamin Gilead*, with the same understood verb *possess*. The first colon of verse 20 is then an expanded subject, and the second colon with the /šr/ clause is the object. Adding the gapped verb will then give *And exiles of this host of the sons of Israel will possess those who are Canaanites as far as Zarephath* (see KJV, Thompson 1956:866, and Eaton 1961:45–6). In this case the repetition of a grammatical peculiarity helps in the buildup to the climax.

Strophic structure also sets the final verse 21 apart, since the previous two couplets in verses 19–20 have strong cohesion with the list of *possessing* various areas. Cohesion is achieved through terrace repetition as noted above in verses 12–14, rather than through parallelism.

The last line *And the kingdom will be the LORD's* boldly states the hope of Jacob—that in spite of the destruction of their nation, God will bring them back and establish his rule among them again.<sup>6</sup> This ties in with the *day of the LORD* in the first line of the previous poem. The LORD will have his day of judgment (v. 21) when he will set everything straight—judging Edom for its participation in the destruction of his people Jacob, and reestablishing his people on holy Mount Zion.

### Conclusion

The above analysis shows how key words are used within the overall structure of the book to give cohesion and emphasis. Key words in peaks and climaxes of the poems are repeated in strategic patterns throughout the book. The use of *inclusio* is a favorite feature of Hebrew literary style, as the patterns of the word *LORD* illustrate in Obadiah. Key words in the central poems are shown to be particularly important in their development

<sup>6</sup>Watts (1969:66) describes the book's "theological value...in seeing the whole as an exposition of its last line 'Dominion shall belong to Yahweh'." Also see Clark and Mundhenk (1982:37) for this emphasis.

throughout the book. This was seen above in repetitions of *your brother Jacob* and *cut off* in C, and *escapees* and *survivors* and *day of* in C'.

Individual poems have their own word patterns giving cohesion and emphasis. These word patterns may be key words, such as the inclusio of *mountain of Esau* in the last poem, but may also be a minor particle such as the accusative /t/, which plays a major part in the buildup to the climax of the last poem. Obadiah does not have the amount of chiastic word inversion found, for example, in Hosea. The word pattern characteristic for Obadiah is a loose terrace buildup. This may first point to the central peak and then begin again in the second half as was illustrated by B' above. The point is that the metrical pattern is enhanced by the repetition of words.

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# DISCOURSE FEATURES IN NEW TESTAMENT LETTERS

With Special Reference to the Structure of 1 Timothy

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The New Testament is replete with examples of Greco-Roman letters,<sup>2</sup> which is not surprising since letters were as common to the Hellenistic world as telephones are to the modern world. All walks of life employed letters to communicate whether it be businessmen, philosophers, religious leaders, soldiers, or children away from home.<sup>3</sup> Even amidst such a variety of cultural contexts, letters developed predictable linguistic formulas which appear regularly in the extant texts. In turn, the formulas became predictable to the readers. These formulas (e.g., χαίρειν 'greetings') provide the discourse analyst with clues towards the cohesive structure of New Testament (and extra-biblical) letters. For example, thanksgiving formulas are commonly said to contain a condensed version of the letter's theme. Peter O'Brien (1977:12–13) states "that the purpose of the thanksgiving periods was to introduce the basic theme of the letter."

In the case of the Pastoral Epistles (PE), however, either 1 Tm 1:12–17 is not assessed as an epistolary thanksgiving, or if espoused as a thanksgiving, is given little detailed treatment. If 1 Timothy does contain a thanksgiving formula, then the interpreter would likely be able to

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<sup>1</sup>For the purpose of simplicity, the names of Paul, Timothy, and the Ephesian Church are used throughout this study, but without implying that the names refer to any corresponding historical persons.

<sup>2</sup>See the Pauline letters, James, 1–2 Peter, Jude, Revelation, Hebrews (although lacking a prescript this homily contains an epistolary closing), and the embedded letters in Acts (15:23–26; 23:26–30).

<sup>3</sup>See, e.g., the letters of a businessman, P. Brit. Mus. 356 (I C.E.); a philosopher, Seneca *Epistulae Morales*; religious leaders, B.G.U. 16 (159–60 C.E.); a soldier, B.G.U. 423 (II C.E.); and a child away from home, P. Oxy. I 119 (II/III C.E.).

demonstrate a link between the statements of the thanksgiving and the statements of the larger discourse.<sup>4</sup> In other words, an understanding of Greco-Roman epistolary practices may contribute to the analysis of syntactic cohesiveness and semantic coherence of New Testament letters.

Therefore, any discussion of the cohesiveness of 1 Timothy would profit from an analysis of its epistolary form. Despite the recent interest in the cohesiveness of the Pastoral Epistles (PE),<sup>5</sup> however, 1 Timothy lacks thoroughgoing analysis with respect to its epistolary structure, perhaps because of the supposedly pseudepigraphical character of the PE. Peter O'Brien, in his rigorous study of the epistolary thanksgiving formulas in Pauline letters, analyzes 2 Thessalonians and Colossians but fails to treat the thanksgiving formula in the PE, claiming that "apart from the question of authorship, these paragraphs do not contribute anything of significance to our study" (1977:2). To the contrary, the epistolary thanksgiving in 1 Timothy has much to say about epistolary style (especially in view of its slight irregularity), particularly New Testament epistolary style. It is the contention here that a discourse analysis of the epistolary form of 1 Timothy (including the thanksgiving formula) reveals an intentional structure in the text, countering some scholar's claims to the contrary. Hanson (1982:42) claims that "the PE are made up of a miscellaneous collection of material. They have no unifying theme; there is no development of thought" (cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:5-6). Along similar lines Guthrie (1957:12) remarks, "There is a lack of studied order, some subjects being treated more than once in the same letter without apparent premeditation." An analysis of discourse features of 1 Timothy suggests otherwise.

The following study attempts to demonstrate the relevance of epistolary studies for discourse analysis of New Testament texts. First, preliminary discussions of the Greco-Roman epistolary genre are addressed, and then the epistolary features of 1 Timothy are analyzed with special reference to the letter's cohesiveness. An epistolary analysis is not the only way to approach the question of the text's cohesiveness,<sup>6</sup> but it is a necessary one.

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. Wolter (1989:48) who argues that the entire PE corpus finds its introduction in 1:12-17: "This epistolary self-portrait introduces the entire Pastoral Corpus."

<sup>5</sup>See especially Bush 1990, Donelson 1986, Fiore 1986, Verner 1983.

<sup>6</sup>For an analysis of cohesive ties in 1 Timothy based on the model formulated by M. A. K. Halliday and R. Hasan 1980, see Reed 1992.

## 2. Greco-Roman letter writing

Communication took place in the Hellenistic world in various ways. Most often individuals communicated face-to-face (with social proximity rules in effect) using gestures and paralinguistic features of the language as part of the communicative event. However, people did not always have the luxury of being in the same locale at the same time. When spatial distance prevented direct interpersonal dialogue, letters were often employed. This suggests a definition of the epistolary genre—a definition of the primary function of ancient letters. **The ancient epistolary genre served to bridge the spatial separation between communicants.**<sup>7</sup> This need gave rise to obligatory linguistic formulas which are found in the three slots of the letter: opening, body, closing. The fact that spatial and temporal distance separated the author and recipient demanded the need for an opening which identified the participants. The body of the letter accounted for the specific communicative needs of the author. The closing of the letter seems to have developed as a conventional means to wrap up the communicative process—to bring closure.

Certain terms require definition before proceeding with the discussion of the Hellenistic epistolary genre. Although genre is a slippery term to define, it must be recognized that genres are not self-contained linguistic phenomena totally removed from the overall semiotic system. Features of some genres often find their way into other genres and are employed in the communicative task. However, the shared features of a group of texts, the sum of which are not found in another group of texts, help to define a particular genre. These shared features I call **obligatory** elements. All other elements are **optional**.<sup>8</sup> Linguistic elements that are essential for a text to be a part of a given genre are said to be obligatory to the genre. Those elements that are not essential for a text to be considered part of a genre are said to be optional. In ancient letters, optional elements may be formulaic (e.g., disclosure formulas) or simply part of the linguistic code of the user (e.g., particles, tense forms, lexemes).

The ancient letter, therefore, is occasioned by situations where one or more individuals separated by distance desired to communicate with

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<sup>7</sup>This function developed within Greek royal leadership when oral correspondence shifted to written form. The correspondence typically involved "injunctions of a military and administrative nature" (White 1986:192). See the collection of these writings in Welles 1974.

<sup>8</sup>These concepts are borrowed from Halliday and Hasan (1980:20–30), with slight modification.

others.<sup>9</sup> This genre consisted of three obligatory slots filled by particular grammatical elements—opening, body, closing. Corresponding to these slots of the letter, White (1986:218–19) delineates three primary functions of the epistolary genre: “the maintenance of contact, the communication of information, and the statement of request or command.” M. A. K. Halliday’s threefold functional division of language—experiential, interpersonal, modal—somewhat parallels White’s epistolary model. Consequently, if language in general serves to relay information (experiential), maintain contact (interpersonal),<sup>10</sup> and make requests and commands (experiential and interpersonal), what contribution has White really made to an understanding of the unique functions of the epistolary genre? His contribution is chiefly this: he attempts to delineate how the three primary functions of letters are uniquely grammaticalized by certain formal features. In other words, he attempts to show the relationship between form and function. The interpersonal function of maintaining contact is grammaticalized in the opening and closing. Or as White (1986:219) notes, “The writer’s presence and disposition in writing is conveyed to the recipient(s)” in the opening and closing. Requests, commands, and the disclosure of information are formally grammaticalized in the body. The importance of White’s study is that it not only defines the epistolary genre, it defines it in terms of both formal and functional categories.

Despite the functions grammaticalized by these obligatory elements, the need to bridge spatial separation was not the sole reason for writing letters. For example, commendatory letters involved a third participant, typically the letter carrier, who was commended into the care of the letter’s recipient. This additional function accounts for the unique form of

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<sup>9</sup>Cf. the epistolary definitions of Bahr 1968:27, White 1981:91, and Doty 1969:193. Cf. Doty (1969:198) who rightly concludes that inclusive definitions (with reference to his own) “will permit us to be informed by the genre as a whole, while allowing more specific qualifications to distinguish within each group.” Some may argue that pseudepigraphical letters, which 1 Timothy is often purported to be, do not necessarily fulfill the function of “spatially separated communication” because the real author and audience may very well be in the same locale. However, a better approach to the pseudepigraphical letter is that, although the real sender and recipient may be in the same locale, the real author is imitating the epistolary genre nonetheless to present pseudo senders and recipients who are separated spatially. The tendency to imitate real letters would especially be the case for Christians looking back on the Pauline letter (see White 1983:444). Thus Doty (1969:196–97) correctly categorizes nonreal pseudonymous or imaginary letters as real letters rather than denying their letterness.

<sup>10</sup>The epistolary theorist Demetrius (*On Style* 225, 229, 231, 232) underscores the need for interpersonal, friendly, and conversational communication in letters.

the letter of commendation. Consequently, letter writers employed linguistic elements, which were optional to the epistolary genre, in order to carry out these unique functions. In other words, the various optional elements arose in view of the need for letters to serve different functions. Some examples of these functions as given by Stowers (1986:15) include:

- Order or request provisions
- Elicit a virtue or promote a habit of behavior
- Initiate a relationship with another person or group
- Maintain a relationship with a person or group
- End a relationship with a person or group
- Restore a relationship with a person or group
- Praise someone
- Cause someone to be sorry
- Give orders (a superior to a subordinate)
- Give a report of events
- Cause a group to share a common hope
- Elicit capacities for social bonding
- Threaten someone
- Console someone

Like White, Stowers endeavors to demonstrate the relationships between epistolary forms and functions. But instead of inspecting the documentary letters (as White does), he turns to the models provided by ancient epistolary theorists. The epistolary theorists (e.g., Pseudo-Demetrius *Epistolary Types*, Pseudo-Libanius *Epistolary Styles*) cite examples of types of letters (e.g., letters of consolation, commendation, and rebuke) which serve unique functions. The handbooks, which were intended for professional use, also detail the appropriate settings (i.e., registers) for each type of letter. These handbooks provide insights into how the ancients conceived of the various forms and functions of letters. However, they primarily deal with optional functions of letters.

In summary, the main function of letters is to communicate across spatial distance. The obligatory elements filling the slots of the opening, body, and closing carry out this function. Optional features, common to other letters and unique to individual authors, carry out other situationally determined functions of the genre.



### 3. The epistolary form of 1 Timothy

It has already been observed that certain structural features are obligatory to the Hellenistic letter—namely, the opening, body, and closing. These spatial locations and the obligatory forms that fill them produce structure in texts. Optional epistolary elements often recur in fixed locations of the text, also exposing structure in discourse. In addition, both obligatory and optional epistolary formulas have their own structures. What, then, are the obligatory and optional formulas used in 1 Timothy and how do they produce cohesiveness in the discourse?

**3.1 Obligatory epistolary elements.** The first question that must be addressed is: What are the obligatory forms of the epistolary genre? Part or all of the opening was occasionally omitted if the letter was hand-delivered.<sup>11</sup> In some cases ulterior motives would cause the sender to omit obligatory elements.<sup>12</sup> Although the closing is found in the majority of Greek letters, it was frequently excluded from some letters, especially business letters (Exler 1976:70–71). Other formulas within the closing section, such as the closing greeting formula (ἀσπάζασθαι 'greet'), are found in various parts of the letter at various times in epistolary history. In spite of this incongruity, there is a recognizable uniformity of forms in the opening, body, and closing.

The opening was vital for the epistolary genre.<sup>13</sup> It set the social and interpersonal context of the entire discourse. Elements commonly found in this section are the superscription (sender), adscription (addressee), and the salutation or greeting. These were typically realized in forms such as: A (nominative) to B (dative), greetings (e.g., χαίρειν), and B (dative) from

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<sup>11</sup>Two types of letters—questions to the oracle and letters of invitation—often omit the superscription and/or adscription "since the correspondence was usually local and delivered to the door by a messenger" (White 1978:294). See the invitation in P. Oxy. XII 1484 (II–III C.E.) Ἐρωτᾷσε Ἀπολλώνιος δευτεῖνῃσαι 'Appolonius requests your presence at dinner' and the question to the oracle in P. Fay. 133 (58 C.E.). Jewitt (Tobin, Jewitt, White 1987:47) suggests that similar circumstances may account for the lack of prescripts in Hebrews and 1 John. The lack of obligatory elements in the opening does not suggest that their functions are dissolved; rather, the written elements that realize the functions are replaced by verbal elements.

<sup>12</sup>See P. Grenf. I 45 and P. Good. 5 where it has been suggested that names of the addressee are omitted because the letters are attempts at bribery. Omissions of the addressee and recipient are rare, and White (1978:294) rightly notes that "it can be demonstrated in almost every instance, however, that these anomalous forms are the result of the letter being either a first draft or copy."

<sup>13</sup>For a lengthy list of letter openings see Exler 1976:24–60.

A (nominative) without the greeting. The second example, in which the superscription and adscription are reversed, “does seem to reflect the writer’s sense of reverence and/or dependence upon the recipient.” The omission of the opening greeting is often found in more formal registers (e.g., petitions, complaints) (White 1978:292).<sup>14</sup> The only obligatory elements in the opening slot, then, are the superscription and adscription. These elements set the interpersonal context of the letter whether it be from a king to a city or a boy to his father. This, of course, was necessary due to the spatial distance between the individuals. The superscription and adscription were often expanded through the addition of epithets, titles, terms of relationship (A to his mother B) and endearment (A to my most beloved friend B), and geographical location.<sup>15</sup> These optional additions provide vital clues to the social relationships between the letter’s sender and recipient.

1 Timothy fulfills the requirements for the opening of the letter. Paul (Παῦλος) writes to Timothy (Τιμοθέω). The expansion is brief but enlightening. Paul is an apostle of Christ Jesus (ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) which, no doubt, invokes his attendant responsibilities and authority. This authority is sanctioned by the command of God and of Christ Jesus (ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν). The mention of God and Christ not only provides insights into the author’s theology, but just as importantly introduces new participants of the narrative world of the discourse. The descriptions of Timothy are also insightful. Paul addresses Timothy as a legitimate child in faith (γνησίω τέκνῳ ἐν πίστει). Πίστις ‘faith, belief’ describes an important virtue of the believer. Faith came upon Paul in his calling (1:14), it forms part of his message to the nations (2:7), and it is to be pursued (6:11). In contrast, some have abandoned the faith (1:19) and some may deny it by their actions, becoming like the unbelievers (ἄπιστος ‘unbelief’; 5:8). Paul clearly places Timothy in the camp of believers. In light of the heretical movements in Ephesus alluded to in the letter, Paul is perhaps making a statement to the Ephesian church regarding Timothy’s legitimate (γνησίῳ)

<sup>14</sup>Examples of letters omitting the greeting include: P. Oxy. IX 1188 (13 C.E.); P. Ryl. 166 (26 C.E.); P. Ryl. 167 (39 C.E.); P. Ryl. II 171 (56–7 C.E.); P. Hamb. 5 (89 C.E.).

<sup>15</sup>See, e.g., B.G.U. III 846 (II C.E.) Ἀντώνιος Λόνγος Νειλοῦτι τῇ μητρὶ πλίστα χαίρειν ‘Antonius Longus to Neilouta my most esteemed mother, greetings’; P. Ryl. II 231 (40 C.E.) Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδιῶνι τῷ φιλάτῳ χαίρειν ‘Ammonius to the most beloved Aphrodius, greetings’; Sel. Pap. I 104 (I B.C.E.) Ἀθηναγόρας ὁ ἀρχίατρος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι . . . χαίρειν ‘Athenagorus the official physician to the priests . . . greetings’.

character and status; however, he may simply be intending his encouragement solely for the ears of Timothy. In this brief obligatory formula, Paul introduces the main characters of his text and their position within the believing community. Secondary participants are also introduced in the characters of God and Christ.

The body typically contained the information of the letter—the **what** of the communicative event. Thus the content of the body varied: narrative, philosophical treatise, list of purchases, etc. But it is still necessary that letters have some type of body.<sup>16</sup> However, there is no commonly found element that corresponds to this function and place of the letter. For example, lists of products frequently make up business letters. The modern interpreter may find this important for identifying a business letter, but it will be useless in other cases. Paul tends to “strike out on his own and to be least bound by epistolary structures” in the body of his letters (Doty 1973:35). Therefore, it is arduous and sometimes (not always) unproductive to compare the body of Paul’s letters with general epistolary practices.

The closing was at times omitted from the letter. Although ἔρρωσο ‘be in good health’ or ἔρρωσθαι and εὐτύχει ‘farewell’ or the combination ἔρρωσο σε εὐχομαι ‘I pray that you are well’ is often found in this slot of the letter, Paul does not retain this formula in his letters. As most dialogue requires some sort of close to the communicative event, letters also developed forms that wrap up the discourse. What filled this slot (similar to the epistolary body), however, was open to change. Whereas letters usually had other elements that signaled movement towards the end of the discourse (e.g., notification of visit, request for a letter), 1 Timothy abruptly ends with Ἡ χάρις μεθ’ ὑμῶν ‘grace be with you’. This formula, at times slightly adapted, is not only characteristic of the PE but is found at or near the end of all Pauline letters.<sup>17</sup> In 2 Timothy and Titus, closing greetings (ἀσπάζασθαι) are also added as transitional elements.

<sup>16</sup>Although White (1981:92) rightly notes that “the only epistolary element which cannot be omitted from a letter is the opening,” I would argue that this is only the case for formulaic elements, not the positional elements of the letter—namely, the body. Even family letters, which White claims often have no specific body, have some communicative elements that fill the space. In other words, there are no letters that simply have a prescript. Instead, every letter contains some type of elements after the prescript (i.e., every letter contains a beginning, middle, and end). However, what fills the slot of the body varies, although some formulaic patterns exist (e.g., petitions, letters of commendation).

<sup>17</sup>See Rom 6:20; 1 Cor 16:23; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 6:18; Eph 6:24; Phil 4:23; Col 4:18; 1 Thes 5:28; 2 Thes 3:18; 2 Tm 4:22; Ti 3:15; Phlm 25. A cursory glance at several of these passages reveals the somewhat uncertain textual history these elements went through.

One feature of Paul's closing apparently conflicts with the tone of his epistolary opening—namely, the use of the plural pronoun ὑμῶν 'you'. Why is this the only case of the second plural pronoun in 1 Timothy, and for that matter, the only use of second person plural grammar? Why does Paul claim to write to an individual in his opening, but here addresses his statements to a group. Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972:93) state, "The plural 'with you' (ὑμῶν) reflects the acknowledgment that a writing with this particular content is directed to a wider circle, despite the address." It is one thing to concede that Paul may have known that others would read the letter (which still seems doubtful),<sup>18</sup> and another to state that he specifically directed it to others outside of the stated addressee. This is difficult to imagine since "we are left wondering why the author should have decided to drop his skillfully contrived illusion at the last moment" (Kelly 1963:152).

Several possibilities may explain the presence of the plural pronoun in a letter addressed to an individual. First, it is interesting to note that all three closings of the PE have textual variants, with 1 Tm 6:21 receiving a C rating in the UBSGNT<sup>3</sup> text. The significant Western reading (D) contains μετὰ σοῦ 'with you'. To dismiss it (as Dibelius and Conzelmann do) with the explanation that the scribe would change it to fit the context of the letter forgets that it would be equally likely for a scribe to change the singular pronoun to the plural in light of the typical Pauline phrase of his other letters. In other words, they would be following the familiar Pauline closing. This argument is strengthened by the obvious scribal tampering with several of the Pauline letter closings (Rom 16:20; Phil 4:23; Col 4:18; 1 Thes 5:28; 2 Thes 3:18; Phlm 25). If the textual variant still seems implausible, another option preserves the individual-to-individual tone of the letter. In a study of Greek papyri, J. H. Moulton (1903:107) concludes that "singular and plural alternated in the same document with apparently no distinction of meaning" (cf. Guthrie 1957:119).<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Paul's usage is similarly vague as to the number of the pronoun. One final interpretation of the plural pronoun suggests that although Paul had a larger group in mind by using the plural pronoun, he did so without specifically

<sup>18</sup>I would concede, however, that if the letter is pseudepigraphical, the command of the author in 4:13 to 'hold to the reading' (πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει) may betray the real author's intent for the letter to be read to the church. Even this possibility cannot be pushed too far, since the reading mentioned here could have involved other sacred texts without necessarily including the letter of 1 Timothy.

<sup>19</sup>Papyri examples include: P. Tebt. I 55; P. Tebt I 58; P. Amh. II 37; P. Amh. II 144; and P. Fay. 117.

intending the letter to be read by them. For example, in Paul's letter to Philemon, although the opening (χάρις ὑμῖν 'grace to you') and closing ('Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit') are addressed to plural recipients, the rest of the letter is addressed specifically to Philemon.<sup>20</sup> A modern example illustrates this interpretation of the plural pronoun in 1 Tm 6:21. A recent letter addressed to me and sent from a friend concluded with a familiar American formula: *I miss you both*, signed, *Tom*. *Both* clearly refers to my wife and me. However, although certain aspects of the letter involved my wife (e.g., *ask Jamie to send my wife that recipe*), it was clear that the letter was specifically intended for me, and that he wrote it realizing that my wife may never see nor read it. This modern example is perhaps analogous to 1 Timothy. Paul writes to Timothy about people and events in his social sphere. The very fact that Timothy is commanded to entrust *these things* to the brethren (4:6) implies that they will hear about them. It does not, however, imply that they must read them.

These interpretations of the plural pronoun suggest that the author is not necessarily moving his direct scope of communication beyond that of Timothy. Perhaps Kelly is correct in stating that Paul uses the plural here because he intends the letter to be read in the assembly.<sup>21</sup> This, however, does not eliminate the first stage in the communicative process: Timothy reads the letter as if addressed to himself. At best, the options are open to the possibility of a singular understanding (explicit or implicit), especially in light of the vocative address ὦ Τιμόθεε 'Oh Timothy' directed toward Timothy in the preceding verse.

**3.2 Optional epistolary elements.** Stock phrases, such as γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι 'I want you to know', appear regularly in ancient letters. These formulas are not, however, obligatory elements; rather, they are structured forms developed so as to fulfill common communicative functions. Some of these formulas, which are applicable to our study of 1 Timothy, are inspected below. First, formulas commonly found in particular locations of the letter—namely, transitional formulas—are inspected as to their use in 1 Timothy. Second, formulas not relegated to one location are surveyed.

<sup>20</sup>This is not to suggest that others may not have read the letter; however, its contents are specifically directed to the individual Philemon. Note the abundant use of second person singular pronouns from v. 4 through v. 24 with no second person plural pronouns employed.

<sup>21</sup>See Kelly 1963:152 and Fee 1984:162.

**3.2.1 Formulas used to transition from the opening to the body.** The opening sections of letters contain several optional formulas, one being the salutation. χαίρειν, at times with descriptive adjectives such as πολὺς ‘many, much, great’ or πλείστος ‘more, greater’, is commonly found in letters from the third century B.C.E. to third century C.E. It typically occurs after the superscription (sender) and adscription (addressee). The salutation is not obligatory to the epistolary genre, in view of formal letters (e.g., petitions, complaints, and applications) which often begin with “‘To Y [dative] from X’, usually omitting the salutation” (Aune 1987:163). The letter writer had a certain amount of literary freedom with the salutation, at times expanding and adapting it. Paul perhaps adapted the standard thanksgiving formula into his characteristic χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη ‘grace and peace’. It is possible, but difficult to validate, that χάρις corresponds to the Greek χαίρειν (cf. Jas 1:1) and εἰρήνη to the Hebrew salutation *shālôm* ‘peace, welfare, health’. Unlike Paul’s typical salutation, 1 Tm 1:2 uses a three-part formula: χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ‘grace, mercy, and peace from God the father and Christ Jesus the Lord’. However, the addition of the word *mercy* to the typical Pauline formula is paralleled in 2 Jn and Jude, the preface to the Martyrdom of Polycarp, and 2 Baruch 78:2. The expansion of the formula with the prepositional phrase specifies the source of grace, mercy, and peace and makes the formula uniquely Christian (ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ‘from God the father and Christ Jesus the Lord’). The placement of the formula immediately after the superscription and adscription signals a shift in the discourse. The salutation, thus, forms a cohesive relationship in the text. It ties the text to its cotext.

Immediately after the salutation Paul begins to detail his previous communication with Timothy, relating its importance to the present letter (1:3ff.). Is this the beginning of the body of the letter? This is clearly possible since the obligatory elements and the optional greeting have already set the scene for the message of the letter. However, the linguistic evidence may suggest otherwise. First, the καθὼς ‘just as’ clause raises a provocative question: Where does the new information of Paul’s message begin? In other words, when does Paul finish talking about what he previously told Timothy and begin talking about what presently concerns him? At least there is a possibility that with the καθὼς clause Paul is still relating old information in vv. 3–11, and thus has not begun the heart of his new message (i.e., the body of his letter). Second, if 1 Tm 1:12–17 is a thanksgiving formula (as argued below), then the main body of Paul’s message has probably not started. Third, there is an apparent shift in the

discourse from a focus on Timothy to that of church members in either 2:1 or 2:8. This shift may signal the beginning of the body of the letter. It is now necessary to analyze these issues in detail.

καθώς (and similar terms) is frequently used by letter writers to refer to the sender's past correspondence with the recipient. A common clause of this type is: καθάπερ (καθότι, ὡς) ἡμῖν (μοι) ἔγραψας 'Just as you wrote to us (me)'. When taking the form καθάπερ μοι ἔγραψας 'just as you wrote to me', the writer indicates his or her recognition of past communication. White (1978:304) adds that "if the writer says, *just as I wrote*, we may anticipate a situation in which something is still expected of the recipient."<sup>22</sup> 1 Tm 1:3ff. functionally parallels this formula, setting the background for Paul's present letter. It also generates a sense of the sender's continued expectancy of compliance on the part of the recipient.

If 1:12–17 truly is a thanksgiving formula,<sup>23</sup> then, in light of most epistolary studies,<sup>24</sup> the body of the letter would not begin until at least 1:18. Several pieces of evidence suggest that this is a legitimate epistolary thanksgiving. First, the typical Pauline thanksgiving formula which uses the verb εὐχαριστέω 'to give thanks, be thankful' closely parallels the expression here χάριν ἔχω 'I have thanks' (1:12).<sup>25</sup> Several examples from the papyri use the same formula in thanksgiving contexts. In two of these, thanks is given to the gods (P. Tebt. III 2.945 θεοῖς πολλὴν χάριν ἔχω 'I give much thanks to the gods'; P. Oxy. I 113 χάριν ἔχω θεοῖς 'I give thanks to the gods').<sup>26</sup> Second, whereas Paul normally gives thanks to God 'through Jesus Christ' (Rom 1:8–17; 1 Cor 1:4–9; Phil 1:3; 1 Thes 1:2–16; Phlm 4), here he gives thanks to Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν 'to Christ Jesus the Lord of us'. Although some may argue that this suggests non-Pauline authorship, it says nothing against the thanksgiving nature of the passage. In fact, the use of the dative (dative of direction) after the

<sup>22</sup>See C.P.J. I 5 (257 B.C.E.) and P. Cairo Zen. III 59426 (260–250 B.C.E.). These forms tend to appear in the openings of letters and set a brief background for the letter's primary message (e.g., 'Just as you wrote to me about the sheep, I . . .').

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972:26) and Lock (1924:14), who note parallels with the papyri texts although it is unclear if they would call 1:12ff. a thanksgiving formula. Most commentators, although recognizing the thanksgiving nature of 1:12ff., say little or nothing about the epistolary possibilities of the passage. Other Pauline thanksgivings are found in Rom 1:8–17; 1 Cor 1:4–9; 2 Cor 1:3ff.; Phil 1:3–11; 1 Thes 1:2–16ff.; 2 Thes 1:3ff.; Phlm 3–11; Col 1:3–8.

<sup>24</sup>See, e.g., Meecham 1923:113, and with reference to the Pauline letter, Doty 1973:27.

<sup>25</sup>Note also the switch to the infinitive with ὀφειλομεν 'we ought to' in 2 Thes 1:3.

<sup>26</sup>See also C.P.R. VIII 28 (IV C.E.); P. Abinn. 10 (IV C.E.); P. Harr. II 179 (I C.E.); P. Mich. VIII 483 (117–38 C.E.).

verb parallels ancient thanksgiving formulas (cf. Rom 1:8). In addition Paul uses a *ὅτι* clause<sup>27</sup> to express the reason for his thanks—another feature found in the epistolary literature. The three essential elements of the thanksgiving formula—verb of thanks, dative of direction, and reason for thanks—are found in 1 Timothy.<sup>28</sup> Finally, whereas in his other letters Paul always gives thanks **for his readers** and, more specifically, for God's work among them, in 1 Timothy he gives thanks for what God has done **for Paul himself**. It must be admitted that the thanksgiving in 1 Timothy primarily regards Paul, whereas in Paul's other letters Paul gives thanks for something God is doing for or through other believers. This may suggest non-Pauline authorship for some, but this feature of 1 Timothy parallels extrabiblical letters.<sup>29</sup> For example, a soldier writing to his father gives thanks τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι 'to the Lord Serapis' for preserving (ἔσωσε) him through a dangerous sea journey (B.G.U. II 423 [II C.E.]). White (1978:297) remarks that "the writer thanks the deity for his assistance" in his own personal situation, and customarily "in or near the opening."<sup>30</sup> This clearly parallels the thanksgiving of 1 Timothy. Therefore, although the thanksgiving formula of 1 Timothy is unique in some of its formal realizations, it is nonetheless a thanksgiving and should be structurally understood as preceding the epistolary body.

If White's model of the opening is borrowed here—namely, that the opening provides the context in which much of the interpersonal communication takes place—then 1:1–20 formally fulfills this function (i.e., it fills the opening slot of the letter). This opening has the structure of an *inclusio*, with 1:3–7 and 1:18–20 encapsulating the whole opening. Each grouping begins with Paul instructing Timothy (1:3 παρεκάλεισά σε 'I beseech you'; 1:18 τούτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι 'I give this command to you'). Each grouping involves instruction that is intended for (ἵνα clauses) Timothy as he contends with heretics. This is explicitly

<sup>27</sup>Prepositional phrases with ἐπὶ are also a common means of expressing the reason or cause of thanksgiving (see 1 Cor 1:4; 1 Thes 3:9; Phil 1:3–5).

<sup>28</sup>White (1986:219) claims that "the expression of thanksgiving to God as a surrogate form of the conventional wish for health" (emphasis mine) indicates the religious nature of Paul's letter. Cf. P. Lond. II 413 εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ὁλοκληρίας καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς σου ἵνα περισσεύῃ τὸ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν σοι 'We give thanks to god concerning the maturity and eagerness of you in order that the fear of god may abound in you'.

<sup>29</sup>See P. Mich. VIII 465 (107 C.E.); P. Mich. VIII 478; P. Oxy. X 1299. Schubert (1939b:158–79) observes that thanks is usually given to the gods for preserving the letter writer from danger.

<sup>30</sup>Thanksgivings do, however, occur throughout the body of the letter (e.g., P. Col. VII 173 [330–40 C.E.]; P. Mich. VIII 465 [107 C.E.]; P. Mich. VIII 476 [II C.E.]).



stated in 1:3b with regard to Timothy's responsibility to command certain ones not to teach other things (ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τοῖς μὴ ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν 'in order that you may instruct certain individuals not to teach other things'), and more implicitly in 1:18 with regard to Timothy's 'fighting the good fight' (ἵνα στρατεύῃ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν στρατείαν). Both sections speak of godly virtues: love (1:5 ἀγάπη), good conscience (1:5 συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς; 1:19 ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν), and faith (1:5 πίστει; 1:19 πίστιν). Finally, both sections speak of heretics, both using relative clauses to do so (1:6–7 and 1:20).

Several conclusions may be drawn at this point about the transition from the opening to the body in 1 Timothy. The opening and body are somewhat fused. Where the shift from old information to new information takes place is obscure, even though it likely takes place somewhere between 1:3 and 2:1. However, this does not suggest incohesiveness on the part of the author; rather, it points out that letters are not mere outlines finely separated into sections. Epistolary discourses move from topic to topic, formula to formula, sometimes without a predefined plan, yet often with clear signs of transition. In spite of this ambiguity, the textual evidence leads to the following conclusions. First, 1:3 begins with a *καθὼς* clause which repeats some of Paul's former instruction to Timothy. Where Paul's new information begins is difficult to establish because the typical corresponding *οὕτως* clause is absent. Second, the thanksgiving formula in 1:12–17 makes it clear that the epistolary body has not started. Third, 1:3–7 and 1:18–20 provide a neat structural frame that sets off this section from the body. A similar structure is found in 6:20–21a, which is the final bracket of the letter's body.<sup>31</sup>

One final feature of the discourse contributes to an understanding of epistolary opening and body of 1 Timothy. The *παρακαλῶ οὖν πρῶτον* 'therefore, first, I beseech' clause in 2:1 apparently comprises Paul's transition from the opening to the body. However, because no agent is specified in the middle/passive infinitive *ποιεῖσθαι* 'to do, make' and because Timothy has been the focus of Paul's prior discourse (not the men of 2:8), this section apparently concerns Timothy. In contrast to this, 2:8 deals with the broader church, suggesting that Paul has not begun the main content of his letter in 2:1–7. The assumption is that the body of Paul's message is directed to the broader church—not Timothy—and it is not until 2:8 that Paul specifically directs his words toward the broader church. This perhaps is splitting interpretive hairs since instructions

<sup>31</sup>See Bush (1990:153) who notes the similarities between 1:18–20 and 6:20–21a.

directed at the broader church have already been given in 1:6 and 1:19. This does not diminish the fact that 2:1ff and 2:8ff serve distinct functions. Which one, then, begins the body of Paul's letter?

Two key factors suggest that 1:18 begins a transition from the epistolary opening to the body. First, an *inclusio* scheme brackets 1:3–20. The same scheme occurs in 6:20–21. This suggests that the form in 1:18–20 not only encloses the letter's opening but somehow begins a movement from the opening to the letter's body which is finally encapsulated in 6:20–21a. If 1:18–20 only serves to close the discussion of 1:3–20, then 6:20–21 would have no corresponding *inclusio* form. If it is, instead, a transitional formula, then it not only wraps up the epistolary opening but it begins the transition to the body which concludes in 6:20–21. This reading helps identify the textual referent of ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν in 1:18. Perhaps the phrase 'this command' refers back to the command in 1:3. It may instead refer to the commands that follow. More likely, however, ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν refers to the instructions given to Timothy throughout the entire letter, both anaphorically and cataphorically, thus demonstrating the transitional nature of 1:18–20. Second, a transitional understanding of 1:18–20 accounts for the οὖν in 2:1. The use of οὖν 'therefore' demands some explanation as to its relationship with its previous context. How is Paul's summons to prayer based on the foregoing discourse? 1:18 is a likely antecedent, especially if ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν is taken in a general sense (i.e., I give all the preceding and following instructions to you . . . Therefore, make prayers . . .) (Ellicott 1865:42). This understanding is supported by the frequent use of παρακαλῶ injunctions in the epistolary literature to introduce new material, to change the subject of discussion, or when the argument takes a new turn (Sanders 1962:357–62). 1 Tm 2:1 appears to be introducing new material.<sup>32</sup> However, it is new material in light of what is said in 1:18–20. In other words, 1:18–20 provides the shift and 2:1ff. provides the new material. This understanding is also supported by the use of πρῶτον, whether it means first in order (i.e. most importantly) or time (first of all).<sup>33</sup> In either case, it posits a shift to something new in the discourse.

<sup>32</sup>This formula occurs nineteen times in the accepted letters of Paul. See Rom 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor 4:16; 16:15; 1 Thes 4:1–2, 10b–12.

<sup>33</sup>Stirewalt 1977:191 cites several uses of πρῶτον and οὖν as transitions to the body in letter-essays, e.g., Plutarch *Mor.* 1014 A, reads πρῶτον οὖν ἦν ἔχω περὶ τούτων διάνοιαν ἐκθῆσομαι 'First, therefore, I shall set forth my thoughts which I have concerning these matters', but, unlike 1 Tm 2:1, contains a corresponding ἔπειτα.

The petition formulas in papyri letters, as studied by T. Y. Mullins 1962:46–54, provide further insight into the relationship between 2:1 and its cotext. Petitions included three basic elements: the background information which created a setting for the request, the petition verb, and the desired action to be carried out by the recipient (e.g., legal requests, business matters, family instructions).<sup>34</sup> Of the four verbs of petition—ἄξιουν, δεῖσθαι, ἐρωτᾶν, and παρακαλεῖν (all similarly meaning ‘to ask, request, beseech’)—the last type is found twenty-one times in the New Testament epistles.<sup>35</sup> Although petitions often use thanksgiving formulas to convey the background information, in 1 Timothy the background information is specifically conveyed in 1:18–20 (subsequent to the thanksgiving). Background information of a more general nature, however, is conveyed in 1:3–20. Therefore, based on (οὖν) the background setting of 1:3–20 (i.e., the dilemma of apostasy, Timothy’s leadership responsibilities, the purpose for God’s mercy bestowed on Paul, and the general exhortation of v. 18 to ‘fight the good fight’), Paul petitions Timothy<sup>36</sup> to pray. And by doing so, Paul drifts into the body of his letter.

What then is the structure of the opening and where does the body begin? Based on the preceding discussion the following conclusions may be posited. Paul begins his letter with an adscription, superscription, and salutation (1:1–2). After narrating some background information (1:3ff.), Paul begins the body of his letter in 2:1, turning to more specific statements (2:1–3:13) directly related to the situation at hand. As seen above, the transition to the body begins in 1:18–20.

### 3.2.2 Formulas used as a transition from the body to the closing.

1 Timothy suddenly terminates with Paul’s ‘grace be with you’ formula (Ἡ χάρις μεθ’ ὑμῶν). No transitional formulas are employed that would tip the reader off to the close of Paul’s letter. However, the similarity of 6:20–21 with the inclusio forms of 1:3–7 and 1:18–20 points to an intentional structure in the letter. Hence, 6:20–21 forms some type of transition to the close of the letter, thus making the suddenness of the closing not so sudden.

<sup>34</sup>See P. Oxy. II 292 διὸ παρακαλῶ σε μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως ἔχειν αὐτὸν . . . ‘Therefore I beseech you with all my power to hold him . . .’; P. Oxy. XVI 1841 καὶ νῦν παρανακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ‘and now I beseech you’.

<sup>35</sup>Mullins 1962:54 includes 1 Tm 2:1 as an individual petition.

<sup>36</sup>The background information presented in 1:3–20 is primarily directed at Timothy, suggesting that he is the implied subject of the infinitive in 2:1.

**3.2.3 Stock epistolary formulas.** Transitional epistolary formulas which affect one's understanding of textual cohesiveness in 1 Timothy have been treated above. However, other formulas that are not necessarily relegated to certain locations in letters also prove insightful.

Formulas disclosing information often take one of the following three forms: γέγραφα οὖν ὅπως εἰδῆς... ('I write so that you may know...'), γίνωσκε (ἴσθι, μάθε) ὅτι... ('know that...'), and γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι... ('I want you to know that...').<sup>37</sup> All three formulas primarily serve the task of disclosing information. The disclosure then often leads to a request. 1 Tm 3:14 (Ταῦτά σοι γράφω ἵνα εἰδῆς... 'I write these things to you in order that you may know...') is a disclosure formula,<sup>38</sup> paralleling the standard, formal criteria, with the only adjustment being the use of a recitative clause instead of a πῶς clause.<sup>39</sup> And it clearly functions in the same way as the disclosure formula, viz. the "explanation of the reason for writing" (White 1986:207). Paul explicitly states that he writes 'so that you may know the conduct necessary in the household of God'. The above gloss is purposefully ambiguous in one respect. Who is the subject of ἀναστρέφεσθαι ('to conduct oneself, act')? Translations reveal this interpretive problem: 'how **one** ought to behave in the household of God' (RSV); 'how **people** ought to conduct **themselves** in the household of God' (NIV); 'how **thou** oughtest to behave **thyself** in the house of God' (AV). The subject could be one of a number of textual participants: Timothy; the leaders just mentioned; all church members (exclusive of leaders) mentioned in the letter; or the entire church. It is also possible that the subject of ἀναστρέφεσθαι (present middle/passive infinitive) is a generic reference to the things Paul has written in his letter, with the verb functioning passively (i.e., 'how it is necessary that these things be conducted in the house of God'). However, the normal understanding after a verb of knowing with an infinitive that has an unexpressed subject is that

<sup>37</sup>Some characteristic examples include P. Mich. VIII 464.16 (March 99 C.E.); P. Tebt. I 26 (114 B.C.E.); Sel. Pap. I 121 (II C.E.).

<sup>38</sup>See Rom 1:13; 2 Cor 1:8; 1 Thes 2:1; Phil 1:12; and Gal 1:11 for examples that are in the opening of the letter and 1 Cor 11:3; 1 Thes 4:13; 1 Cor 10:1; 12:1; and Rom 11:25 for those outside of the opening.

<sup>39</sup>Mullins 1964:46 lists four elements of the disclosure: (1) θέλω 'to desire, wish', (2) noetic verb in the infinitive, (3) person addressed, and (4) information. By including White's broader definition, Mullins' last three requirements are fulfilled in 1 Tm 3:14–15. The noetic verb shifts to a subjunctive (εἰδῆς 'to know') when the finite θέλω drops out.

the subject is the same as the finite verb.<sup>40</sup> In other words, it is unnecessary to look outside of the immediate linguistic context to find a subject for the verb when one is present in the second person singular verb εἰδῆς.<sup>41</sup> Timothy, then, is most likely the subject of the middle/ passive verb (used with the middle sense here) who is to behave in an appropriate manner within the household of God. Indeed, in 4:12 the nominal form of ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἀναστροφή, is used by Paul to describe the type (τύπος) of conduct Timothy should exemplify to believers (τῶν πιστῶν). His conduct, of course, included his responsibility to carry out Paul's injunctions concerning church members and leaders. This reading of the text is important for an understanding of the text's macrostructure. If Timothy is the intended addressee of Paul's disclosure formula—a statement of the letter's purpose—then Timothy is a major participant in the text's macrostructure, despite Paul's apparent interest in other members of the church throughout the message of his letter.

1 Tm 3:14 also contains a travelogue, a formula commonly found in Pauline letters and used by him to invoke his apostolic presence (Funk 1967:249–69).<sup>42</sup> Although commonly introduced in the opening of the letter (1:1; Παῦλος ἀπόστολος 'Paul the apostle'), Paul's apostolic presence is more forcefully resident in the travelogue formula. In the case of 1 Tm 3:14, the disclosure formula is accompanied by a travelogue formula which is realized in the participial clause ἐλπίζων ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ ἐν τάχει 'hoping to come to you soon'. The disclosure formula often served to prod the letter's recipient(s) to certain forms of behavior. Paul accomplishes this by mentioning his impending physical presence. In other words, Paul uses his "apostolic authority to persuade recipients into adopting his prescribed course of action" (White 1986:219). However, in 1 Timothy Paul's apostolic presence is also bestowed upon Timothy, who

<sup>40</sup>Blass and Debrunner (1961:199) state, "The subject of the infinitive is often necessarily (δύνασθαι) or as a rule (θέλειν) identical with that of the governing verb." This pattern is also generally true in cases where the impersonal verb δεῖ is involved as in 1 Tm 3:14.

<sup>41</sup>See Kelly (1963:87) and Lock (1924:42–43), who entertain this view (also found in some manuscripts and Church Fathers) but opt for understanding the church as the subject. In contrast, Guthrie (1957:87) suggests that the subject "probably refers to Timothy since he is the subject of the main verb."

<sup>42</sup>Doty (1973:36) claims that "the emphasis upon 'presence' is likely a carry-over from the Greek letter tradition; we mentioned above that *parousia* (presence) was taken by Koskeniemi to represent one of the three central aspects of Greek correspondence." Cf. White 1986:219. Whether 1 Timothy is Pauline or not, the influence of this usage could have been employed by a pseudepigrapher (although it seems dubious that he would pick up such a subtle feature).

now becomes responsible for the conduct of the church.<sup>43</sup> The travelogue's function is twofold, then. Not only does it heighten the personal commands of Paul to Timothy (e.g., 4:7b), it forces Timothy to realize that his obedience to these directives, although Paul may be delayed (ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνω 'but if I am delayed'), will face the scrutiny of the apostle himself in the near future. After Timothy had relayed Paul's instructions to the church members, Paul's impending presence would likely have kindled their desire to obey.

Expressions indicating thanks, confidence, and a willingness to repay favors are often found in ancient letters.<sup>44</sup> A common formula of this type is τοῦτο γὰρ (δέ) ποιήσας εὐχαριστήσεις ἡμῖν (μοι) 'for by doing this, we (I) will be favored'. These forms not only demonstrate the author's appreciation for his or her recipient, but they also coerce the recipient to perform the instructions in the letter.<sup>45</sup> A phrase that has a similar function is καλῶς ποιήσεις... ('You would do well to...').<sup>46</sup> In this version of the formula, instead of the sender's well-being, the recipient is called to do something on his own behalf—a more positive type of rhetoric. 1 Tm 4:6 appears to be such a formula (Ταῦτα ὑποτιθέμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καλὸς ἔσῃ διάκονος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ 'setting these things before the brothers you will be a good servant of Christ Jesus'). Paul invokes Timothy to administer his commands to the brethren, with the result that he will be a good servant of Christ. Timothy's benefit, not Paul's, is being directly appealed to. Just as in the disclosure formula, Paul reminds Timothy of his important role in carrying out these instructions.

Another common formula invoking the recipient to carry out the instructions of the letter is found in 1 Tm 4:14 (μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος 'don't neglect the gift in you') and 4:15 (ταῦτα μελέτα, ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι, ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ᾖ πᾶσιν 'take care of these matters, be involved in them, in order that the advance of you may be manifest to all'). Ancient letters frequently contain a similar formula: μὴ οὖν (ἐὰν δέ) ἀμελήσῃς... 'Therefore, do not neglect to...', ἐπιμελοῦ δέ

<sup>43</sup>In this way Paul maintains apostolic presence through an emissary who is already at the church. In fact, the three ways in which Paul is said to have achieved a sense of apostolic authority through presence—the letter, an apostolic courier or emissary, the intention of a personal visit—find triple fulfillment in 1 Timothy (contra White 1983:443).

<sup>44</sup>See, e.g., P. Oxy. VII 1061 (22 B.C.E.).

<sup>45</sup>The function of these formulas to coerce or persuade the recipient to certain behavior represents one of the interpersonal functions of language employed in letters.

<sup>46</sup>See P. Oxy. II 1491 (IV C.E.) where the brother is commended and then asked to perform a task.

... 'Take care that ...', or μελησάτω σοι ὅπως ... 'Let it be of concern to you that ...'.<sup>47</sup> Paul coerces Timothy to be concerned about 'these things' so that his spiritual progress may be manifest to all. The exact referent of ταῦτα is difficult to identify, but to dwell on that fact would be to miss the general function this form has in the letter. Paul is urging Timothy to responsible behavior—behavior that is befitting of the χάρισματος 'gift' in him.

In paraenetic<sup>48</sup> sections of ancient letters the sender dissuaded the recipient from certain types of behavior (often illustrated in the letter) and exhorted him to imitate other types of behavior. Sometimes the author presented himself as a model of behavior to imitate.<sup>49</sup> In general terms, paraenesis "means 'advice' or 'exhortation' and refers to general moral and religious instruction" (Aune 1987:191). Although paraenetic sections are frequently found in the concluding sections of Christian letters (e.g., Rom 12:1–15:13; Gal 5:1–6:10; 1 Thes 4:1–5:22; Col 3:1–4:6), other letters contain paraenesis woven throughout (e.g., 1 and 2 Corinthians; Philip-pians; James; Hebrews). Paraenesis is an important part of the discourse in 1 Timothy (see, e.g., the vice list in 1:9–11 and the lists of requirements for leadership offices in 3:1–7 and 3:8–13).<sup>50</sup> Indeed, it is noteworthy that many of the requirements for leadership involve moral behavior rather than performative functions (as would be expected in American job requirements). In 1:12–17 Paul's pre-Christian lifestyle is used as a model of the forgiven sinner, demonstrating the patience of Christ. On the positive side, in 4:12 Timothy is to become a model of correct behavior ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πίστει, ἐν ἀγνείᾳ 'in speech, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity'.<sup>51</sup> Since "paraenesis is usually transmitted by persons who are socially and morally superior to those they address" (Aune 1987:191), Paul is probably portraying Timothy as an authority over the Ephesian church. Paraenetic formulas also reflect "conventional wisdom generally approved by society" and are applicable

<sup>47</sup>For other expressions see White 1986:205. Examples of letters include: P. Tebt. I 37 (73 B.C.E.); P. Oxy. IV 742 (2 B.C.E.); P. Amh. II 135 (early II C.E.).

<sup>48</sup>For epistolary examples of paraenesis, see P. Oxy. XLII 3069 (II or III C.E.); Pliny *Letters* and *Panegyricus*. Verner (1983:124) correctly argues that paraenesis can take the form of cohesively developed argumentation and that it does not have to take the form of loosely connected or incohesive moral exhortation.

<sup>49</sup>See how Paul does this in 1 Cor 3:5–4:21.

<sup>50</sup>For a discussion of virtue and vice lists see McEleney 1974:203–19.

<sup>51</sup>For letters which exemplify exceptional people as models of virtue see, e.g., Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 6.5–6; 11.9–10; 95.72; 2 Thes 3:7; Phil 3:17; 4:9.

“to many situations” (Aune 1987:191). Similarly, commonly accepted Christian virtues of love, faith, and good conscience are applied to different situations in 1 Timothy (cf. 1:5; 1:19; 4:12; 6:11).

The health wish is another feature commonly found in epistolary openings and closings.<sup>52</sup> Paul shows concern for Timothy’s health, giving advice on how Timothy should care for himself (5:23). The reference is brief, but important. It again demonstrates the important role Timothy plays in the epistolary and participant structure of the discourse.

#### 4. Conclusion

The above study has focused upon the epistolary form of 1 Timothy and its bearing upon cohesive questions surrounding the text. Special attention was given to the discourse features of the epistolary genre as they are employed in this New Testament discourse. Much time was spent differentiating between the obligatory and optional elements which make up the epistolary genre. The New Testament is replete with examples of these obligatory and optional elements which can be analyzed for their contribution to textual cohesiveness. After defining the obligatory elements as consisting of an opening (superscription and adscription), body, and closing, it was quite easily demonstrated that 1 Timothy contains all three. Immediately, this suggests some form of textual cohesiveness. This does not, however, completely answer the estimation of some that 1 Timothy is a concatenation of unrelated microstructures. The basis for such a premise is basically as follows: 1 Timothy contains too many unrelated, individual topics (e.g., church leadership, widows, slaves, wealth, prayer, male and female authority), thus suggesting an incohesive structure. The above study of the obligatory and several optional epistolary structures in 1 Timothy suggest the opposite. In addition, these epistolary formulas expose an important feature of the overall structure (i.e., macrostructure) of 1 Timothy. These forms demand that the letter be read through the eyes of Timothy, one of the major participants in the discourse. In other words, since the letter is written to Timothy and the instructions and information disclosed therein are directed towards Timothy, how one understands the cohesiveness of the letter depends upon whose eyes it is read through. If a modern reader reads the letter, it might be difficult to see how sections dealing with different individuals

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<sup>52</sup>See P. Cairo Zen. III 59426 and U.P.Z. I 64 (156 B.C.E.).



(e.g., widows and wealthy) relate to one another. An original church member at Ephesus would also have had some difficulty relating the various sections to his or her own situation. However, as Timothy read the respective sections concerning various church members, the letter's relevance would have been conspicuous. The manifold topics all interrelate to Timothy. They all make sense to him.

### Abbreviations

- AV Authorized (King James) Version
- B.G.U. Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden, I-VIII, 1895-1933. (Egyptian Documents from the Museum at Berlin: Greek documents)
- C.P.J. I. Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum, Vol. I, 1957.
- C.P.R. VIII. Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Griechische Texte V, P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp (eds.), 1983, Nos. 1-85.
- NIV New International Version
- P.Abinn. The Abinnaeus archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the reign of Constantius II, H. I. Bell, V. Martin, E. G. Turner, and D. van Berchem (eds.), Nos. 1-82. Oxford 1962.
- P.Amh. The Amherst Papyri, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (eds.), 2 vols., London 1900-1901.
- P.Brit.Mus. Greek papyri in the British Museum. 5 vols. F. Kenyon and H. Bell (eds.), 1893-1907.
- P.Cairo Zen III. Zenon Papyri, 4 vols., C. C. Edgar, 1928.
- P.Col. VII. Columbia Papyri. Fourth century documents from Karanis, R. S. Bagnall and N. Lewis (eds.), Missoula, 1979, Nos. 124-191.
- PE Pastoral Epistles
- P.Fay. Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth (eds.), London, 1900.
- P.Good. Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum, E. J. Goodspeed, 1902.
- P.Grenf. I. An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, chiefly Ptolemaic, B. P. Grenfell (ed.), Oxford, 1896.
- P.Hamb. Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek, 1911-24, P. M. Meyer, Leipzig. (Greek papyrus documents of the Hamburger City Library)
- P.Harr. II. R. A. Coles, M. Manfredi, P. J. Sijpesteijn, A. S. Brown et al. (eds.), Zutphen, 1985. (Stud.Amst. XXVI). Nos. 166-240.

- P.Lond. II. Greek papyri in the London Museum, 5 vols., 1893-1917, London. Vol. II, F. G. Kenyon (ed.), 1898.
- P.Mich. VIII. Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis, second series, H. C. Youtie and J. G. Winter (eds.), Ann Arbor, 1951. Nos. 464-521.
- P.Oxy. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (eds.), London, 1898ff.
- P.Ryl. Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester. A. S. Hunt (ed.), Vol. I, Manchester, 1911; J. Hunt, de M. Johnson, and V. Martin (eds.), Vol. II, 1915; C. H. Roberts (ed.), Vol. III, 1938.
- P.Tebt. The Tebtunis Papyri, B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, E. J. Goodspeed, and J. G. Smyly (eds.), I-III. London, 1902-1938.
- RSV Revised Standard Version
- Sel.Pap. Select Papyri (Loeb Classical Library). London, 3 vols, A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, and D. L. Page (eds.), 1932-42.
- UBSGNT<sup>3</sup> Greek New Testament, 3rd ed. (corrected) 1983. United Bible Societies.
- U.P.Z. I. Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, U. Wilcken (ed.), 2 vols. Vol I Papyri aus Unterägypten, (Documents of the Ptolemaic Time period from Lower Egypt), Berlin and Leipzig, 1922; Vol. II Papyri aus Oberägypten, 1935ff, (Documents from Upper Egypt)

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# **A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S SHIPWRECK ACTS 27:1–44**

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This article presents an analysis of the discourse structure of Acts chapter 27. It gives, first of all, an overview of the typology (§1) and then discusses the author and receiver situation and participant reference (§2–3). The main part of the study looks at details of the discourse structure from verb ranking to peak markers to cohesion and quote formulas (§4–10). Finally, two appendices quote the relevant event-line clauses and give a condensed event-line statement of the passage.

## **1. Typology overview**

This text of Paul's shipwreck is clearly narrative in both surface and notional structure. There is definite contingent temporal succession, with forty-three verbs carrying the event line, twenty of which are found in the shipwreck episode (vv. 27–44). Fully eighty-two verbs are in the aorist tense, which is the standard tense for the event-line in Koiné-Greek narratives.

There are twenty-three imperfect tense verbs in this passage, many of which provide background information. Of the thirteen present tense verbs, eleven are found in direct speech, while the other two are in the rare optative mood as modality markers. There are two future tense verbs and two perfect tense verbs which are also in direct speech.

There is clear agent orientation in the explicit references to Paul by name (vv. 1, 3, 9, 11, 21, 31, 33, 43) and in the use of the first person plural pronoun throughout the event line (vv. 1, 2, 3, 4 [x2], 5 [x2], 6, 7 [x3], 10, 15, 16, 18, 19 [x2], 20, 26, 27, 29, 37), interspersed with the third person plural pronoun (vv. 10, 12, 13 [x2], 17 [x3], 18, 21, 27, 28 [x2], 29, 30 [x2], 36, 38 [x2], 39 [x3], 40 [x2], 41, 42, 43, 44), referring to various groups involved in the storyline action.

Notionally, this passage records a portion of Paul's seaward journey toward Rome in a distinctly story-like fashion, following the narrative thrust of the rest of the book of Acts.

This story would at first glance seem to be simply a historical account of the shipwrecking of a group of sailors and prisoners, but clearly the focus is on the Apostle Paul. He is mentioned explicitly in the text eight times, and his direct speech is recorded in four speech acts amounting to 153 words (which comprises roughly one-fourth of this text of 758 words).

In order to account for what seems to be an inordinate emphasis on danger and deliverance, it seems necessary to postulate a more specific theme than simply a shipwreck in the Mediterranean. Due to the number of instances in which the Lord demonstrates His protection of Paul, either through divine or human instrument, I have taken the macrostructure of this narrative to be:

**As Paul embarks on the journey to Rome, God demonstrates continual protection of His servant, through both divine and human agency, in deliverance from a violent storm and preservation throughout a shipwreck.**

## 2. Author-receiver-situation

**2.1 Authorship of Acts.** The primary source document for Acts, chapter 27, is the book from which it is taken, commonly known as The Acts of the Apostles (hereafter referred to as Acts).

The book begins with the words, "The former treatise have I made, O **Theophilus**, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which He was taken up" [emphasis mine]. If we compare this with the beginning of the Gospel According to Saint Luke (hereafter referred to as Luke), we see that this "former treatise" was in fact the book of Luke. Observe the following words from Luke 1:1-4.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us . . . it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent **Theophilus**, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed. [emphasis mine]

The obvious link between the "former treatise" and the latter one, combined with repetition of the address to the same person (Theophilus)

in both books, leads us to the conclusion that both Acts and Luke had the same author.

A number of words which are used by the author of both Acts and Luke are considered by scholars to belong to the working vocabulary of a trained physician. This author uses these significant words in both medical and nonmedical contexts.<sup>1</sup>

Distinctly medical terms the author uses include *ἰασι* and *θεραπεία*, both meaning 'healing', and *συνδρομή* 'rushing together'. The author uses some terms to express medical concepts in a manner peculiar to the medical profession, such as *διανέμειν* 'to spread', *διασπείρειν* 'to scatter', *ἀναδίδοναι* 'to deliver', *διαλείπειν* 'to cease', and *ἐκλείπειν* 'to fail' or 'to leave behind'. Some combinations of words used by medical writers are found in Acts and Luke, such as *τρήμα βελόνης* 'eye of a needle', *δάκτυλῳ προσπαθεῖν* 'to touch with the finger', and *θρόμβοι αἵματος* 'clots of blood'.

Some words used by this author are used almost exclusively by medical writers in the sense in which this author uses them, such as *ἀνακαθίζειν* 'to sit up' and *ἐκψύχειν* 'to expose'. Even in his use of temporal words, the author chooses terms which have a medical flavor about them, in the sense that they were commonly used to describe the progress of a disease, the visiting of patients, the administration of medications, and so forth. Examples are: *ἑσπέρα* 'evening' and *μεσημβρία* 'noon', both of which are peculiar to this author in the New Testament; *μεσονύκτιον* 'midnight' and *ὀρθρος* 'straight', found outside of these writings only in Mk. 13:35 and John 8:2, respectively.

The author (which I conclude is Luke) switches from third person to first person plural in three passages in Acts, beginning in 16:4. In this passage Luke joins Paul at Troas, possibly as early as 53 A.D., and goes with him as far as Philippi. In 20:5 (after a lapse of perhaps six or seven years), Luke leaves Philippi to join Paul in Troas and again the text switches to first person. Luke and Paul travel through Miletus, Tyre, and Caesarea to Jerusalem (20:5–21:18). Here the text switches back to third person as Paul is arrested there and brought back to Caesarea (23:33), where he is kept for at least the next two years (24:27).

The return to first person in 27:1, which had not been used since 21:18, may simply indicate that Luke was not involved with Paul, or was not in focus in the events of the report to the elders in Jerusalem and Paul's persecution and arrest. However, Luke may have been with Paul

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<sup>1</sup>This argument for Lucan authorship has often been challenged. See Hobart 1882; Cadbury 1920; and Ellis 1974.

intermittently during his imprisonment. It is possible that during the Caesarean imprisonment (c. A.D. 60) Luke wrote both Luke and Acts.

After an extensive analysis of the writings of various early church fathers,<sup>2</sup> Exell and Spence (1919b:xv–xvii) state their conclusions as follows.

The earliest traditions of the Church, and the writings which we possess of her teachers—of men who lived in the century following the death of St. John—the “remains,” too, of the great heretical teachers who taught for the most part in the first half of the second century, all bear witness that the author of the Third Gospel was identical with the writer of the Acts, and that this person was the St. Luke well known in the days of the beginnings of Christianity and the companion and friend of St. Paul... A very general and absolutely uncontradicted tradition, which dates from the early days of Christianity, ascribes the authorship of the Acts to St. Luke.

Eusebius, the well-known fourth-century Church historian, writes that Luke was a native of Antioch, and a physician by profession, and that he was acquainted with the rest of the apostles. The profession of physician in the early days of the Roman empire was occupied almost exclusively by freemen or the sons of freemen, and they were certainly well-educated men.

Both from internal and external considerations, it seems conclusive that the author of Acts was Luke the Physician, companion of Paul the Apostle. What is the import of this conclusion on the analysis of the text?

In Acts 27, Luke is precise in his chronicling of the sea voyage of Paul and himself, as we would expect from an educated and cultivated mind such as his. His use of such specifically nautical technical terms as ὑποζώννυμι ‘to undergird’ (v. 17), ἐκπίπτω ‘to drift off course’ (v. 17), and ὀργυιά ‘a fathom’ (v. 28) demonstrates his intention of providing the reader with as realistic a picture of the events as possible.

To quote Blaiklock in summary: “All in all, it would be difficult to find a book in the whole range of ancient literature concerning which a stronger case can be made in support of a traditional authorship. That case has, in fact, been disputed only by those preoccupied on other grounds with establishing a later date than that which is consistent with a Lucan authorship” (Blaiklock 1959:14). And Blaiklock himself, based on

<sup>2</sup>For example, Irenaeus (c. A.D. 130–c. 200), Clement of Alexandria (c. A.D. 150–c. 215), Origen (c. A.D. 185–c. 254) and Tertullian (c. A.D. 160–c. 200) all support a Lucan authorship. In addition, the Muratorian Canon (latter half of the second century) lists both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles as the work of “Luke the physician.”



numerous converging lines of external and internal evidence, dates the book at about A.D. 62 (Blaiklock 1959:15–17).

**2.2 Receivers of the text.** Luke wrote Acts for the purpose of giving the Gentile Christians generally,<sup>3</sup> and Theophilus in particular, an accurate historical account of the spread of Christianity among the Gentiles. This accounts for the change in focus in chapter 13 from the Jews to the Gentiles as the target group for the Gospel (cf. 13:46). The rest of the book is primarily concerned with Paul's adventures in the Gentile world, as can be seen in chapter 27 by the mentioning of the Gentiles Julius (v. 1) and Aristarchus (v. 2) by name, the reference to Alexandria (v. 6), and by Paul's statement that he would appear before Caesar.

**2.3. Situation of writing.** Luke maintained an intimate friendship with Paul for some twelve years, from A.D. 53 to A.D. 64, which would also be in accord with Jerome's statement that Luke was the companion of "all of [Paul's] wanderings" (Exell and Spence, 1919a:xviii). Doubtless, he received much of the historical information for the book of Acts from both personal communication with Paul and from events undertaken with him. As was previously mentioned, Luke probably wrote Acts during Paul's Caesarean imprisonment and may have revised it during Paul's first Roman imprisonment, during which times he most likely had direct access to Paul for information and verification.

### 3. Participant reference

**3.1 Participants.** The participants of this narrative are of two categories—major and minor—as listed in (1) below.

Paul is a major participant due to the focus of the narrative upon him. He is the first participant mentioned by name (vv. 1, 3, 9, 11, 21, 31, 33, 43). In addition, he is mentioned implicitly ten times. All direct speech is by Paul, and he is the central theme of the macrostructure.

"We," mentioned twenty-nine times implicitly and seven times explicitly, is apparently a reference to Luke the Physician and the other prisoners. The first half of the discourse is seen primarily through the eyes of "we," while the second half is from a third person perspective.

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<sup>3</sup>For an alternative perspective, see Jacob Jervell 1972.

(1) Narrative participants

Major	Minor	
Paul	Crewmen	Caesarean officials
Storm	Prisoners	Owner
We	Julius	Soldiers
	Aristarchus	Paul's friends
	Everyone	Captain

The Storm, though not animate, is a participant by virtue of its pervading influence throughout the story. It performs actions, such as moving the ship, and is seen as a force which exerts a definite influence upon the ship's occupants.

As for the minor participants, the prisoners are mentioned only where needed to carry along the event line, and none of them are mentioned by name. Julius could almost be seen as a major participant, but since, after his initial introduction, he is relegated to the title of "centurion," an obvious effort is being made by the author to downgrade his importance. Aristarchus is mentioned only once, in passing, as are also the captain, the owner, and Paul's friends. "Everyone" is used at the end of the story to reveal the fulfillment of Paul's prophecy. The crewmen mainly help to carry along the event line, as do the soldiers.

**3.2 Participants and clause structure.** Luke uses a large number of dependent clauses to convey background material, and the participants in these clauses are almost always implicit and minor. Independent clauses deal most specifically with the events surrounding Paul and the safety of the ship and the passengers.

**3.3 Participant tracking.** The story contains many changes of subject as it progresses. Each time the reference is switched to a different subject, the new participant is stated explicitly (vv. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 13-14, 27, 31, 36, 42-43).

**4. Surface structure**

Notionally, the text contains an initial exposition (vv. 1-6), an inciting moment (vv. 7-13), developing tension (vv. 14-40), climax (vv. 41-42),

closure (vv. 43–44a), and epilogue (v. 44b). The chart in (2) summarizes the results of an analysis of the surface structure, displaying the total number of subjects (S) and objects (O), with implicit subject counts listed in parentheses after their explicit counterparts.

(2) Subject and object counts

Setting	Pre-peak <sup>1</sup>	Pre-peak <sup>2a</sup>	Pre-peak <sup>2b</sup>	Pre-peak <sup>2c</sup>	Peak	Post-peak
vv. 1–6	7–13	14–17	18–27	28–40	41–42	43–44
S = 4(7)	9(2)	1(4)	9(2)	9(10)	5(2)	1(1)
O = 6	5	5	3	27	2	5

From chart (2) it can be seen that there is more of a focus in Prepeaks 1 and 2b, and in Peak, on who did what than on what happened, as evidenced by the ratios of explicit subject to implicit subject.

Another aspect of the discourse structure is found in the use of the connectives *καί*, *δέ*, and *τέ*. A discussion of the insights gained from charting these connectives follows; the reader is also referred to my discussion of their significance for macrosegmentation purposes in §7.

Numerically, there are twenty-eight uses of *δέ* and twenty-eight uses of *καί* in this narrative. However, from these equivalent numbers it cannot be assumed that the two are used in arbitrary alternation or interchangeably.

*Δέ* is used only to introduce clauses, occurring positionally as the second word in the clause. It sometimes occurs after a clause-initial prepositional phrase, as in verse 26 'onto island *δέ*'. The connective *καί*, on the other hand, though it can be used to introduce dependent clauses (v. 15) or independent clauses (vv. 17 and 22), is normally used only to connect words, phrases, and verbs together.

*Τέ* does not appear in Peak or Pre-peak, possibly suggesting that its absence is one marker of Peak. It is an enclitic particle (Danker and Gingrich 1958:807). It occurs 150 times in Acts, far more than in the rest of the New Testament. It connects clauses in vv. 3, 5, and 21. Its other eight occurrences in the text bind two intraclausal elements more tightly together than they would be if it were absent (Steve Woodward 1988:personal communication).

### 5. Verb ranking

In ranking verbs in this text, I followed Longacre's "Etic Band" (Longacre 1989:443). The punctiliar, sequential happenings are written in the aorist finite verbs, which occur twenty-nine times in my text.

Irrealis is handled by modals (subjunctive and optative), while evaluation seems to occur only once in the story, in the statement that "all hope was then taken away" (v. 20).

The secondary eventline, marked by the imperfect, is characteristic of events which, according to Christian (in Longacre 1989:427), are "significant for the overall plot structure" but are "not as crucial as the events on the primary eventline" and are "expected from the contextual structure" of the narrative, being added to the story mainly to "slow down the action and to add more detail."

#### (3) Greek verb ranking in Acts 27

1. Primary storyline (S/Ag > S/Ex > S/P): Aorist
2. Secondary storyline: Imperfect
3. Routine, background, setting: Participles, prepositional phrases
4. Irrealis (negatives and modals)

### 6. Frames

The major frames I found in my text are: (1) nautical procedures and terms, (2) geographical locations, (3) religious practices, (4) meteorological information, (5) participant reference, (6) military information.

**6.1 Nautical procedures and terms.** The nautical procedures described by Luke are found interspersed throughout the text and can be divided primarily into two categories: lexical inferences and grammatical inferences.

Lexically, Luke sometimes uses words which have a distinctly nautical flavor to them. For example, when he states in verse four that they "sailed under" Cyprus, he uses the verb ὑποπλέω which, according to Danker and Gingrich (1958:846), means "to sail under the lee of an island, i.e., in such a way that the island protects the ship from the wind." Similar usages are found in the words ἐμβιβάζειν 'to embark' (v. 6), βραδυπλοεῖν 'to sail

slowly' (v. 7, implying frequent tacking), παραλέγεσθαι 'to sail alongside the lee of' (v. 8), ἀνεύθετος 'not well-placed [for wintering]' (v. 12), ἄραντες 'raising [anchor]' (v. 13), ὑποπνεύειν 'to blow softly' (v. 13), ἐκπίπτειν 'to fall off course' (v. 17), σκευή 'ship's furniture' (v. 19), and βολίζειν 'to take a sounding' (v. 28).

Grammatically, one common Greek construction which has taken on a specifically nautical meaning in this context is the use of the preposition κατά with an accusative noun to mean 'off the coast of' (vv. 5, 7, 8, etc.).

**6.2 Geographical locations.** Geographical references abound in this text, and it is not clear how familiar the author assumes his audience to be with the geography of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean Sea. However, some general categories can be defined such as (1) place-names which are simply stated **without** location modifiers and (2) place-names which are stated **with** location modifiers. Both categories are represented compositely in (4).

(4)	Italy	(same)	vv. 1, 6
	Adramyttium	(same)	v. 2
	Asia	'the coasts of Asia'	v. 2
	Macedonia	(same)	v. 2
	Sidon	(same)	v. 3
	Cyprus	(same)	v. 4
	Cilicia	(same)	v. 5
	Pamphylia	(same)	v. 5
	Myra	'Myra, a city of Lycia'	v. 5
	Alexandria	(same)	v. 6
	Cnidus	(same)	v. 7
	Crete	(same)	vv. 7, 12, 13, 21
	Salmone	(same)	v. 7
	Fair Havens	'a certain place called Fair Havens which is near the city of Lasea'	v. 8
	Phenice	'Phenice . . . which is a haven of Crete, and looks toward the south-west and toward the northwest'	v. 12
	Clauda	'a certain island called Clauda'	v. 16
	Melita	'a certain island'	v. 26
		'land'	v. 44
	Adriatic Sea	'Adria'	v. 27

One clear observation which can be made about these references is that all places located on or near the island of Crete (Salmone, Lasea, Phenice, Claudia) appear as “entry frames.”

**6.3 Religious practices.** A very striking case of “manifestation frame” is found in verse 9, in the phrase διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ‘because also the Fast had already passed’. Even though the word νηστεία was probably not given special marking as a proper noun in the original manuscript, it can be safely assumed that the readers would have understood that it must be interpreted as such, because of the context and the use of the definite article τὴν.

According to Jewish tradition, there was only one official fast day—the tenth day of the seventh month in the Hebrew calendar, known as the Day of Atonement. Regulations governing the observance of this day are given in Lev. 16:29–34 and 23:26–32. Fasting is not mentioned in these passages, but it came to be associated with this day through tradition (Ryrie 1978:1589). If this voyage took place in the year A.D. 59, then the Day of Atonement would have been on the fifth of October. The Jews traditionally considered ocean travel to be unsafe between the Feast of Tabernacles (five days after the Day of Atonement) and the Feast of Pentecost, in the third month of the Jewish calendar. This fast had no practical significance for the non-Jew.

**6.4 Meteorological information.** Assumption of shared meteorological information is frequently seen throughout the text. The journey was to be along the coast of Asia (v. 2), which would be the safest way to avoid rough weather common to the open sea (“manifestation”). A case of “tracing” is found in verse 4, where we are told that the ship sailed close to Cyprus because the winds were against them, and again in verse 8 in sailing close to Crete. The reference to the passing of the Fast indicated, in addition to the previously mentioned religious frame, a meteorological frame to reveal the tendency toward bad weather during this season. In verse 10, Paul may have meant by his use of the verb θεωρῶ that he had walked from Fair Havens to Cape Malata nearby and had seen the turbulent waves beating against the far shore.

**6.5 Participant reference.** Participant reference is in a manifestation frame in verse 1 through the use of the first person singular “we,” which pronoun had not been used since 21:18. In the intervening time Paul had gone to the temple, been attacked by the crowd, been arrested, appeared

before the Sanhedrin, been taken by the soldiers into the castle, taken to Caesarea, appeared before Felix the governor, remained in prison for two years (24:27), appeared before the new governor Festus and the visiting King Agrippa, and was now getting ready to sail on his way to Rome. It is assumed that the reader will make the contextual connection, but it cannot be positively determined whether or not Luke was with Paul throughout this time.

**6.6 Military information.** Military information is implied as shared through the casual reference to 'Augustus' band' σπείρης Σεβαστῆς. This seems to be one of the five cohorts (Latin *cohors* 'a company of 600 auxiliary Roman soldiers') stationed at Caesarea.

## 7. Macrosegmentation "gross chunking"

The categories looked at in attempting to determine the major divisions of Acts chapter 27 were setting, participant reference, tense/aspect, particles, and frame/script. These categories yielded the following results, with the frame/script span being the most productive for gross chunking (see below).

Verses 1–6 seem to indicate a setting span. Twelve different place names are used in these six verses, and the action involves embarking, disembarking, re-embarking, and traveling around from place to place—none of which is crucial to the storyline. Of course, this material could also be Background.

Participant reference and identification spans seem to vary quite a bit throughout the text. The focus of the first eight verses is "we" (Luke, Paul and the others of the ship), but shifts in verse 9 to Paul, whereupon it shifts extensively throughout the rest of the text: Paul (vv. 9, 21–26, 31, 33–35), the centurion (vv. 11, 43), the majority (οἱ πλείονες v. 12), the crew (vv. 13, 17, 28–30, 36, 38–41), Euroclydon (the wind v. 14), "we" (vv. 15–16, 18–20, 27, 37); the soldiers (vv. 32, 41); and "the rest" (v. 44).

Certain tense/aspect spans are discernible throughout the text, although there is much mixture of the aorist and imperfect independent finite verbs. Aorist spans occur in: vv. 2–7 (setting/background, x8); v. 28 (sounding, x2); v. 32 (action of soldiers, x2); vv. 35–36 (the last meal, x3); v. 41 (the shipwreck, x2); and vv. 43–44 (survival, x2). Imperfect spans occur in: vv. 17–18 (immediate action against the storm, x2), and vv. 37–40

(attempts to find a harbor, x5). Apparently, little is revealed of gross chunking by looking at tense/aspect spans.

The three particles of potential importance in the text for chunking purposes are καί, δέ, and τέ.

καί is used primarily to connect nouns or noun phrases together (8x) and to connect modifying phrases together (8x). It is also sometimes used to connect modifying phrases with independent verbs (3x), as an adversative conjunction (1x), and in direct speech (1x). But on five occasions (vv. 28 [x2], 40, 41, and 44) it seems to be signalling contingent temporal succession.

Δέ is used exclusively to move the storyline along through marking contingency (27 times out of 27 uses).

Τέ is used eight times to bind two elements within a clause more tightly together.

Though their analysis is significant in this text, the particles are of little help in gross chunking.

It is in frame/script spans that gross chunking is most efficiently and accurately executed in the text. The major divisions are as follows, using a ship-voyage script as the guide.

1. Setting/Background (vv. 1–6)—preliminaries, stops at various locations.
2. Pre-peak (vv. 7–39)—rough weather and the storm.
3. Peak—the shipwreck (vv. 40–41).
4. Post-peak—Paul and the other prisoners are spared from execution (vv. 42–44a).
5. Finis—all escaped safe to land (v. 44b).

## 8. Peak markers

**8.1 Multiple Peaks.** It is difficult to tell if the text has multiple peaks or not, due to the shortness of the passage considered. However, there seem to be three zones of turbulence: the storm, the attempted escape, and the shipwreck.

The storm is discussed in verses 14–20 and follows a standard script-determined description of a storm at sea. The storm caught the ship and drove it along the coast (v. 15), almost capsized it (v. 18), and caused the crew to despair of all hope (v. 20). The verb/noun ratios are seen in (5):



(5)	Verbs				Nouns	
	Finite	Subjunctive	Participles	Infinitives	Pronouns	Nouns
	Aor=3 Imp=5	Aor=1	15	2	4	20

The attempted escape (vv. 30–32) describes the sailors' attempt to leave the ship (v. 30), Paul's warning that they stay with the ship in order to be saved (v. 31), and the sailors' abandonment of their attempt to escape (v. 32), with verb/noun ratios as in (6):

(6)	Verbs				Nouns	
	Finite	Subjunctive	Participles	Infinitives	Pronouns	Nouns
	Aor=3 Pres=1	Aor=1	3	4	3	13

The shipwreck is the main peak of the text, as can clearly be seen by its verb/noun ratios given in (7).

(7)	Verbs				Nouns	
	Finite	Subjunctive	Participles	Infinitives	Pronouns	Nouns
	Aor=7 Imp=6	Pres=2	9	4	4	27

Another peak seems to occur in verses 21–26. This is the monologue exhortation of Paul to the crew of the ship, and displays a somewhat different verb/noun ratio, shown in (8).

(8)	Verbs				Nouns	
Finite	Imperative	Participles	Infinitives	Pronouns	Nouns	
Aor=2	3	5	5	13	20	
Imp=0						
Pres=4						
Fut=2						
Perf=2						
Fixed=3						

**8.2 Heightened vividness.** The following phrases indicate heightened vividness in the text:

1. The wind beat down (v. 14)
2. The ship was seized by the storm (v. 15)
3. All hope was taken away (v. 20)
4. They drove the vessel (v. 41)
5. The stern was destroyed (ἐλύετο, v. 41)

**8.3 Tense change.** Change of tense in finite verbs does not seem to be a signal of peak. For example, in the one place in the text where you would think to find the greatest number of aorists (to the virtual exclusion of imperfects)—the shipwreck itself—there are five imperfects and only seven aorists. Evidently there is more to marking peak in this text than just change of tense.

**8.4. Stretches of dialogue.** At the didactic peak of the text (Paul's speech in verses 21–26), there is direct speech for ninety words (almost ten percent of the entire text in this one speech act). This is the main reason for calling this the didactic peak.

**8.5 Change of pace.** There is a definite change of pace in verses 39–44 (the shipwreck), which clearly signals peak, as the action gets “fast and furious.”

**8.6 Dropping of sequence signals.** Sequence signals do not seem to be dropped at peak. In vv. 39–44 there are seven uses of δέ, five of καί, and one of τέ.

I conclude therefore, based upon the fact that the peaks have fast-moving series of actions and especially detailed component actions, the peaks are augmented sequence peaks. Some of the detailed components of the action are:

- v. 17: lifting anchor, using helps, undergirding the ship, lowering the sea anchor
- v. 28: making a jettisoning
- v. 19: throwing out the tackle
- v. 28: sounding . . . sounding
- v. 29: throwing out anchors
- v. 40: casting off anchors, leaving them in the sea, loosening the fastenings of the rudders, raising the foresail to the breeze, holding the ship to the shore

## 9. Adverbial clauses as cohesion

**9.1 Paragraph breaks.** The paragraph breaks which I posit for this analysis are as follows:

Paragraph 1	vv. 1–2	Paragraph 7	vv. 21–26
Paragraph 2	vv. 3–6	Paragraph 8	vv. 27–29
Paragraph 3	vv. 7–8	Paragraph 9	vv. 30–32
Paragraph 4	vv. 9–12	Paragraph 10	vv. 33–38
Paragraph 5	vv. 13–38	Paragraph 11	vv. 39–40
Paragraph 6	vv. 19–20	Paragraph 12	vv. 41–44

**9.2 Lexical overlap.** This text does not prominently use lexical overlap in its adverbial clauses because of the nature of the Greek language, which uses participles so effectively in depicting adverbial concepts.

**9.3 Highly generic verbs.** Again, due to the complexity and variety of Greek forms, this text does not contain highly generic verbs.

**9.4 Simple conjunctions.** The conjunctions which the text uses adverbially are ὡς 'when' (vv. 1, 27), τότε 'then' (vv. 21, 32), ἄχρι 'until' (v. 33), ὅτε 'when' (v. 39), ἅμα 'at the same time' (v. 40), μέν 'while' (v. 41), κατά 'about' (v. 27), νῦν 'now' (v. 22), and λοιπόν 'now' (v. 20). These conjunctions function on the discourse level, the interparagraph level, and the

intrasentence level. None are used at the intersentence level, since this level of cohesion is performed by the use of participles, primarily aorist participles.

‘Ως functions on the discourse level at the beginning of the text, by introducing the event and providing cohesion with the rest of the book of Acts, “And **when** [ὥς] it was decided that we should sail into Italy . . .” (v. 1).

Τότε is also used on the discourse level in both of its occurrences. In verse 21, Paul stands to make his long speech, which I consider the didactic peak of the text based on its length, position, and congruence with the macrostructure of God’s sovereign protection of Paul. The text reads, “And after much abstinence, **then** [τότε] Paul, having stood in the midst of them, said . . .” And in verse 32, after Paul warns the soldiers that their attempts to circumvent God’s sovereign plan of protection will fail, we read, “**Then** [τότε] the soldiers cut away the ropes of the boat.”

Λοιπὸν is used in verse 20 to signal the peak of the episode of the first stage of the storm, prior to Paul’s speech. After the crew had done everything they could to save themselves, we read, “**now** [λοιπὸν] was taken away all hope that we might be saved.”

ἄχρι is used at the interparagraph level in verse 33, where temporal succession is denoted, connecting paragraph 10 with paragraph 9 through tail-head linkage, “And **until** [ἄχρι] day was about to come . . .” ‘Ως is used to tie paragraphs 7 and 8 together in verse 27, “And **when** [ὥς] the fourteenth night came . . .” In verse 39, ὅτε ties paragraphs 10 and 11 together, “And **when** [ὅτε] day came . . .”

Ἦδη (v. 9), κατὰ (v. 27), ἅμα (v. 40), μὲν (v. 41), and νῦν (v. 22) are all used intrasententially.

## 10. Quote formulas (QFs)

There are three types of QFs in this text:

1. “Double-barreled” with explicit speaker and addressee in two passages: Paul’s warning not to go on the voyage (vv. 9–10) and Paul’s encouragement to the crew to eat (vv. 33–34).
2. Explicit speaker and addressee: Paul’s warning to the sailors not to escape (vv. 30–31).
3. Inflected verb only: Paul’s long speech to the crew to take hope (vv. 21–26).

All quote formulas in this text are pre-posed. Explicit statement of speaker is significant in view of verbal inflection. The QF for Paul's long speech, though it only consists of the inflected verb, has an inescapable lexical attachment to the referents "Paul" and "them" (the crew) in the immediately preceding clause.

The structures of the QFs in the text are very regular. They fall into the pattern V-S-DO, with only occasional intervening material (two participles and an infinitive clause) and no reversals of order.

There are no paralinguistic or *be* verbs in the QFs, nor is there any nominalization. The "double-barreled" QFs reveal Hebraistic phraseology.

Conversion of quoted material into storyline information is essential to the theme of the text as represented in my statement of the macrostructure. God's protection of Paul and all those with him in the ship is clearly exemplified within the quoted material. Quote one (vv. 9–10) expresses Paul's concern that the sea voyage will be very dangerous. Quote two (vv. 33–34) is the thematic peak of the discourse, in which Paul reassures all of the men of God's protection, in spite of the prophesied impending shipwreck. Quote three (vv. 30–31) shows Paul re-emphasizing to the sailors that, if they reject God's means for their salvation, they cannot be saved. And quote four (vv. 21–26) again reveals God's protection of the crew through Paul by means of Paul's encouragement to them to eat εἰς σωτήριον ὑμῶν 'for your salvation'.

The hierarchy of QFs in the text depends on whether the QF occurs in the thematic peak or elsewhere. The thematic peak QF consists of only an inflected verb (v. 21), but since the referent is lexically determined, and since the quote is so substantial and so significant, this simple construction actually marks the high point of the discourse thematically. Among nonthematic peak QFs, the "double-barreled" QFs are the highest in the hierarchy, followed by the explicit speaker and addressee QFs.

Speaker-dominance is the focus of quotes one and four, as can be seen in their use of noun-pronoun speaker/addressee. This correlates with the semantic content of these quotes, in that they both deal with Paul's communication of warning and advice. Quote three (Paul's warning to the sailors not to escape) is clearly a confrontation, and for this reason the QF is noun-noun. And in quote two, tension is being played down as Paul reassures the crew that they will all survive, hence the use of Ø-Ø in the QF.

### 11. Conclusion

In conclusion, I find that an approach such as the one used here in analyzing the discourse structure of a selected text gives new and different insights into the meaning of the passage. Also, I have found myself encouraged and my faith strengthened. This has happened because of the increasing sense of wonderment I have gained in realizing that the Bible is truly an inspired book that has a logical, coherent discourse structure which reflects its author's intentions.

#### Appendix A. Event-line clauses (KJV)

And...they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band. And...we launched... And the next day we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. And...we sailed under Cyprus...we came to Myra...And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria...and he put us therein. And...we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone, and...came unto a place which is called "The Fair Havens"...Now...Paul admonished them, and said unto them, "Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage..." Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul. And...the more part advised to depart thence also...And...they sailed close by Crete. But...there arose against [the ship] a tempestuous wind...And...we let her drive. And...we had much work to come by the boat...they used helps, undergirding the ship...and...struck sail, and so were driven. And...they lightened the ship, and...we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship. And...all hope that we should be saved was then taken away. But Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, "Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me...And now I exhort you to be of good cheer, for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship. For there stood by me this night the angel of God...saying, 'Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Caesar, and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee'. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer, for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island." But...the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country, and sounded, and found it twenty fathoms, and...they sounded again and found it fifteen fathoms.

Then . . . they cast four anchors out of the stern . . . And when the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship . . . Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, "Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saveed." Then the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off. And . . . Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, "This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting . . . Wherefore I pray you to take some meat, for this is for your health, for there shall not a hair fall from the head of any of you" . . . and . . . he took bread, and gave thanks to God . . . and . . . he began to eat. Then . . . they also took some meat. And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls. And . . . they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea. And . . . they knew not the land, but they discovered a certain creek with a shore . . . And, when they had taken up the anchors, they committed [them] unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoisted up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore. And, falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground, and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves. And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners . . . But the centurion . . . kept them from their purpose, and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land and the rest [did likewise] . . . And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.

### Appendix B: Condensed event-line

1. The officials at Caesarea handed Paul and certain other prisoners over to a Roman officer of Augustus' band.
2. They launched out and the next day arrived at Sidon.
3. The Roman officer allowed Paul to visit his friends and to refresh himself there.
4. They sailed under Cyprus and came to Myra.
5. The centurion put them on an Alexandrian ship.
6. They sailed under Crete, passing by Salmone.
7. They came to "The Fair Havens."
8. Paul warned them that the voyage ahead was too dangerous to make safely.
9. The officer ignored Paul's warning.
10. They launched out and sailed near Crete.
11. A hurricane-like (τυφωνικός) wind hit the ship.

12. They let the wind carry the ship.
13. They secured the ship's lifeboat.
14. They strengthened the ship with ropes.
15. They lowered the mainsail/driving anchor (σκευός) and let the ship be driven.
16. They lightened the ship, even throwing out the ship's tackle.
17. They lost all hope of surviving.
18. Paul encouraged them with God's message that they would all live.
19. The shipmen determined that they were drawing close to land, and cast out anchors from the stern.
20. The shipmen tried to escape in the lifeboat, but Paul warned them not to.
21. Paul begged everyone to break their fast and eat some food, which they did.
22. They threw the extra food into the sea.
23. They found a bay with a beach.
24. They cut off the anchors and untied the rudders.
25. They hoisted the foresail and made for the beach.
26. They hit a sandbar, with deep water on both sides of it, some distance from the shore (τόπον διθάλλασον).
27. The bow stuck fast, but the stern was broken to pieces by the pounding surf.
28. The soldiers wanted to kill the prisoners, but the officer commanded them to allow the prisoners to swim to land.
29. Everyone escaped safely to land.

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# RHETORICAL ELEMENTS IN THE SPEECHES OF ACTS 7 AND 17

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## 1. Rhetoric and discourse typology

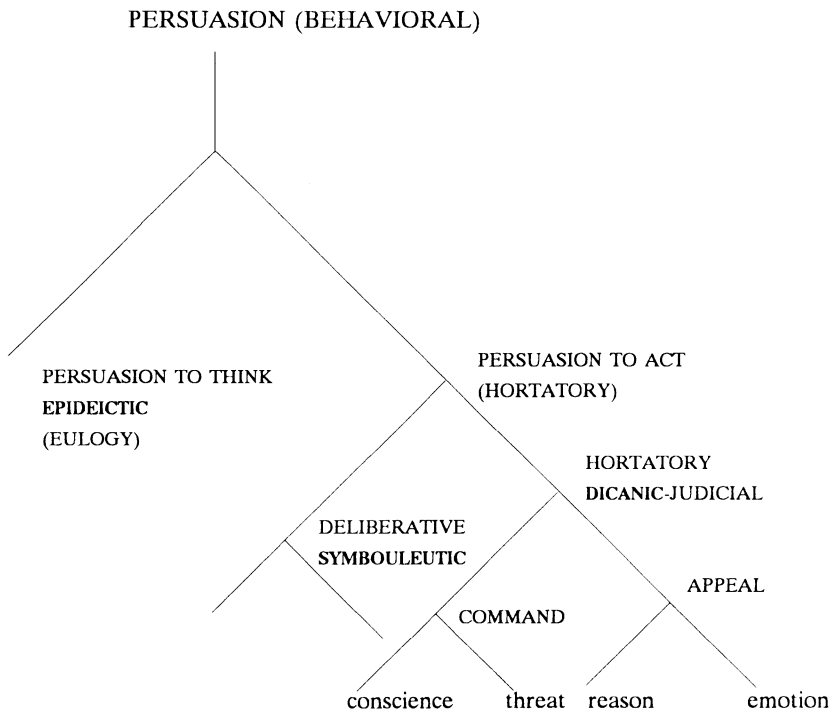
By the time of the writing of the New Testament the science and art of rhetoric had become one of the most important parts of the education of every educated person in the Greco-Roman world. As a result, the writers of the New Testament used and adapted popular rhetorical forms in all of their compositions. Rhetorical forms abound in epistolary and narrative sections of the Bible, and in Acts 7 and 17 one is fortunate in having representatives of actual early Christian rhetoric. This article concentrates on elucidating the rhetorical forms and functions of these two speeches in Acts in relation to the surrounding narratives.

The landmark for rhetoric in the biblical world began with Gorgias of Leontini in 427 B.C., followed by Empedocles and Aristotle (Nida et al. 1983:9). Aristotle developed the science or philosophy of rhetoric in his *Rhetoric* (Cooper 1960). Robert Longacre has made some textlinguistic remarks on rhetorical themes similar to the typologies and categories of Aristotle, and this study will seek to clarify and amplify these insights by comparison with and contrast to those of Aristotle and apply them to the texts of the speeches of Acts 7 and 17. The study deals with rhetorical features such as types, divisions, devices, and the relation of rhetoric and narrative, and then briefly examines the hortatory features of the speeches, and the constituents and segments of the speeches.

Longacre (1983) has made discourse typology a significant part of his textlinguistic work. He defines as **Behavioral** discourse what is traditionally referred to as **rhetoric**. That is, Behavioral discourse is equivalent to Persuasion in the abstract. But under Behavioral discourse Longacre distinguishes two basic types: Hortatory and Eulogy. By these designations he distinguishes between Persuasion to Think (Eulogy) and Persuasion to

Act (Hortatory). Aristotle also distinguished rhetorical types in a similar fashion, but with a different focus and intent.

Under Eulogy, Longacre embraces with one example the field of epideictic rhetoric in Aristotle. Epideictic rhetoric is designed to effect “display,” i.e., to impress, inspire, praise, blame. Thus under this category one finds eulogy, some political speeches, panegyric, criticism, etc. The persuasion is to think differently, concerning something or someone.



Note: the categories of Aristotle are in boldface while the categories of Longacre are enclosed in parentheses.

Figure 1. Discourse categories of Aristotle and Longacre

Under Hortatory, Longacre embraces Persuasion to Act. Aristotle also discusses at length Persuasion to Act, but under two different categories. Aristotle distinguished the rhetoric of parliamentary debate from what one would ordinarily think of as hortatory discourse. Parliamentary discourse he called **deliberative**, or **symbouleutic**. Judicial and hortatory discourse he called **dicanic** or forensic or judicial. Dicanic oratory can be direct or mitigated, that is a **command** can be a direct command or an **appeal**. Both deliberative and dicanic rhetoric are hortatory, but a command, and even to some extent an appeal, are more coercive, appealing to conscience, threats, reason, and emotion. Symbouleutic rhetoric customarily uses appeals and reason, but the moods, occasions, conventions, and settings differ from dicanic rhetoric.

Longacre's typology for Behavioral discourse then is more sweeping than Aristotle's. And one can see from figure 1 that Aristotle's categories were less **logical** (Aristotelian!) than conventional and cultural. Aristotle was classifying prominent types of speeches in his day according to their settings and conventions (Kennedy 1963:10–12, 346). These settings and conventions appear in the speeches of Acts 7 and 17, although the unique Jewish-Pagan cultural mix and intentions of the biblical authors give biblical speeches a depth, complexity, and uniqueness uncommon in the pagan world. This explication also shows that **text-types** of discourse do not coincide with **genres** and **subgenres** which are culture-specific. Rather text-types of Behavioral discourse embrace genres which are more complex. And the speeches of Acts are different in subgenre from the speeches of Aristotle's day. Stephen's speech is a defense speech, but it is also a prophetic historical narrative **and** a prophetic prosecutorial speech. Thus it is not a pure example of a forensic defense speech. Likewise, Paul's speech in Acts 17 is technically a defense as well, yet it is a *Missionsreden* or missionary speech with an instructive (Persuasion to Think) and hortatory-appeal core (Persuasion to Act). These speeches fuse and interweave text-types, genres, and subgenres in fascinating ways.

In addition to rhetorical types, there were also conventions in late Greco-Roman antiquity which dictated the major divisions of speeches. These divisions coincide roughly with segments of discourse in textlinguistics, but segments can embrace divisions and vice versa. Major divisions of a speech included the *exordium* (*prooemium*), *narratio* (*diegesis*), *propositio*, *confirmatio* or *argumentatio* (*pistis*), *reprehensio*, and the *peroratio*.

## 2. Paul's speech (Acts 17)

In Paul's speech of Acts 17 one finds an *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *reprehensio*, and a *peroratio*. Paul's speech is more ordinary for a Greco-Roman speech and contrasts nicely with Stephen's speech. The *exordium* is a *captatio benevolentiae* (currying of favor) whereby the speaker opens his speech by securing the favor of his hearers. Paul's *exordium* is more elaborate than Stephen's and is ironic. The irony of the *exordium* anticipates the irony of the speech. Paul first "flatters" his hearers in a defensive posture by calling them religious, and arouses their curiosity by promising to tell them something new (an authorial comment accuses the hearers of being interested solely in novelty). Yet Paul in fact insults his hearers by accusing them of ignorance and negligence in religion. And he does this by double entendre with the word "unknown." The Greeks felt the gods to be unknown by necessity, since they were so numerous that many were unavoidably overlooked. Moreover, the nature of the Supreme Being was in principle unknowable because of being inaccessible to human cognitive faculties (hence Greek agnosticism). Paul, however, regards his hearers as ignorant by virtue of neglect of God and the inaccessibility of Jewish religion to Greeks in general. The insult then serves several purposes: it arouses the interest and expectation of the hearers and establishes the authority of Paul. Thus a role-reversal occurs by which the defendant becomes the 'gnostic' to 'a-gnostics'. The *exordium* thus displays elegance and compactness, two rhetorical virtues. The irony of the speech is that Paul is expected to impart something new, but in fact he imparts the old first and then the new, showing greater balance of thought than the hearers seem to have.

The *narratio* (vv. 24–27) states facts and basic issues and in the speech gives a narrative of divine acts in history. By giving a kind of narrative of the "divine career," Paul orders his *propositio* or basic thesis in a concentric fashion which climaxes in the Christ-Event. God is shown to be the God of nature, history, and the Christ-Event.

Verse 28 comprises the *confirmatio* or proof for the foregoing theology. Paul proves his thesis by appealing to the hearers' Stoic natural theology which goes back to Plato. This proof uses the Aristotelian idea of *topoi* or conventional ideas and beliefs or feelings which can form a proof from analogy and the all important "point of contact" (*Anknüpfungspunkt* in German). But the point of contact in natural theology is deceptive since Paul believes that the divine nature is shown in a fundamental way and not deduced from commonplace beliefs.

Verse 29 forms the *reprehensio* or refutation of opposing views. Paul mitigates the offensiveness of the refutation by including himself (rhetorically) among the hearers and by counting on the hope that his hearers will discern that he represents **higher** religious thinking.

The final section of the speech is the *peroratio* (conclusion). Here Paul makes his appeal (mitigated command) to the hearers to repent. By mentioning the resurrection of Jesus he gives the *peroratio* its own *confirmatio* (*pistis*), even explicitly using the word *pistis*. The hortatory elements are discussed below in §4, but the motivation for the exhortation lies in the futurity of resurrection, the threat of judgment, and the appeal of righteousness. The varied responses are to be explained by the existential-moral conditions of the hearers. The negative responses are explained by the ironic role-reversal whereby Paul is shown to be **wise** and the hearers foolish, and by the fact that Greeks often considered resurrection to be metaphysically impossible and morally offensive ("body" is both mortal and evil). The positive responses display the irony that only a few of the hearers were **really open** to the new and the old.

The new-old-new structure of the episode is highly effective both theologically-philosophically and rhetorically, since the familiar is presented first and then the alien. Paul then is presenting a Known and an Unknown God. Paul has expanded the Lystra speech of chapter 14 and given it appropriate sophistication.

In contrast to Stephen's speech, Paul's speech is short, yet the *exordium* and the *peroratio* are much longer. Paul did not have to drag out his speech to relax tension and facilitate reason and, therefore, could offer a more ordinary and multi-leveled introduction and conclusion. Also, Paul was delivering a message and was accustomed to "getting to the point." By contrast, Stephen's speech is longer yet briefer in the introduction and conclusion. Stephen had to gain an immediate hearing, and had to conclude his speech quickly and forcibly.

### 3. Stephen's speech (Acts 7)

Stephen's speech is almost entirely *narratio* and that in the sense of historical narrative. The *narratio* is framed by a brief *exordium* and *peroratio*. The *exordium* appeals to the ethic and religious solidarity of the dialogue partners. The *peroratio* gives one of the few performative speech acts of these texts, generating a near-official indictment.

The *narratio* does double duty for the other parts of the traditional speech: the *confirmatio*, *reprehensio*, and *propositio*. This aspect of the speech is fascinating for its rhetorical effectiveness. Although the speech is long, the fusion of divisions produces simplicity and compactness, increasing ease of listening and understanding and heightening impact and appeal. The *narratio* is a narrative of Israel's history, but it is a "deuteronomistic" interpreted prophetic history. The deuteronomistic prophetic aspect achieves the sociological role-reversal whereby Stephen, the putative heretic and defendant, becomes Stephen the Prosecutor and Judge on behalf of God. Stephen achieves a progression upward in rank: he begins beneath his accusers, defends himself as an equal, indicts them as a superior, and finally at the close of the narrative pleads with Jesus for their forgiveness as a Saint-Martyr.

The prophetic aspect of the speech anticipates the indictment in the *peroratio*, but the interpretational aspect of the speech sets forth the *propositio*, the *confirmatio*, and the *reprehensio* portions of the speech. Stephen had been accused of heterodox views on God, Moses, the Law, the Temple, and Jesus. The *propositio* (thesis) of the speech is that his views are not heretical. The *confirmatio* and *reprehensio* for this thesis lie in the orthodoxy of the interpretation of the history. Here Stephen uses familiar *topoi* and creates a rhetorical enthymeme (unstated argument or idea, according to Aristotle). The enthymeme has the premise that Stephen has orthodox views and acts in the prophetic tradition. The corroborating premise is to the effect that one who has such views and acts in such a manner should not be persecuted. The orthodoxy of the interpretation is highlighted by its distance from the interpretation of the accusers. In this efficient way, Stephen slowly and gently accuses the accusers of heresy.

The structure of the history itself allows Stephen to defend himself on the points of accusation in a chronological and seriatim manner. Stephen defends himself on the topics of God, Moses, the Law, and the Temple. Only at the end does he mention Jesus as the culmination of the history and defense. The form of the *narratio* has strong rhetorical features as well. The participants in the narrative display a chiasmic structure: A B C B' A.' Moses (C) is central, with Abraham and Joseph forming the A B side, and David and Solomon forming the B' A' side of the chiasm. The other participants in the narrative (Isaac, Joshua, etc.) are mentioned only as props or secondary participants. This form provides an elegant structure for the discourse. The narrative progresses in a chronological fashion

beginning with the first Jew and ending with the wisest Jew (according to tradition).

The narrative chiasmic structure, however, also serves a theological purpose. Moses is clearly central. The other figures stand before and after him. This corresponds to Stephen's (and Luke's) view of redemptive history where Jesus is the central antitype of Moses with the Old Testament before and the New Testament era after. This Moses typology (technically A B A' in structure) allows Stephen to include himself in the scheme. In fact, all of the figures and events are analogues of Jesus and Stephen, so that there is progression in the rejection of the prophets. Joshua is undoubtedly mentioned in verse 45 because as Leader-Deliverer he shares the same name as Jesus in Greek (*Iesous*) and Hebrew, creating the rhetorical feature of synonymy.

The *peroratio* represents the Peak of the discourse and is marked by a shift of expectancy (Nida 1983:36f.). The discourse changes from narrative to indictment. This genre-switching represents rhetorical underlining as a Peak marker. Parallel to the genre-switching is a switch in rhetorical form from defense rhetoric to prosecutorial rhetoric. The discourse Peak calls forth the narrative Peak: the Stoning. The indictment is surrounded by narrative, both in the speech and in the Lucan narrative. This contrast is another rhetorical feature designed to highlight the centrality of the indictment, although the preponderance of narrative is more discernible to the reader than to the original hearers. In Paul's speech of Acts 17, the speech is also surrounded by narrative in a less obtrusive way. Both instances create an A B A' cyclical pattern.

#### 4. Hortatory elements

At this point, the study will look briefly at the hortatory elements in the speeches. Hortatory speech is characterized by primary exhortation, secondary exhortation, motivation, and setting (problem to be addressed). Hortatory discourse is marked by rhetorical markers. The setting of the Stephen speech is the unbelieving misinterpretation of redemptive history on the part of the accusers of Stephen. Stephen introduces this setting by first presenting a correct interpretation of the history within which there are analogues to the misinterpretation of the accusers. The indictment draws the analogies between the accusers' errors and those of the analogues. Likewise, the narrative contains analogues, thus contrasting the persecuted "Righteous Ones" with the "betrayers and murderers." The



setting of Paul's speech is the erroneous views of the hearers and their ignorance of the redemptive history. The *narratio*, etc., describes this setting, and the *peroratio* urges the correct view.

The primary exhortation of the Stephen speech is: repent and believe the gospel. The secondary exhortation is: do not kill (the sixth commandment of the *Decalogue*). The motivation or sanctions are the threat of imitating evil ancestors and thus incurring wrath for murdering the surrogate of the Messiah. These exhortations are difficult to discern because they are mitigated or even disguised. The surface structure of the indictment is Behavioral (indictment, the opposite of eulogy or panegyric). And the surface structure of the rhetorical indictment is Expository (simple declaration and analysis of states of affairs). But the notional structure is hortatory.

Paul's speech is similarly mitigated, eulogizing divine activity and expositing the divine actions and intentions in the indirect third person. But Paul is calling the hearers to repentance and faith. The primary exhortation then is to repent. The secondary exhortation is to think rightly of the divine nature. The imperative is mitigated by changing the mood to what in English would be the subjunctive (but in Greek is a complex indicative). The motivation is to avoid wrathful judgment and attain resurrection.

One interesting feature of the rhetorical hortatory elements of the speeches is that they both represent the Peaks of their respective discourses. And in addition, the didactic-hortatory Peaks themselves have progression leading to a Peak! There is a climax to the climax. In Stephen's speech there is a clear progression in describing the heinousness of the accusers' unbelief. First, they are accused of being stiff-necked; then, of resisting the Holy Spirit, of imitating the fathers, of persecuting the prophets, of killing the messengers of the Messiah; and finally of betraying and murdering the Messiah Himself! The final assertion summarizes the error of the accusers as total lawlessness. Similarly, Paul's *peroratio* climaxes in the resurrection of the dead and is prefaced by the call to repentance and the announcement of judgment. These climaxes to the climaxes represent peak markers and rhetorical underlining.

In addition to the foregoing peak markers, there are grammatical and syntactical shifts in expectancy which underscore the rhetorical underlining. The proliferation of verbs in the *peroratios* parallels the proliferation of story-line action verbs in the narrative Peaks. S-V-O patterns are often altered to O-S-V to emphasize the objects (See also Levinsohn 1992:22,75.). The ordinary pattern of S-V-O seems to be retained in order

to facilitate directness and ease of comprehension for important points (e.g., "...and they killed those...", verse 52b). The exhortations themselves are highly compact, with clearly discernible conceptual-verbal repetitions in Stephen's *peroratio*.

## 5. Conclusion

At this point, some observations on constituents, and on macro- and micro-segmentation are in order. Literarily, the pericopes divide naturally into the macro-segments: narrative—quoted embedded discourse—narrative. This produces a clear impression of cyclicity, paralleled by other elements of cyclicity in the Mission-cycle, and in the Life and Career cycles of Acts.

The pericopes also reveal several micro-segments. The segments are largely divided into **scenes** in the narratives, and **divisions** in the speeches. In Acts 7, there is the miracle-working scene (thaumaturgy), the confrontation scene, the Sanhedrin scene, the speech scene (which is technically also part of the Sanhedrin scene), and the stoning scene. In the denouement and conclusion there are asides and comments on Paul, a brief burial scene, and two reports about persecution and scattering. Stephen and the opponents are painted in black-and-white (*chiaroscuro*).

Similarly, in Acts 17 there is the debate scene, the Areopagus scene, the response scene, and the departure scene which is transitional to the next pericope.

There are also segments within the speeches. The segments of the speeches usually follow the rhetorical divisions of the speeches. But the narrative segment of Stephen's speech embraces several of the divisions of the speech.

The constituent parts of the narratives serve to display and highlight the narrative and oratorical rhetoric. The language is often in the first and second person rather than the usual third person. This gives the narratives and speeches personalness and directness not normally associated with narrative. Directness is also fostered by the high number of quotations and participial quotation formulae. Verse 28a is a disguised quote (allusion) from Greek philosophy but represented as the speaker's own words.

The speeches are introduced by introductory questions and are filled with narrative and sequential theses. Reasons are given in Paul's speech which fill out the logic of the speech. The speeches themselves are continuing utterances following introductory utterances and concluded by

resolving utterances (indictment, call to repentance). Stephen's prayer to Jesus forms a resolving utterance as well.

This study has attempted to show some of the rhetorical features of the pericopes of Acts 7 and 17. Hopefully it has demonstrated something of the depth, complexity, uniqueness, and elegant effectiveness of the biblical rhetoric. One can also see that biblical rhetoric, though less baroque, is not less sophisticated and polished than pagan rhetoric of the time.

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In general, the style is to conform to that of the journal *LANGUAGE*—especially in regard to citations of articles and books in the body of the article and to the necessity of and placing of complete bibliographical references at the end. Please note also the conventions in regard to capitalization, language forms, translation glosses, and the use of quotation marks. Once a manuscript has been accepted for publication, it cannot be withdrawn.

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### A. NOTES on manuscript preparation:

1. All manuscripts must be sent in duplicate, doublespaced, have 1.5" margins to facilitate editing, and be accompanied by a file in ASCII code on a 5.25" or 3.5" MS-DOS formatted diskette.

2. Number the pages of the copy in the upper right corner. Include all sheets of the manuscript in a single pagination.

3. Underscores.

(a) A single straight underscore indicates italic type and a double underscore boldface. Contributors are asked to use these underscorings for only these purposes and no others.

(b) Use italics (single underscore) only for cited linguistic forms and for titles of books and journals. Do not use italics for emphasis or to mark familiar foreign words used as part of an English sentence: e.g. *a priori*, *ad hoc*, *inter alia*, *ipso facto*, *prima facie*, *facon de parler*, *langue/parole*, *Sprachgefühl*, *ursprachlich*, etc. All are to be without underscore.

(c) Use boldface (double underscore) only where it is essential to give prominence or emphasis to a word, phrase, or sentence or to mark a technical term at its first occurrence.

4. Punctuation.

(a) Use single quotation marks in the text stream for a translation gloss. Punctuation marks follow a single quote unless the other mark is itself part of the quoted matter: The word means 'cart' not 'horse'. Does that mean 'You heard me!?' It means 'Did you hear me?'

(b) Use double quotation marks for direct quotations from literary sources and for reported speech, as in John said, "I am coming." Periods and commas precede a closing quote mark; colons and semicolons follow it.

(c) Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example.

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

(e) Ellipsis is indicated by three periods, close set, with a blank space before and after, like this: . . . Do not add a fourth period even if the ellipsis precedes or follows the end of a sentence.

(f) Use a comma after e.g. and i.e. Use a comma before the conjunction that joins the last of a series of three or more coordinate terms: A, B, and C; X, Y, and Z. Do use a comma between independent clauses but not between parts of a compound predicate. Use commas around nonrestrictive elements of a sentence (where the meaning will not change by leaving out the phrase) but not around phrases that restrict or qualify the meaning of the main part of a sentence.

#### 5. Footnotes.

(a) Footnotes are numbered serially throughout the article.

(b) The footnote reference number is a raised numeral following the word or passage to which it applies; it is not enclosed in parentheses nor followed by a parenthesis or a period. Reference numbers follow marks of punctuation.

(c) In the disk copy, all footnotes must follow the main text and bibliography. In the hard copy they may appear at the bottoms of text pages.

(d) Each footnote is typed as a separate paragraph, with the first line indented. It begins with its reference number, raised and written as in (b).

#### 6. Cited forms.

(a) A letter, word, phrase, or sentence cited as a linguistic example or subject of discussion appears in italics: the suffix *-s*, the word *like*, the construction *mich friert*. Do not use quotation marks for this purpose.

(b) Cited forms may also appear in phonetic or phonemic transcription, enclosed in square brackets or in slant lines: the suffix [s], the word /layk/. Symbols between brackets or slants are never underscored.

(c) Cited forms in a foreign language should be followed at their first occurrence by a gloss in single quotation marks. No comma separates the gloss from the cited form: Latin *ovis* 'sheep' is a noun. No comma follows the gloss unless it is required by the sentence as a whole: Latin *ovis* 'sheep', *equus* 'horse', and *canis* 'dog' are nouns. Note that the punctuation follows the closing quotation mark.

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

#### 8. Titles and headings.

(a) Do not underscore any part of a title, subtitle, or section heading. Leave the choice of type faces to the Editor.

(b) Use normal capitalization: capitalize only the first word and such other words as the orthography of the language requires.

#### 9. Bibliographical references.

(a) Articles normally include an updated bibliography. Full citation of all literature referred to should be given in a bibliography at the end of each article. Within the text, brief citation will be made, normally, by giving the author's surname, year of publication, and page number(s) where relevant, e.g., Smith 1982:25. Give such brief citations in the body of the text, not in footnotes, unless they refer specifically to a statement made in a footnote.

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- Brennan, Paul William. 1968. The structure of Koine Greek narrative. Ph.D. dissertation, The Hartford Seminary Foundation. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International.
- Brugmann, Karl. 1906. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatick der indogemanischen Sprachen*. 2d ed., vol. 2, part 1. Strassburg: Trubner.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1965. Review of grammar discovery procedures, by R. E. Longacre. *Language* 41:640–47.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1957. Syntactic structures. (*Janua linguarum, series minor*, 4.) The Hague: Mouton.
- Hockett, Charles F. 1964. The Proto Central Algonquian kinship system. In Ward Goodenough (ed.), *Explorations in cultural anthropology*, 239–58. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Wenham, J. W. [1965] 1984. *The elements of New Testament Greek: Based on the earlier work by H. P. V. Nunn*. Reprint ed. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

(c) The brief citations given in the text should take a form such as (Hockett 1964:240–41). If the author's name is part of the text, use this form: Bolinger (1965:564) said that . . . Note that the page numbers given here are only for the passage to which reference is made, not the whole paper. In text only use initials for authors given names when necessary to distinguish, e.g. N. Chomsky and C. Chomsky, within a single article.

(d) Do not replace given names of authors or editors in the bibliography with initials unless such abbreviation is the normal practice of the individual concerned: thus Miller, Roy Andrew (not Roy A. or R. A.); Hooper, Joan B. (not J. B. or J.); but Palmer, F. R. That is, use the name as given on the title page.

## 10. Tables.

(a) Plan each table so that it will fit into the printed page without crowding. Leave ample white space between columns, and double-space all entries. Do not use vertical and horizontal rules unless the table would be unclear without them.

(b) Column heads should be short, so as to stand clearly above the several columns. If you need longer headings, represent them by numbers or capital letters and explain these in the text preceding the table.

(c) If two or more tables appear in one article, number them and refer to them by number. Do not speak of the 'preceding' or 'the following table', nor 'above' or 'below'; in paginating the original position of the table may not be able to be preserved.

(d) Each table should have a legend below, rather than above it, after a space of one line. The legend contains the table number and optionally a concise title, sometimes also (as a separate line) a brief explanation or comment.

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

**B. Transliteration rules from Society of Biblical Literature:**

## 1. Transliteration of Hebrew.

(a) Consonants: ' b g d h w z ḥ ṭ y k l m n s ' p ṣ q r š š ṭ ( ' Alep and ' ayin should be written in with a pen, if the raised semicircle is not available on a typewriter/typehead. Do not use ' for alep or raised ° for ayin or any other symbol.)

(b) Vowels: a (pataḥ), ā (qāmeš), â (final qāmeš 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 (qāmeš ḥâtûp), ô (ḥôlem defectively written), ô (ḥôlem fully written), u (short qibbûš), û (long qibbûš 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. Šêlômôh, yigleh, qārâ' [but qārâ], hinnêh, sūsâyw). Furtive pataḥ is to be recorded as pataḥ (e.g. rūaḥ). Reduced vowels are to be written with the breve: ä, ě, ǝ. (No distinction is made between simple šêwâ and ḥâtêp sēgōl.) Short vowels fully written should be shown as o(w), u(w), i(y), e.g. bēqu(w)štâ'. 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 ḥolem 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: ȝ for α, ȥ for η, ȧ for ω.

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