SELF-INSTRUCTION MATERIALS
on
NON-NARRATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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SIL International

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Online at http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns

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CONTENTS

Appendices (separate files)

0. Introduction

This course is designed for linguists who are interested in translating hortatory and expository texts from one language to another. Like the "Self-instruction materials on narrative discourse analysis" on which it builds (available online at http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns), it concentrates on those text-related features that have been found to present particular problems in translation.

0.1 Mismatches

Many problems in translation arise because of **mismatches** between the way the features are handled in the source language (SL) and the receptor language (RL).

Dryer (1997) distinguishes languages on the basis of two variables: whether or not the object (O) follows the verb (V) (VO versus OV) and whether or not the subject (S) commonly follows the verb (VS versus SV). A number of discourse features tend to correlate with these variables, including the following (see Levinsohn 2006a for further examples).

VO versus OV. While working on OV languages of Papua New Guinea, Terry Borchard (1991) and John Roberts (1997) identified a number of significant mismatches with VO languages, particularly in the area of NUCLEUS-support relations. They concluded that it is often necessary to reorder propositions to ensure that the supporting proposition supports the correct NUCLEUS (see sec. 2.6 for detailed discussion of this point). Such reordering may also be necessary to ensure that it is the NUCLEUS proposition, rather than the supporting one, that is more prominent (sec. 3.4.2).

VS versus SV. A common mismatch between languages in which it is common for the verb to precede the subject (VS) (Ancient Hebrew, Koiné Greek, N.W. Austronesian and Mixtec [Mexico]) and those in which such an order is rare (SV) involves **conjunctions**. For example:

- A number of VS languages use a conjunction (usually glossed "for") whose function is to indicate that what follows **strengthens** a previous assertion, without specifying the logical relation between the two (e.g. γάρ in Koiné Greek, *kî* in Ancient Hebrew, *te* in Lower Tanudan Kalinga [N.W. Austronesian, Philippines], *chi* in Mixtec Nochixtlán).[1]
- In contrast, strengthening conjunctions like "for" are used relatively infrequently in natural text in SVO languages and very rarely in SOV languages.

Other mismatches are specific to particular languages or groups of languages. For example, **relative clauses** have been found to be associated with **prominence** in large numbers of languages in Africa, as well as Ancient Hebrew (see Levinsohn 2011 secs. 10.3.6-7). No such association is found in Indo-European languages like Koiné Greek.

0.2 Reading in preparation for this course

As indicated above, this course builds on the "Self-instruction materials on narrative discourse analysis" course. Consequently, concepts that have already been introduced in that course will not be repeated here. Instead, the reader will be directed to the section(s) where the concepts were originally presented.

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[1] See sec. 0.3 of the online narrative course on how I recognise that a language is of the VS type.

At this point, you should study the following introductory sections of the narrative course:

0.1 The nature of text-related explanations

0.2 Some key concepts in text-linguistics

    0.2.1 Choice implies meaning

    0.2.2 Semantic meaning and pragmatic effects

    0.2.3 Default versus marked phenomena.

0.3 Overview of chapter topics

This section outlines the contents of the remaining chapters of this course.

Chapter 1 deals with the selection, preparation and charting of non-narrative texts. It identifies those texts that are most suitable for beginning the analysis of expository and hortatory material. It describes how to prepare a text for charting and then presents a method of charting texts in a systematic way. This is illustrated by sample charts for the three major language types (VS/VO, SVO and SOV).

Chapter 2 distinguishes two types of reasoning (instruction and persuasion) and notes a correlation with inductive versus deductive reasoning. This leads to a description of the types of supportive information that Breeze (1992) identifies for hortatory discourses, and to where mismatches are most likely to occur when translating from a verb-object (VO) language to an object-verb (OV) language.

Chapter 3 concerns the use and non-use of connectives to signal relations between propositions and groups of propositions in non-narrative texts. The default way of coordinating sentences in narrative and non-narrative may differ. The order of propositions may affect the connective used. Countering (adversative) and logical relations may be expressed in different ways in the source and receptor languages. Some logical connectives may signal the resumption of the theme line of a non-narrative discourse. In some languages, a "counterpoint" is a useful concept: "a contrasting … idea, used to set off the main element" (*OED*).

Chapter 4 begins with different types of inter-sentential progression within a paragraph. It then gives an overview of factors underlying variations in constituent order, before dealing with two of these factors: the role of "points of departure" (topicalised constituents) in non-narrative discourse and conformity to Comrie's (1989:127-28) "Principle of Natural Information Flow". The chapter also considers the presence of the subject in pro-drop languages and its position in languages like Koiné Greek and Kalinga that allow it to either precede or follow the verb.

Chapter 5 considers violations of the Principle of Natural Information Flow. These occur not only in identificational sentences, but also in connection with contrastive and emphatic prominence, and when a foil (a constituent that serves to set off a later constituent to advantage by contrast) is preposed. Other devices that give prominence to a focal constituent include the postposing or isolation of the dominant focal element (DFE—Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.2.4) and dedicated prominence markers. Prominence may also be given to only part of a constituent.

Chapter 6 is concerned particularly with devices used to draw attention to a referent because of the significant role it will have to play in the subsequent discourse. Such devices include so-called 'emphatic' pronouns, one or more of the sets of demonstratives found in the language and, especially in Ancient Hebrew and many African languages, those relative clauses that contain information which is not really needed to establish the identity of the referent. In addition, some

of the devices that give prominence to a focal constituent (chap. 5) may also be employed to give prominence to a point of departure or connective, thereby highlighting the material that follows.

Chapter 7 considers the relative potency of different forms of exhortation and when each form is appropriate. It also reviews and illustrates the backgrounding devices that were presented in chapter 5 of Levinsohn 2011, before discussing devices that commonly highlight propositions or groups of propositions in non-narrative material.

Chapter 8 concerns criteria that enable a reader or hearer to recognise boundaries between paragraphs and larger units such as episodes of a narrative or sections of a book.

0.4 Assignments and consulting

As you work through each chapter, you will find paragraphs entitled **Application**. These paragraphs suggest how you should apply what you have read to the analysis of your texts.

Questions may well arise as you try and apply what you have read to your texts. If you would like to direct such questions to me, send an E-Mail to stephen_levinsohn@sil.org. If you wish to discuss how to analyse any feature of your texts, I will invite you to send me a copy of your charted text(s), together with a free translation (see chap. 1).

You are encouraged to record the results of your research. Various people will benefit from you recording your findings (e.g. in the form of answers to the **Application** questions):

1. you (it is common in workshops to find that consultees have forgotten what they have already discovered about the feature being analysed);
2. your translation consultant (if you have explained how different text-related features function, your consultant may not have to ask you how they function, but will be able to read your description!);
3. people working in related languages (there is no value in rediscovering the wheel!).

0.5 Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout this course (additional ones peculiar to a particular text will be interpreted as needed):

ABS	absolutive		POT	potential
ACC	accusative		PRE	present tense
ADD	additive		PRO	prohibitive
AG	agentive, agent of nominalised verb		PTC	participle
AJR	adjectiviser		PUR	purpose
ANA	anaphoric marker		QUES	question
AUX	auxiliary		REC	recipient
COMP	completive		REL	relative marker, anaphoric relativiser
d	dual		S	subject
DEM	demonstrative		s	singular
DM	development marker		SR	switch reference
DUR	durative		SS	same subject
EMP	marker of emphasis		ST	stative
ex	exclusive (1st person)		TH	theme (transitive with 'O' orientation in Kalinga)
EXC	exclusive prominence			
EXIS	existential		TOP	topic, topicalised constituent
EXP	experiencer of nominalised verb		V	verb
f	feminine		1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
FOC	focus			
FUT	future			
GEN	genitive			
GER	gerund			
GP	general preposition (in Bariai)			
IMP	imperative			
IMPF	imperfective aspect			
in	inclusive (1st person)			
INF	infinitive			
IRR	irrealis			
LK	linker			
LOC	locative			
m	masculine			
NEG	negative			
NM	preposed noun marker (ABS) (in Kalinga)			
NOM	nominaliser			
O	object			
OBL	oblique			
OCC	occasion (in Kalinga)			
p, PL	plural			
PASS	passive, passive-like			
PER	perfect			
PF	perfective			
POS	possessive			

1. Preparation and Charting of Non-Narrative Texts

First, turn to chapter 1 of the narrative course and read:
1.1 Why analyse texts?
1.2 Types of text.

The following sections of this chapter concern the sort of text you should begin with (sec. 1.3), matters you should take care of before charting the text (sec. 1.4) and how to display the text in chart form (sec. 1.5).

1.3 Text selection: What sort of text should I begin with?

Section 1.3 of the narrative course explains why you should begin text analysis with narratives and which sorts of narrative text you should work on. Once you have studied some narrative, I suggest you obtain hortatory texts of the following two types:[2]

- **INSTRUCTION**: a speaker or writer (exhorter) considers him or herself to have the right or authority to instruct the exhortee how to behave (apostolic authority, in the case of the Pauline epistles). Directives from employers to employees are typically of this type. In some cultures, parents have the right to instruct their adult children how to behave once married, etc., too. This category may also include strong rebukes of existing behaviour, as when someone "instructs" a friend to stop maintaining enmity with another person or to stop being lazy.
- **PERSUASION**: the exhorter appeals to the reasoning logic of the recipient and seeks to convince him or her to follow a course of action. Typically, the exhorter uses persuasion because he or she cannot make the exhortee pursue such a course of action. However, there are occasions when a person in authority chooses to persuade rather than instruct.

Application to the language you are analysing

Which type of text are you planning to translate first: instruction or persuasion? Then select from your corpus a hortatory text of the same type.

1.4 Preparing your texts for charting and analysis

Although section 1.4 of the narrative course concerns narratives, the same principles apply to non-narratives texts, so please read sections 1.4.1.-3. (If you have already analysed narrative texts, then you will not need to answer the questions of sec. 1.4.4 again.)

Application to the language you are analysing

1. If you are in a position to do so, check that the text you have selected for charting is well formed and that you control the facts. Obtain a free translation of the text.
2. Take a glossed copy of the text and mark tentative divisions into sentences, clauses and phrases. Number the sentences consecutively and give simple labels to the constituents.

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[2] See further in sec. 2.4.

1.5 Displaying a text in simplified chart form

In section 1.5 of the narrative course, you were asked to chart a text in a way that allocated each clause constituent to a separate column. If you charted one or more narratives in this way, then there should be no need for you to display your non-narrative texts in such a detailed way (though some analysts like to do so). Instead, it should be sufficient to display your texts clause by clause.

General conventions for a simplified chart

1. Start a new line for every new clause.

2. Start each clause at the appropriate tab on the page and continue for as long as necessary. The tabs in the following charts are set at 0.35" (0.89 cm), 0.75" (1.9 cm) and then every 0.25" (0.63 cm). The columns are as follows:

0.0"   Ref: sentence number
0.35"   Con: Connectives and any initial vocatives
0.75"   Pre-nuclear: left-dislocated and preposed constituents (depending on the language type), plus pre-nuclear subordinate clauses.
1.75"   Nucleus: verb, subject, objects and oblique constituents (when not preposed or postposed)
3.5"   Post-nuclear: right-dislocated and postposed constituents, plus post-nuclear subordinate clauses.

3. Put a line across the page before each new sentence.[3]

4. Do NOT reorder material to get it in the correct column. The text should read in its original order from left to right, then down to the next line. When a constituent is too long to fit on one line, go on to the next line.

5. Set up different styles for the language, the gloss, and the free translation. The free translation can either go after each sentence or at the end of the chart.[4]

6. Use square brackets to mark the boundaries of a complex constituent. (In Kalinga clause 3b, for example, *many who are delayed in their studies* is treated as a single pre-nuclear constituent.

7. In the connectives column, use curly brackets to note any potential connectives that occur in non-initial position (e.g. {*kad*} in Kalinga clause 3c).

On the following pages, you will find sample charts for the three major language types: VS/VO (Lower Tanudan Kalinga, N.W. Austronesian, Philippines), SVO (Bariai, Austronesian, Papua New Guinea) and SOV (Dungra Bhil, Indo-Aryan, India). Select as your model the language type that is closest to the language you are analysing. Study the chart, then read the comments about the display.

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[3] I view a sentence as a main CLAUSE together with those clauses that are subordinate to it. Very often, as a result, each sentence will contain only one main clause.

[4] For discourse purposes, you do not need both the \t and the \m lines from Shoebox. I combine the two, as I like to include the morpheme breaks.

Sample page of a charted text in a VS/VO language (Lower Tanudan Kalinga, N.W. Austronesian, Philippines)

Ref.	Con.	Pre-Nuclear-V	Nucleus		Post-nuclear

01

```
        Abeng,     annaya    [ma-sapul'  e   ko-on-yu        e   um-oy an-uswila    si adayu].
        child      this.EMP   PASS.IMPF-need LK  do-TH.IMPF-2p.GEN  LK  AG-go AG-study       LOC far
```
Children, this (is) what you need to do when you go to school in a far place.

02a
```
        Sa um-una,   sosomk-on-yu
        the AG-first  DUR.think-TH.IMPF-2P.GEN
```

02b
```
                                ta   siya    iy-enrol-yu de makwa    e  pion-yu
                                PUR  that.which TH-enroll-2p.GEN ABS POT.know  LK like-2p.GEN
```

02c
```
                                kan   ma-kaya-yu      e  courso.
                                and   PASS-carry-2p.GEN  LK course
```
The first thing (is) to think hard,   so that what you enroll in is a course you know you like and one you can afford.

03a Te
```
      for           igammu-yu kamman
                    know-2p.GEN  QUES
```

03b
```
        [ka-adu-wan' e maka-taktak si an-uswila],
        REC-many-REC   LK POT-delay      OBL AG-study
```

03c {kad}
```
        adi-na     pun    kad      pion   awa    illus-na iy-enrol
        NEG-3S     NEG    then/then  want   EXIS   TH.start-3s  TH-enroll
```

03d
```
                    i-kasin-na  bos     ang-ala  'k osa    'k courso.
                    TH-repeat-3s also    AG-take  OBL one    OBL course
```
After all, don't you know, many (who) are delayed in their studies, when/then they don't like what it is they enrolled in, again take another course.

---

04 Kad
```
      then  sadi          osa   e  ma-gastu    lawa      pilak.
            that          one   LK PASS.IMPF-spend no.reason  money
      Then  that          is one way money is spent for nothing/senselessly.
```

05a
```
        [Sa osa   e  mi-baga    kan dikayu, e  abeng' e um-adayu],
         the one   LK PASS-tell   OBL 2p.TOP LK child   LK AG-far
```

05b
```
        adi-kayu okyan al-lasu  e  um-ayu,
        NEG-2p.ABS should AJR-easy   LK AG-homesickness
```

05c
```
                                [te   sadi osa   e  angi-agay-an   da udum' e  an-uswila,
                                 for   that one   LK OCC-stop-OCC    PL other  LK AG-study
```

05d
```
                                adi-da    pun   maka-kwa si ayu-da].
                                NEG-3p    NEG   POT-do     OBL homesickness-3p
```
The one thing I'm telling you, children that go far, you should not easily be homesick,
because that is one thing that stops others that go away to school,
not being able to bear their homesickness.

Comments on charting the Lower Tanudan Kalinga (VS/VO) text

The text displayed on the previous page is the first part of a letter in Kalinga written in 1997 by Mary Dunol to children who had just been sent away for school. It is of the Instruction type of exhortation. Jewell Machlan translated the text into English and kindly made it available to me.

Convention 2. The Pre-nuclear-V column of the chart is used for all constituents that precede the **verb** other than connectives and initial vocatives.

Convention 6. Square brackets used to mark the boundaries of complex constituents. In 5c-d, the reason for 5b extends over two clauses (5d is further indented).

Note. You will find a chart of the full text in Kalinga in a file called KalingaChart.

Sample page of a charted text in a SVO language (Bariai, Austronesian, Papua New Guinea)

Ref.	Con.	Pre-Nuclear	Nucleus	Post-nuclear

01
[Iaba   ga mariuana]   ein danga paeamao.
banana.sp & marijuana   this thing   bad
Banana [beer] and marijuana, this is a bad thing.

02a
Kapeipei   ga kakau,   gau   na-keo   tautaunga pa-gimi,
elders   & youth   I   1s-speak   truly   at-2p

02b
[kado-nga   ngan   un-nga   iaba   ga ean-nga   guas   mariuana] ein danga paeamao.
do-NOM   GP   drink-NOM   banana.sp   & consume-NOM   tobacco marijuana   this thing   bad

02c
ngansa i-paeabu   ngan   le-da   mado-nga tuanga-i.
because 3s-destroy   GP   AG-1in   sit-NOM   village-LOC

Elders and young people, I speak truly to you, the behaviour with regard to drinking banana [beer] and consuming marijuana tobacco,
this is a bad thing,   because it destroys our living in the village.

03a be
ADD
[oangga   sai i-longo linge-g mao,
if   who 3s-hear voice-1s NEG

03b be
ADD
i-an   guas   paeamao
3s.consume   tobacco bad

03c ga
&
i-un   iaba,]
3s-drink banana.sp

03d eine ga
this IRR
i-paeabu   ngan   i-uae   ede pade
3s-destroy   GP   3s-companion   one ADD

03e
ga i-mate.
IRR 3s-die

Yes,   if anyone doesn't listen to my voice, but consumes bad tobacco and drinks banana [beer],
then   he will destroy his fellow companion so that he dies.

04a
Na-keo tautaunga   pa-gimi,
1s-speak truly   at-2p

04b
[kado-nga   toa bedane]   eine   paeamao
do-NOM   ANAlike.this   this   bad

04c
[ngansa{oangga   kado-nga   toa bedane i-uotot   somisomi   tuanga-i,}
because if   do-NOM   ANAlike.this 3s-happen.IMPF   always   village- LOC

04d eine ga
this IRR
panua busa   ga ti-matemate   ngan   kado-nga   toa bedaoa].
people many   IRR 3p-die.IMPF   GP   do-NOM   ANAlike.that

I speak truly to you, behaviour like this is bad
because, if behaviour like this is always coming about in the village,
then   many people will be dying from such behaviour.

Comments on charting the Bariai (SVO) text

The text displayed on the previous page is the first part of a text written in Bariai by Peter Biriu in 2004. It is of the Persuasion type of exhortation. Steve Gallagher translated the text into English and kindly made it available to me.

Convention 2. The Pre-nuclear column of the chart is used for all constituents that precede the **subject** other than connectives and initial vocatives.

Convention 6. Square brackets used to mark the boundaries of complex constituents. In 2b, *the behaviour with regard to drinking banana [beer] and consuming marijuana tobacco* is treated as a single left-dislocated, pre-nuclear constituent. In 3, the pre-nuclear conditional clauses *if anyone doesn't listen to my voice, but consumes bad tobacco and drinks banana [beer]* extend from 3a-c. In 4c-d, the reason for 4b extends over two clauses (a pre-nuclear conditional clause [4c] and a main clause [4d, further indented]).

Note. You will find a chart of the full text in Bariai in a file called BariaiChart.

Sample page of a charted text in a SOV language (Dungra Bhil, Indo-Aryan, India)

Ref.	Con.	Pre-S		Nucleus					(Post-V)
01	o maa pujra			tumi	horu	ma	piha.		
	oh my children			2p	liquor	PRO	drink.be.P		
	Oh, my children,			*you shouldn't be drinking liquor.*					
02				horu	to	ek dʒer	hudu	hoje.	
				liquor	SPACER	one poison	like	be	
				Liquor is like a poison.					
03a		[horu	pi-nara	mahõ-õ	ɖua]	tumi	pala,		
		liquor	drink-AGENT	man-POS	eye.OBL	2p	see.IMP		
03b		tijaa	ɖua	ekdom	rata rata	dekh-a.			
		3ms.POS	eye.OBL	complete	red red	see-PASSIVE			
		Look at the eyes of a liquor-drinking person; his eyes appear completely red.							
04	ono	[tijaa	dʒĩgi]	tumi	pala,				
	&	3ms.POS	life	2p	see.IMP				
	And	*look at his life;*							
05a		tuʔu	ek vaʔa	horu	pit-neje,				
		3ms	one time	liquor	drink-COMP				
05b	tahã		tija-ha		horu	pi-va	nag-e.		
	then		3ms.OBL-ACC		liquor	drink-INF	feel-FUT		
		(if) he liquor-drinks all at one go, then he will acquire a desire for liquor-drinking.							
06a	ono	[tuʔu	tijaa	phaje	dʒetihi	modʒuri	koʔ-e],		
	&	3ms	3ms.POS	with	how.much	work	do-FUT		
06b			tetaha	horu	pi	dʒa-je.			
			that.much	liquor	drink	go-FUT			
	And	*whatever work he may do, he will drink liquor with it (that will be completed in liquor drinking).*							
07	tahã		[tuʔu	tijaa	bujeʔẽ	ono pujre]	kihĩ	koʔ-e?	
	then		3ms	3ms.POS	lady	& children	what	do-FUT	
	Then		*what will his wife and children do?*						
08			phuko	moʔ-e.					
			hunger.OB	die-FUT					
			They will die of hunger.						

Comments on the charting the Dungra Bhil (SOV) text

The text displayed on the previous page is the first part of an exhortation by a man from Mathwad village in Madhya Pradesh State to his children, because they are lazy and do not work in the fields. It is of the Instruction type of exhortation. Sunil K. Mathew translated the text into English and kindly made it available to me. The original form of the text appears in Mathew 2004. I have modified the translation to make it more natural.

Convention 2. The Pre-S column of the chart is used for all constituents that precede the **subject** other than connectives and initial vocatives.

   The Post-V column would be used for any post-verbal constituents.

Convention 6. Square brackets used to mark the boundaries of complex or preposed constituents. In 7, *his wife and children* is a complex subject. In 3a, *the eyes of a liquor-drinking person* is a preposed object (see also 4). In 6a, *whatever work he may do* is a left-dislocated constituent.

Note. You will find a chart of the full text in Dungra Bhil in a file called DungraBhilChart.

Application to the language you are analysing
1. Base your chart on the model that is closest to the language you are analysing (VS/VO, SVO or SOV).
2. Start inserting the text you have selected into your chart, following the conventions given earlier.
3. When you have completed two pages of your chart, send it to your consultant or myself (stephen_levinsohn@sil.org) for checking.

2. Types of Information and Reasoning Types

Materials needed: Charted hortatory texts in Kalinga (VS/VO), Bariai (SVO), Dungra Bhil (SOV) & Koiné Greek

This chapter begins by reviewing three different ways in which information is arranged functionally within sentences (sec. 2.1). It then considers what characterises theme line information for each broad text genre (sec. 2.2). Sections 2.3-4 discuss some implications of using inductive versus deductive reasoning in an exhortation. This leads to a description of the types of supportive information that Breeze (1992) identifies for hortatory discourses, and to where mismatches are most likely to occur when translating from a verb-object (VO) language to an object-verb (OV) language (secs. 2.5-6).[5]

   Each of the above sections is illustrated from hortatory texts in Kalinga (VS/VO), Bariai (SVO) and Dungra Bhil (SOV), as well as the letter to Philemon in Greek. The reader should pay particular attention to those texts that are of the same language type as the one he or she is analysing.

2.1 Articulations of the sentence[6]

Many linguists recognise different functional or "pragmatic" sentence structures (Comrie 1989:64); in other words, different ways that the information in a sentence is arranged. Andrews (1985:77-80) distinguishes three principal "articulations" of the sentence or proposition, which I will refer to as topic-comment, identificational and thetic (see Lambrecht 1994:122, 144).[7]

The following proposition (Dungra Bhil 3b) is an example of **topic-comment** articulation. It has a topic (in this case, *his eyes*)[8] and a comment giving information about the topic *his eyes*.[9]

3b	tijaa	ḍua	/	ekdom	rata rata dekh-a.
	3ms.POS	eye.OBL		complete	red red see-PASS
	his eyes			*appear completely red.*	

The following Greek proposition (1 Cor. 1:13) illustrates **identificational** articulation. Except for one element, the information it conveys is assumed to be known ([someone] *was crucified for you*). The focus ("the most important… information in the given setting"—Dik 1978:19) is on the element that is lacking in the presupposed proposition (who the someone was—or wasn't, in this case).

13	μὴ	**Παῦλος**	ἐσταυρώθη	ὑπὲρ	ὑμῶν,
	[surely].not	Paul	was.crucified	for	you.PL
	*Was **Paul** crucified for you?* (expected answer: No!)				

The following proposition (Dungra Bhil 17) illustrates **thetic** articulation. It presents or introduces a new entity or event (in this instance, the absence of *peace*) into the text.

17	ihĩkojite	horu	pi-nara-a	koʔ-me	kedihi	sãti	naj	uve.
	likewise	liquor	drink-AG-POS	house-in	never	peace	NEG	become
	Similarly, in the house of a liquor-drinking person there will never be any peace.							

Identifying the articulation of individual sentences or propositions helps to identify the domain of its focus (see sec. 5.1). It also explains certain deviations from the default order in which their constituents are presented (see secs. 5.2-5.3).

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[5] These sections are taken from Levinsohn 2006a.

[6] For a more comprehensive discussion of sentence articulations, see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 2.1.

[7] Andrews uses the terms "focus-presupposition" for identificational, and "presentational" for thetic.

[8] The topic of a topic-comment proposition is usually, but not necessarily, the subject of the proposition.

[9] Care must be taken not to confuse the term "(propositional) topic" with the topic (theme) of a paragraph or longer stretch of speech or writing. "A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e., as expressing information that is relevant to and that increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent" (Lambrecht p. 131). The topic of a proposition is of *current interest*; the referent must either be already established in the discourse or easily related to one that is already established (p. 164).

2.2 Theme line versus supportive material

The theme line "presents the backbone of the discourse—whether this be the main events of a narrative, the main steps of a procedure, the main points of an argument or the main commands of an exhortation—while the supportive material provides all that is necessary as a background for understanding the story, procedure, or argument as a whole. These different types of information, which work together to communicate the total message of a discourse, can be distinguished from each other by certain language-specific surface features, such as tense and aspect markers, verb forms, conjunctions, special particles, and word order." (Breeze 1992:314)

2.2.1 Characteristics of theme line information in the four broad text genres

In all text genres, the default way of presenting theme line information is with **topic-comment** articulation (sec. 2.1).

In a NARRATIVE, sentences that present theme line events typically have **perfective** aspect (the aspect that portrays events or states as a whole—Levinsohn 2011 sec. 5.3.2). When no discontinuity is signalled (e.g. with a pre-nuclear adverbial constituent like *the next day—ibid.* sec. 3.1), a distinctive verb form is often used (a "narrative" or "neutral" form in many African languages, the aorist in Greek, the *wyyqtl* form in Hebrew).

In a PROCEDURE, sentences that present the main steps typically have **imperfective** aspect (the aspect that portrays events or states as not completed at the point of reference—*ibid.* sec. 5.3.2). When no discontinuity is signalled, a distinctive verb form is often used (e.g. a future infinitive in Inga [Quechuan, Colombia], the *wqtl* form in Hebrew).

In an EXHORTATION, we can expect the main commands to be presented with a distinctive verb form, too (e.g. with imperatives rather than a more mitigated form like *I would like you to...*).

In an EXPOSITION, "the most <u>static</u> clauses of the language [constitute] its mainline" (theme line). Static clauses have as their main verb "'be', 'have', or null in place of 'be', or the verb 'remain/ stay'" (Longacre 1983:4).

2.2.2 The message framework

In her analysis of Ephesians (a basically hortatory text), Breeze excludes the "message framework" —"material that provides a framework for the message without being part of the message itself" (1992:314). This framework comprises:

- the **introduction**, which "relates the author to the recipients and gives a greeting" (e.g. Eph. 1:1-2)
- the **closure**, which "consists of personal notes and a benediction" (e.g. 6:23-24).[10]

The rest of the book constitutes the "**main body**".

Application to the letter to Philemon in Koiné Greek

First, familiarise yourself with this charted text (the file is called PhilemonChart).
Now identify the message framework. In particular:
- Which verse(s) constitute the **introduction**?
- Which verse(s) constitute the **closure**?[11]

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

First, familiarise yourself with the rest of this charted text (the file is called KalingaChart).
Now identify the message framework. In particular:
- Which sentence(s) constitute the **introduction**?
- Which sentence(s) constitute the **closure**?[12]

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[10] In her article, Breeze treats 6:21-24 as the closure, but agrees (p.c.) that it is better to limit the closure to 23-24.

[11] **Suggested answers**: Verses 1-3 of Philemon constitute the introduction. Verses 23-25 constitute the closure. Russell (1998:22-23) describes these verses as "Epistolary Conventions".

Note. Some texts do not have a message framework. Such appears to be the case for the hortatory texts in **Bariai** (SVO) and **Dungra Bhil** (SOV).

2.2.3 Distinguishing theme line and supportive information in hortatory texts

Within the main body, Breeze's primary distinction is between the theme line hortatory THESES[13] and the **supportive** information. On this basis, the main body of the latter to **Philemon** (4-22) may be divided as follows (see sec. 2.2.4 on the supportive nature of the exhortations of 20):

4-7 supportive	*I always thank my God when I remember you in my prayers, because I hear of your love for all the saints and your faith toward the Lord Jesus. I pray that the sharing of your faith may become effective when you perceive all the good that we may do for Christ. I have indeed received much joy and encouragement from your love, because the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through you, my brother.*
8-16 supportive	*Therefore (Διὸ), though I am bold enough in Christ to command you to do your duty, yet I would rather appeal to you on the basis of love—I, Paul, do this as an old man, and now also a prisoner of Christ Jesus. I am appealing to you for my child, Onesimus, whose father I have become during my imprisonment; one formerly useless to you, but now indeed useful both to you and to me, whom I am sending, that is, my own heart, back to you; whom I was wanting to keep with me, so that he might be of service to me in your place during my imprisonment for the gospel; but I preferred to do nothing without your consent, in order that your good deed might be voluntary and not something forced. Perhaps this is the reason he was separated from you for a while, so that you might have him back forever, no longer as a slave but more than a slave, a beloved brother—especially to me but how much more to you, both in the flesh and in the Lord.*
17-18 HORT. THESES	*If, then (οὖν), you consider me your partner, welcome him as you would welcome me. And (δέ) if he has wronged you in any way, or owes you anything, charge that to my account.*
19-21 supportive	*I, Paul, am writing this with my own hand: I will repay it. I say nothing about your owing me even your own self.* [20]*Yes, brother, let me have this benefit from you in the Lord! Refresh my heart in Christ.* [21]*Confident of your obedience, I am writing to you, knowing that you will do even more than I say.*
22a HORT. THESIS	*One thing more—prepare a guest room for me,*
22b-c supportive	*for I am hoping through your prayers to be restored to you.*

Paul's prayer of thanksgiving (4-7) "lays a foundation for the rest of the letter" and may be "viewed as motivational information, designed to evoke in the readers a sense of joy and gratitude to God that will prepare them to receive the forthcoming commands with a proper attitude" (Breeze 1992: 322, commenting on the prayer of thanksgiving in Eph. 1:3-14). In other words, 4-7 **lead up** to 8-16, which in turn lead up to the hortatory THESES of 17-18. This is confirmed by the connectives used: inferential Διὸ *therefore* in 8 and inferential-resumptive οὖν *then* in 17 (see further in secs. 3.5.3 and 3.6).

In contrast, 19 provides support for the **preceding** hortatory THESIS (18). Similarly, 21 provides support for the preceding hortatory THESES. Finally, 22b-c provide support for the preceding hortatory THESIS of 22a.

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[12] **Suggested answers**: Sentence 23 of the Kalinga text constitutes the closure. If Breeze's definition is followed, then the text has no introduction.

[13] Throughout these chapters, the label in caps is the HEAD or NUCLEUS relation; the other label is the support relation. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a THESIS as 'a statement … that is put forward as a premise to be maintained or proved'.

2.2.4 Supportive exhortations

We turn now to the exhortations of 20, which Banker (1999) correctly identifies as supporting the appeal of 17. In other words, these exhortations are not theme line hortatory THESES in the text. Rather, they are used to **reinforce** preceding theme line THESES.[14]

Other exhortations, such as 'Listen!', function as **attention getters** for following THESES. Consider sentences 3-5 of the Dungra Bhil text:

03		[horu	pi-nara	mahõ-õ	ḍua]	tumi	pala,
		liquor	drink-AG	man-POS	eye.OBL	2p	see.IMP
b		tijaa	ḍua	ekdom		rata rata	dekh-a.
		3ms.POS	eye.OBL	complete		red red	see-PASS

Look at the eyes of a liquor-drinking person; his eyes appear completely red.

04	ono	[tijaa	dʒĩgi]	tumi	pala,
	&	3ms.POS	life	2p	see.IMP
	And	*look at his life;*			

05		tuʔu	ek	vaʔa	horu	pit-neje,
		3ms	one	time	liquor	drink-COMP
b	tahã		tija-ha		horu	pi-va	nag-e.
	then		3ms.OBL-ACC		liquor	drink-INF	feel-FUT

(if) he liquor-drinks all at one go, then he will acquire a desire for liquor-drinking.

Although propositions 3a and 4 of the above extract are imperatives (*Look at…*), their function is to draw attention to the following assertions (expository THESES).

Supportive exhortations typically occur at the beginning or at the end of the unit they support.

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

1. Identify the sentence(s) that contain exhortations.
2. Do any of these exhortations appear to be supportive, rather than theme line THESES?[15]

Application to the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

Identify the sentence(s) that contain exhortations.[16]

Application to the hortatory text in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

The imperatives of 3 and 4 have been identified as attention getters (see above). Identify the other sentences that contain exhortations.[17]

Application to the language you are studying

1. Identify any sentences of the text that provide the **message framework** (sec. 2.2.2).
2. Classify each remaining **sentence** as an exhortation or as supportive material.
3. Identify any exhortations that are **supportive** (reinforcing previous theme line THESES or drawing attention to following THESES). *Note*. Treat exhortations that restate or paraphrase a theme line THESIS as further theme line THESES, **not** as supportive ones.

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[14] Russell also treats the imperative of 18 as supportive, calling 18-22 a "motivated appeal" (1998:10).

[15] **Suggested answers** for the Kalinga text:

1. The following sentences contain exhortations: 2, 5-8, 10-11, 13, 16-18, 20, 22; plus 1 (pointing forward to later exhortations).
2. The exhortation of 22 appears to be supportive, reinforcing the preceding hortatory THESES. Sentence 1 could be an attention getter for the following hortatory THESES.

[16] **Suggested answer** for the Bariai text: The only sentence that contains an actual exhortation is 15, although earlier ones have implied that the hearers should avoid *banana [beer] and marijuana* (1, 9) and instead *get knowledge of God's book's talk* (8a).

[17] **Suggested answer** for the Dungra Bhil text: The following sentences contain exhortations: 1, 21, 23-24, 27-29, 34-38 and, possibly, the rhetorical question of 30 (plus, in reported speeches, 19b-20).

2.3 Inductive style versus deductive style

Inductive writing is characterized as having the THESIS statement in the **final** position

Deductive writing has the THESIS statement in the **initial** position (see Connor 1996:42)

In one text in Dungra Bhil, a request was directed to a government official. After greeting him, the speaker set out the need for a good road in 33 sentences, none of which contained an exhortation. Only then did he spell out his request for the road. The text therefore has **inductive** style; sentences 1-34 lead up to the hortatory THESES of 35*ff*.

1-34 supportive	*... And he was so hurt that he could not walk. How could we take those two sick people [to hospital]? (If) the road to our village were good, we would not suffer this much difficulty.*
35*ff* HORT. THESES	*So, Tahasil officer, please help us. Please build a good road for us poor people...*

We noted in sec. 2.2.3 that **Philemon** 4-16 **lead up** to the hortatory THESES of 17-18. Verses 4-18 could therefore be said to have inductive style, with the hortatory THESIS in the final position.

However, the THESES of 17-18 are also followed by supportive material, as is the THESIS of 22a. In other words, this part of the text has **deductive** style.

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

What style does this text have?[18]

Application to the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

This text has 16 sentences and contains only one exhortation (sent. 15). What, then, is the dominant style in this text?[19]

The style of the hortatory text in **Dungra Bhil** will be discussed in sec. 2.4.

Now some examples from **Ancient Hebrew**.

When the LORD gives commands to the people of Israel through Moses, He typically uses **deductive** style. Exodus 20:5 provides an example.

5a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not bow down to them or worship them;*
5b supportive	*for (kî) I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God...*

Similarly, when David appeals to God in Psalm 54, he uses deductive style:

1-2 HORT. THESIS	*Save me, O God, by your name and vindicate me by your might. Hear my prayer, O God; listen to the words of my mouth.*
3 supportive	*for (kî) strangers attack me and ruthless men seek my life; they give no thought to God. Selah.*

When the daughters of Zelophehad present a request to Moses, in contrast, they use **inductive** style (Numbers 27:3-4):

3-4a supportive	*Our father died in the desert. He was not among Korah's followers, who banded together against the LORD, but he died for his own sin and left no sons. Why should our father's name disappear from his clan because he had no son?*
4b HORT. THESIS	*Give us property among our father's relatives.*

Similarly, when the LORD speaks to Moses in Exodus 3:7-10, He uses inductive style:

7-9 supportive	*I have indeed seen the misery of my people in Egypt. I have heard them crying out because of their slave drivers, and I am concerned about their suffering. I have come down to rescue them from the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them up out of that land into a good and spacious land... Now the cry of the Israelites has reached me, and I have seen the way the Egyptians are oppressing them.*
10 HORT. THESIS	*And now, go. I am sending you to Pharaoh to bring my people the Israelites out of Egypt.*

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[18] **Suggested answer**: The Kalinga text has deductive style. The exhortation of 2 is supported by 3-4, that of 8 is supported by 9, that of 11 is supported by 12, that of 13 is supported by 14-15 and that of 18 is supported by 19-21.

[19] **Suggested answer**: The dominant style in the Bariai text is inductive.

2.4   Deductive versus inductive reasoning and instruction versus persuasion

Kompaoré (2004) proposes classifying hortatory discourses according to four parameters. The most significant parameter appears to be what she calls the "volitive weight" of the exhortation (p. 40).[20] A basic distinction is between **instruction** (Longacre 1995:18-20) [21] and **persuasion**.[22]

- INSTRUCTION: a speaker or writer (exhorter) considers him or herself to have the right or authority to tell the exhortee how to behave (apostolic authority, in the case of Paul's epistles). The Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:2-17) are instructional (one is cited in sec. 2.3). As noted in sec. 1.3, directives from employers to employees are typically of this type. In some cultures, parents have the right to instruct their adult children how to behave once married, etc., too. This category may even include strong **rebukes** of existing behaviour, as when someone "instructs" a friend to stop maintaining enmity with another person or to stop being lazy. **Demands** to act in a certain way seem to fit here, too, such as when the Israelites call on Aaron to make them an idol (Exodus 32:1).

- PERSUASION: the exhorter "appeals to the **reasoning logic** of the recipient, seeks to convince" (loc. cit.). Examples include the request of the daughters of Zelophehad to Moses (cited in sec. 2.3), David's speech to Solomon (1 Chron. 22:7-16—cited below in sec. 2.5) and Paul's speech to the philosophers in Athens (Acts 17:22-31). Typically, the exhorter uses persuasion because he or she cannot make the exhortee pursue the desired course of action. However, a person in authority may choose to persuade rather than instruct (e.g. the LORD to Moses in Exodus 3:7-10—cited in sec. 2.3).

Both major language types (VO and OV) typically use **inductive** reasoning for PERSUASION. However, problems arise when translating an INSTRUCTION from a VO language like Greek, Hebrew or English into an OV language.

In **VO** languages, it is normal for an exhorter to use **deductive** reasoning for INSTRUCTIONS. In natural texts in **OV** languages, in contrast, such texts tend to begin with the THESIS, follow it with supportive material, then close it with a reiteration of the THESIS (an "*inclusio*").[23]

This is illustrated by the following extract from a hortatory text in Menya (Non-Austronesian, Papua New Guinea).[24] The sentences that introduce the theme (see sec. 2.5) are followed immediately by the first exhortation of the text (3), which is then supported (4-5), before being repeated in 6:

1-2 message framework	*Concerning me giving my oldest son instruction. I give him instruction such as this.*
3 HORT. THESIS	*My bringing you to school, it's for this: to go to gain knowledge, you are not to be lazy and are always to go.*
4 supportive	*The reason is this: I your father will no longer be alive [one day] and because of that I send you.*
5 consequence	*Then you also will become big and live later and [then] no longer be alive.*
6 HORT. THESIS	*That being the case, you should always be one who goes without being lazy, listens to whatever the teacher teaches you (plural), learns and follows it.*

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[20] The other three parameters proposed by Kampaoré are:
- social relationships between the "exhorter and the exhortee" (p. 24): power, authority, eldership, knowledge and wisdom superiority
- "action for the benefit of" (p. 25): exhorter, exhortee, third party, not pertinent
- "directive validity" (p. 40): incontestable, contestable, open to judgment.

[21] Kompaoré uses the term "imposition" (p. 27).

[22] Appeals such as that of Psalm 54 are discussed at the end of this section.

[23] *Inclusio* structures involve the "bracketing of a pericope by making a statement at the beginning of the section, an approximation of which is repeated at the conclusion of the section" (Guthrie 1998:14).

[24] The text was written by John Manggo in preparation for a National Translators Course in 1996 and was translated by Carl Whitehead.

The **Dungra Bhil** text is similar. The opening exhortation (1) is followed by supportive material (2-18), with no further exhortations until 19. However, 36-38 repeat earlier exhortations, including 1, so form *inclusios* with them:

1 HORT. THESIS	*Oh, my children, you shouldn't be drinking liquor.*
2-18 supportive	*After all, liquor is like a poison…*
19-22 reported HORT. THESIS	*As for you, in contrast, someone may tell you that you should work and eat the food you like, and all live happily with love; don't be fighting with one another...*
36-38 HORT. THESES	*Rather, we need to work. We should not drink liquor and we should not fight with one another. We need to live happily and lovingly with all people.*

We shall return to the mismatch between how VO and OV languages handle instructions in sec. 2.6.

Note. Kompaoré's "volitive weight" category also includes **APPEALS**: the exhorter, who does not have authority over the exhortee, "appeals to the volition" of the exhortee (*ibid.* 27). An example is David's appeal to God in Psalm 54:1-3 (cited in sec. 2.3). However, I suspect that it is the **urgency** of the appeal that leads David to use deductive reasoning in this Psalm, as hortatory discourses such as *Help me! I'm stuck* also use deductive reasoning.

A noteworthy example of the difference between instruction and persuasion was provided by a text in Rana Tharu (Indo-Aryan SOV, India). The speaker was a mother who first instructed her younger daughter-in-law, who was not a Tharu, how to behave to visiting male relatives. She used a series of *inclusios* in this speech. She then turned to her older daughter-in-law, who was a Tharu, and used inductive reasoning to persuade her to set a good example to the younger wife.

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

This text has deductive style. What type of text does this suggest it to be?[25]

Application to the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

The dominant style in this text is inductive. What type of text does this suggest it to be?[26]

Application to the hortatory text to Philemon in Koiné Greek (VS/VO)

The first half of this text (4-18) has inductive style. What type of text does this suggest it to be?[27]

2.5 Types of supportive information

Breeze (1992:317) distinguishes four types of supportive information in Ephesians: situational, motivational, credential, enabling. The following are her definitions of the four types.

- **Situational** information "explains the situation or circumstances out of which the discourse arises and why the exhortation is necessary" (p. 316). It includes the schematic category that Longacre (1983:3) labels "problem". Breeze cites Ephesians 2:1-3 as an example.

- **Motivational** information "encourages the hearer to heed the exhortations in the following ways: by giving the reasons for obeying them; by pointing out certain consequences that might occur if a command is or is not heeded; by drawing attention to the ethical, moral, or religious values of the hearer's society that provide the motivation to conform; and by appealing to one's sense of responsibility" (Breeze 1992:315). Most supportive information is motivational.

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[25] **Suggested Answer** for the Kalinga text: The use of deductive style suggests that the text is instruction. Although the text is entitled "Advice to Students", it consists of instructions on how to behave.

[26] **Suggested Answer** for the Bariai text: The use of inductive style suggests that the text is persuasion. This is consistent with the text being an attempt to persuade the exhortees not to drink banana beer and consume marijuana.

[27] **Suggested Answer** for the letter to Philemon: The use of inductive style in 4-18 suggests that Paul is seeking to persuade Philemon to do as he asks. The shift into deductive style in 19-22, however, suggests a move from persuasion to instruction (note the word *obedience* in 21a).

- **Credential** information "supports the speaker's or author's right to give the commands with the expectation that they be heeded" (p. 315). Exodus 20:2 provides a particularly clear example: *I am the Lord your God, who rescued you from slavery in Egypt.*
  Chris Vaz (p.c.) cites a speaker of Hill Madia (Dravidian, India) who, while giving advice to his children, supports his exhortations by saying, *I'm the one telling you.*

- **Enabling** information "informs or reminds readers of what has already been done to help them keep the commands" (p. 317). Breeze cites the prayer of Ephesians 3:14-21 as an example.

Application of Breeze's classification to other hortatory discourses (especially in OV languages) has led to the following modifications:

- It is useful to distinguish **consequences** from **other motivational** information. Even when a passage generally follows the inductive style (sec. 2.3) in which other supportive informa-tion leads up to an exhortation, consequences still tend to follow it.

    This is seen when David charges Solomon to build a house for the LORD (1 Chron. 22:7-16). He begins by describing the situation and giving motivational information that builds up to the exhortations of 11-12. These are followed by the consequences of obeying them (13a), before David concludes the first part of his speech with further exhortations (13b):

    7-10 situational/motivational
    > *My son, I had it in my heart to build a house for the Name of the LORD my God. But this word of the LORD came to me: "You have shed much blood and have fought many wars. You are not to build a house for my Name, because you have shed much blood on the earth in my sight. But you will have a son who will be a man of peace and rest, and I will give him rest from all his enemies on every side. His name will be Solomon, and I will grant Israel peace and quiet during his reign. He is the one who will build a house for my Name. He will be my son, and I will be his father. And I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel forever."*

    11-12 HORT. THESES
    > *Now, my son, the LORD be with you, and may you have success and build the house of the LORD your God, as he said you would. May the LORD give you discretion and understanding when he puts you in command over Israel, so that you may keep the law of the LORD your God.*

    13a consequences
    > *Then you will have success if you are careful to observe the decrees and laws that the LORD gave Moses for Israel.*

    13b HORT. THESES (supportive)
    > *Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid or discouraged.*

- The **situational** information category needs to be extended to include **topic introducers**. The main body of a hortatory text often begins with such a sentence, stating the theme to be addressed. An example from Amharic (Semitic, Ethiopia) is *Although it is not necessary to teach you that good behaviour comes from upbringing, I would like to point out some things* (about the theme of good behaviour). 1 Cor. 7:25 is similar, although it does contain some credential information (*Now concerning virgins, I have no command from the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy*).

- It is often difficult—and frequently unnecessary—to distinguish between **situational** infor-mation and "other motivational information" (as defined above) that precedes and leads up to an exhortation. See 1 Chron. 22:7-10 above.

- In addition, it is often difficult—and unnecessary—to distinguish between **enabling** infor-mation and "other motivational information" (as defined above) that precedes and leads up to an exhortation. "Thus a 'reminder' may function as a 'motivation' in a particular epistle of Paul" (anonymous referee to Levinsohn 2006a).

The above comments lead to a four-way sub-classification of supportive information, as:
- situational (including situational-motivational)
- credential
- consequences
- other: a catch-all category for enabling and other motivational material.

One further distinction is useful, though: between information that supports a THESIS and information that supports supportive information.

Application to the letter to Philemon in Koiné Greek (VS/VO)

Section 2.2.4 identified the supportive information in the body of this letter as verses 4-16, 19-21 and 22b-c. In addition, the exhortations of 20 reinforced the hortatory THESES of 17-18. We now sub-classify the remaining verses.

Credential information. 9b-c appear to fall into this category: *such a one being Paul, an old man, and now also a prisoner of Christ Jesus*.[28] (However, these propositions are part of a larger sentence [8-9] in Greek.)

Consequences. If the exhortation of 18 were obeyed (*charge that to my account*), 19b would be a consequence (*I will repay it*).

21d is an expected consequence of 17-18: (*knowing that) you will do even more than I say*.

Other information that supports THESES. 8-14 describe a situation and motivate the hortatory THESES of 17-18 (οὖν *then* is used in 17).

22b-c supports the hortatory THESIS of 22a (γὰρ *for* is used in 22b).

Other information that supports supportive information. 4-7 in the first instance motivate the supportive material of 8-14 (Διὸ *therefore* is used in 8).

7 supports 4-6 (γὰρ *for* is used in 7).

15-16 support 10-14 (γὰρ *for* is used in 15).

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

Credential information: none noted.

Consequences. **Between** sentences, consequences of heeding or not heeding an exhortation are introduced with `kad` *then* in 12, 14a and 20 (relating back to 18b). (Consequences of an exhortation are introduced **within** a sentence with `ta` *PUR* in 2a-b, 6e and 17d.)

Other information that supports THESES. Both within and between sentences, reasons and explanations for preceding exhortations are introduced with `te` *for*: 3, 5c, 7c-e, 9, 13c, 14b, 18c, 19, 19c, 21.[29]

Other information that supports supportive information. In 14b, the material introduced with `te` supports a consequence of not heeding the exhortation of 13. In 4 and 15, `kad` introduces a consequence of supportive material introduced with `te`.

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[28] In addition, "vv. 1-2 establish the credentials or authority of the text producer" (Russell 1998:8).

[29] In the case of 19, the relation to the context of the material introduced with `te` is particularly vague (compare the use of Greek γάρ in many contexts). Some of the reasons are actually **possible consequences** of not heeding the exhortation, and are characterised by the presence of the potential marker `maka-` (3, 5c, 9, 13c).

Application to the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

Credential information: none noted.

Consequences of not obeying exhortations: introduced in 16 with `ngan kado` *otherwise*.

The expository THESIS *Banana [beer] and marijuana, this is a bad thing* (1, 9) implies that the hearers should avoid these vices. Consequences of not heeding this implied exhortation are found in 3 and 10-14. They are introduced with conditional clauses and `eine … ga` (this IRR).

Other information that supports THESES. Reasons for the above expository THESIS are introduced **within** sentences in 2 and 4 with `ngansa` *because*.

Other information that supports supportive information. Sentences 5-7 support the supportive material of 4 (see 6b). They also support the implied exhortation to *get knowledge about God's book's talk* (8a), which leads to the consequences described in 8b-e.

Application to the hortatory text in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

Credential information: none noted.

Consequences of obeying or not obeying exhortations: 22, 25-26, 32-33.

Other information that supports THESES. 2-18 (see further below) explain why *you shouldn't be drinking liquor* (1). 39 is similar. The reported speech of 19-20 may be judged to be situational, leading to the exhortation of 21.

Other information that supports supportive information. Sentence 2 (*liquor is like a poison*) is the THESIS of an expository section that extends to at least 18. 3-18 support this THESIS by giving evidence for it (3-6) and by describing the consequences of becoming addicted to liquor (7-18).

Application to the language you are studying

4. Sub-classify the **supportive** information as situational, credential, consequences or other (the catch-all category for enabling and other motivational material).

5. If supportive information is itself supported by other information (sentences 2-18 of the Dungra Bhil text provide an example), identify the THESIS of the supportive unit and how the THESIS is supported.

2.6   Distribution of different types of supportive information in VO and OV languages

This section compares the typical distribution of the most common types of supportive information in VO and OV languages.[30] The following table provides a comparison for the two types.

Type of information Language type:	VO	OV
Situational/Topic introducers	precede exhortations	precede exhortations
Consequences	follow exhortations	follow exhortations
Other motivational: in PERSUASION	precede exhortations	precede exhortations
in INSTRUCTION/urgent appeals	follow exhortations	in the middle of *inclusios* (sec. 2.4)

The above table suggests that, when translating from a VO to an OV language, problems in the order in which the information is presented are most likely to arise in **instructional** texts when "other motivational" material such as explanations for exhortations and reasons for obeying them occur. Similar problems arise with explanations for **expository** THESES and reasons for accepting their validity. Such supportive information typically follows THESES in VO languages—an ordering that can be problematic in OV languages.

The following are possible ways of handling such potential mismatches between the two language types when two or more sentences are involved.

Strategy 1. Preserve the deductive style in the receptor language, but introduce the supportive material without a connective.[31] Consider Exodus 20:5-7, for instance, in which THESES (5a, 7a) are followed by supportive material introduced in Hebrew by *kî* 'for':

5a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not bow down to them.*
5b-6 supportive	***For (kî)** I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments.*
7a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God.*
7b supportive	***For (kî)** the LORD will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.*

In an OV language, this passage might be rendered:

5a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not bow down to them.*
5b-6 supportive	*Ø I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments.*
7a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God,*
7b supportive	*Ø The LORD will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.*

However, such juxtaposition has its dangers, as it is very common in SOV languages for strengthening material to **precede** the hortatory THESIS to which it relates. In other words, Ex. 20:5b-6 may be understood as supporting 7a, rather than 5a:[32]

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[30] It is not unusual for credential information to follow exhortations in natural texts in OV languages, which suggests that such information may occur in the same place in both language types.

[31] In Inga (an OV language), whenever my co-translator was drafting a verse in which an exhortation was followed by supportive material introduced with *for*, his first inclination was to preserve the order of propositions and begin the supportive material without any conjunction.

[32] I mentioned this danger during a workshop in India. After the lecture, a translator who was a native speaker of Tamil (Dravidian) came up to me and told me that he had always taken Ex. 20:5b-6 as interpreting 7a, rather than 5a!

5a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not bow down to them.*
5b-6 supportive	**Ø** *I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments.*
7a HORT. THESIS	[implied ***So***] *You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God,*

The association of strengthening material with the wrong hortatory thesis may even be made explicit, as has happened in at least one passage in two versions of the Korean Bible (HRV, GYG). The exhortations of Phil. 2:12 and 14 are separated by material that supports 13:

12 HORT. THESIS	*Therefore, my beloved, just as you have always obeyed me, not only in my presence, but much more now in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.*
13 supportive	***for*** **[γάρ]** *it is God who is at work in you, enabling you both to will and to work for his good pleasure.*
14 HORT. THESIS	*Do all things without murmuring and arguing.*

In the Korean versions, though, 13 supports 14:

12 HORT. THESIS	*... work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.*
13 supportive	**Ø** *It is God who is at work in you, enabling you both to will and to work for his good pleasure-*CONNECTIVE[33]
14 HORT. THESIS	*do all things without murmuring and arguing.*

Strategy 2. Preserve the deductive style in the receptor language, but introduce the supportive material with a logical connective such as *because, This is because* or *The reason (is that)*, even though such connectives are rarely found in natural texts. Unfortunately, the typical effect of doing this in an OV language is to give more prominence to the reason than to the command that it supports (Levinsohn 1999):

5a hort. thesis	*You shall not bow down to them.*
5b SUPPORTIVE	***The reason****: I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, ⁶but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments.*
7a hort. thesis	*You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God.*
7b SUPPORTIVE	***The reason****: the* LORD *will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.*

Strategy 3. Change the order of the THESIS and supportive material (thus changing from deductive to inductive style):

7b supportive	*The* LORD *your God will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.*
7a HORT. THESIS	[So] *You shall not misuse his name.*

This is usually acceptable socio-linguistically if the change of order occurs within a verse or involves the reordering of just two verses. The danger of this option is that changing to inductive style may also change the nature of the exhortation from instruction to persuasion (see sec. 2.4).

Strategy 4. Some reasons or explanations may be changed to a **consequence** of obeying the preceding exhortation (this is a very natural option in many OV languages):

7a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God.*
7b consequence	***If anyone misuses his name****,[34] the* LORD *will not hold that person guiltless.*

Strategy 5. Use an *inclusio* by repeating part or all of the THESIS after the supportive material (see the extract from Menya, cited in sec. 2.4).

7a HORT. THESIS	*You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God,*
7b supportive	*The* LORD *your God will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.*
7a′ HORT. THESIS	***So you shall not misuse his name****.*

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[33] The Korean connective is –ㄴㅔㄴㅣ.

[34] The repetition of *misuses his name* in the conditional Point of Departure may well give prominence to the consequence (TaeHo Jang p.c.). It might be better to introduce the consequence with the shortest acceptable form of the conditional clause, which in English would be *If anyone does so.*

Passages in which two or more exhortations precede the supportive material lend themselves to conversion into an *inclusio*. All that is needed is for the final exhortation to be placed after the strengthening material. For example, Exodus 20:4-5 contain two exhortations (*You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. You shall not bow down to them*). Placing the second exhortation (5a) after the supportive material of 5b-6 produces a very satisfactory *inclusio*:

4 HORT. THESIS	*You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below.*
5b-6 supportive	*I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments.*
5a HORT. THESIS	*So you shall not bow down to them.*

Application to the language you are studying

6. When a hortatory or other THESIS is supported by motivational material other than consequences, is the style typically inductive (with the supportive material preceding the THESIS), deductive (with the supportive material following the THESIS) or a combination of the two (e.g. an *inclusio* with a THESIS both preceding and following the supportive material)?

7. Classify the text as instruction or persuasion (see sec. 2.4).

8. Analyse other hortatory texts to check and expand on your conclusions.

3. Connectives, Counterpoints and Propositional Order

Materials needed: Charted hortatory texts in Kalinga (VS/VO), Bariai (SVO), Dungra Bhil (SOV) & Koiné Greek

This chapter concerns ways that relations between propositions and groups of propositions are signalled in hortatory and expository texts. It begins by noting that the default way of coordinating sentences in narrative and non-narrative may differ (sec. 3.1). It then looks at countering (adversative) relations that are expressed in different ways in the source and receptor languages (sec. 3.2). This leads to the concept of a "counterpoint": a "contrasting... idea, used to set off the main element" (*OED*) (sec. 3.3). The order of propositions may affect the connective used,[35] so section 3.4 discusses this. Section 3.5 considers logical relations that may be expressed in different ways in the source and receptor languages. The theme of the final section is the resumption of the theme line of a non-narrative discourse.

3.1 The default way of inter-sentential coordination in different genres

Section 6.1 of Levinsohn 2011 noted that the default way of coordinating sentences or groups of sentences varies with the language. The two norms for **narrative** (and probably procedures) were:
- juxtaposition (i.e. without any connective);
- with a conjunction.

The default way of coordinating sentences or groups of sentences may also vary with the **genre**. For example, whereas the default way of coordinating in Ancient Hebrew **narratives** is with the conjunction waw, in **exhortations** and **expositions** it is juxtaposition.[36]

Exercise

Look up Exodus 20:2-17 (a hortatory discourse) in Hebrew. Contrast the infrequent use of the conjunction waw with its frequent use in a narrative such as chapter 19.

3.1.1 The default way of inter-sentential coordination in non-narrative texts

We now look at the default way of coordination in the four languages we have been examining.

Koiné Greek. The default way of coordinating sentences in Greek narratives is with the conjunction καί *and*. In the letter to Philemon, καί never coordinates sentences.

    The following chart indicates which of the sentences of the letter to Philemon begin with juxtaposition and which begin with a conjunction.

Chart of inter-sentential connectives in the letter to Philemon:		Totals
• juxtaposition:	(verse) 4, 10, 19, 20b, 21, 23, 25	7
• δέ:	14, 18, 22	3
• γάρ:	7, 15	2
• διό:	8	1
• οὖν:	17	1
• ναὶ	20a	1
TOTAL SENTENCES (16 less the first sentence)		15

Conclusion: Juxtaposition is the most frequent form of coordination in this letter.

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[35] A conjunction is "a word used to connect clauses or sentences or words in the same clause" (*OED*). The term connective ("something that connects"—*OED*) is more generic, and includes referential expressions such as *Because of this*, as well as switch reference markers in many OV languages.

[36] In other languages, juxtaposition is the default way of coordinating sentences in both narrative and non-narrative (see sec. 3.1.1 for examples).

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

In one narrative text in Kalinga, `kad` *then, when* was used in half of the sentences that presented theme line events. Which is the most frequent form of coordination in this hortatory text?[37]

Application to the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

The default way of coordinating sentences in Bariai narratives is by juxtaposition (23 out of 47, in one text). Which is the most frequent form of coordination in this hortatory text?[38]

Application to the hortatory text in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

The default way of coordinating sentences in Dungra Bhil narratives is by juxtaposition (51 out of 65, in one text). Which is the most frequent form of coordination in this hortatory text?[39]

Conclusion

In each of the languages we have been examined, the default way of coordinating sentences in hortatory texts appears to be juxtaposition. In fact, it may well be the case that, in any text that is not arranged chronologically, juxtaposition is the default form of inter-sentential coordination.[40]

3.1.2 The function in non-narrative texts of the default form of coordination in narrative

If the default form of coordination differs between narrative and non-narrative texts, then the function in non-narratives of the default form for narrative needs to be determined. This section considers Koiné Greek, Ancient Hebrew and Kalinga.

Koiné Greek. We noted in sec. 3.1.1 that καί is the default coordinating conjunction in Greek narratives. In exhortations and expositions, in contrast, it "constrains the material it introduces to be processed as being added to and associated with previous material" (Levinsohn 2000:124).[41]

Thus, when an expository or hortatory THESIS is supported by more than one sentence, καί is used to show that it is these sentences **together** that strengthen the THESIS. In 1 Tim. 2:13-14, for example, καί conjoins the two sentences that are introduced by γάρ *for*. It is these sentences together that strengthen the THESIS of 12:

THESIS[42]   [12]*I do not allow a woman to teach or to have authority over a man, but to keep silent.*

support   [13]*For (γάρ) Adam was formed first, then Eve;*
     [14]**& (καί)** *Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived & became a transgressor.*

Ancient Hebrew. Like καί in Greek, `waw` is used in Hebrew non-narratives to associate propositions together. Psalm 54:3 illustrates this. No conjunction links the parallel exhortations of 2 which constitute the THESES. In contrast, `waw` links the parallel propositions of 3 which are introduced by `kî` *for* to show that they support the THESES:

THESES   [2]*God, hear my.prayer // listen to.the.words-of.my.mouth.*

support   [3]*For (kî) strangers arise against.me //* **& (wə)**.*ruthless.ones seek my.life.*[43]

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[37] **Suggested Answer** for the Kalinga hortatory text: The most frequent form of co-cordination is juxtaposition (13 out of 22 sentences).

[38] **Suggested Answer** for the Bariai hortatory text: The most frequent form of co-cordination is juxtaposition (12 out of 15 sentences). This suggests that juxtaposition is the default way of coordinating sentences in Bariai in both narrative and non-narrative.

[39] **Suggested Answer** for the Dungra Bhil hortatory text: The most frequent form of co-cordination is juxtaposition (21 out of 38 sentences). This suggests that juxtaposition is the default way of coordinating sentences in Dungra Bhil in both narrative and non-narrative.

[40] Juxtaposition is likely to be the default connective in texts that are not arranged chronologically because it is the 'elsewhere' category, whereas the overt connectives typically impose **specific** constraints on interpretation.

[41] Καί is also used as an additive (discussed in Levinsohn 2011 sec. 6.3). In the letter to Philemon, it is an additive in 9c, 11b, 16d, 21d and 22a.

[42] Throughout this chapter, the label in caps is the HEAD or NUCLEUS relation; the other label is the support relation.

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

We noted in sec. 3.1.1 that, in one Kalinga narrative, `kad` *then, when* was used in half of the sentences that presented theme line events. What is its function as a connective in the hortatory text? (It is a connective in 4, 12, 14, 15 and 20. Its function in 19 is less clear, as `te` provides the primary form of connection.)[44]

Review Questions

1. Is the default way of coordinating sentences in narrative always the default way of coordinating sentences in hortatory texts?

2. In Psalm 130:7-8 (below), why is the Hebrew conjunction waw (*&*) used?

> [7]*O Israel, put your hope in the* LORD   *for* (`kî`) *with the* LORD *is unfailing love*
> *&* (`waw`) *with Him is full redemption*   [8]*&* (`waw`) *He Himself will redeem Israel from all their sins.*[45]

Application to the language you are analysing

1. What is the default form of inter-sentential linkage in hortatory and expository material: juxtaposition or a connective? If the latter, which connective is the default one?

2. If the default form of inter-sentential linkage for narrative is different, what is its function in hortatory and expository material?

3.1.3 Leaving a coordinative relation implicit in non-narrative

Even in a language in which juxtaposition is the default means of coordinating sentences in non-narrative, there may be occasions when one would have expected a connective to be used, yet none is present. For example, the UBS text of the Greek of 2 Timothy 4 has no connective between 17d and 18, even though 18 appears to be "a conclusion drawn from the preceding verse" (Minor 1992: 148—NLT inserts "Yes, and"):

> 17d   καί   *I was delivered from the lion's mouth.*
>
> 18   Ø   *The Lord will rescue me from every evil attack...*

The following are some factors that may lead to leaving a coordinative relation implicit when one might have expected a connective to be used.

- A coordinative relation may be left unmarked in **theme line** material, but be obligatorily marked in **supportive** material (see Psalm 54:2-3—sec. 3.1.2).
- A coordinative relation may be left unmarked because the message is **emotional** (Callow (1992:192). Gal. 3:1-4 as an instance of this.
- A coordinative relation may be left unmarked because the material is **disconnected**. At the end of an epistle, for instance, "the sequence of thought ... is not formal and deliberate" (White 1970 [1909]:136)—2 Tim. 4:17d-18 (above) is an example of this.

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[43] In Exodus 20:5, `waw` associates together two commands that prohibit two aspects of he same thing (*You shall not bow down to them & you shall not worship them*). Commands that prohibit different things are juxtaposed. Further research is needed on when `waw` is used in hortatory texts in Hebrew.

[44] **Suggested Answer** for the Kalinga text: `kad` introduces consequences. It is not used to introduce hortatory THESES.

[45] **Suggested Answers**: 1. No!

2. In Psalm 130:7-8, the Hebrew conjunction `waw` (*&*) links the three propositions introduced by `kî` *for* that together make up the supportive material.

3.2 Encoding countering (adversative) relations[46]

If two propositions are in a countering relation, many languages do not mark the relation between them by means of a connective unless other conditions are fulfilled. Consequently, a common error in translation is to insert a countering connective (at times, borrowed from the *lingua franca* of the area) when the natural way to encode the relation in the receptor language is different. For specific examples in different contexts, see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 6.4.1.

Section 3.2.1 repeats sec. 6.4.2 of Levinsohn 2011 and lists some factors that may determine when a countering relation is marked or left implicit in a particular language. Further sections discuss the marking of countering relations in the four languages we have been examining.

3.2.1 Factors that may determine when a countering relation is marked or left implicit

The following are some factors that may determine when a countering relation is marked or is left implicit.

- The **default** way of expressing the relation may be to leave it implicit, so that the countering relation is conveyed only by the content of the propositions concerned. The **relation** is marked only when it would otherwise be **unclear** or to **draw attention** to it.

  Under such circumstances, care must be taken not to make a relation explicit when to do so would produce the wrong effect. An early draft of Luke 2:19 in Dogosé (Burkina Faso) began with a countering connective (***But Mary treasured up all these things and pondered them in her heart***—NIV). The effect was to draw an explicit contrast with the events of the previous verse (*all who heard it were amazed at what the shepherds said to them*). This implied that Mary was NOT amazed at what the shepherds said! The translation was changed!

- In some languages, certain relations are only made explicit when the **proposition** being introduced is **more important** than the preceding one. See sec. 3.2.2 for a Greek example.

- When one proposition of a contrastive pair is POSITIVE and the other one is negative, the **order** of the propositions may well affect the connective used. Roberts (1997:29) found the following correlation between the order of the verb (V) and the object (O), on the one hand, and the order of the POSITIVE and negative propositions, on the other:

Constituent order	Preferred propositional order
VO	POSITIVE – negative
OV	negative – POSITIVE

Although the above correlations reflect the preferred order of propositions, most languages also allow them to be put in the opposite order. Often, however, the preferred or default order uses the default means of conjoining, whereas the marked order needs a marked connective:

Propositional order	Means of conjoining
default/preferred	default
marked	marked connective

This is illustrated with the POSITIVE-negative correlation in Koiné Greek and English (VO). When the propositions occur in their preferred order, the default connective (καί, *and*) is used. When they occur in the opposite order, a marked connective (ἀλλά, *but*) is required:[47]

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[46] The "newly presented proposition … may lead to the abandoning of an existing assumption" (Blakemore 1987:53). "Adversative meaning can be expressed in several grammatical ways, such as through a CONJUNCTION (*but*), ADVERBIAL (*however, nevertheless, yet, in spite of that, on the other hand*), or PREPOSITION (*despite, except, apart from, notwithstanding*)" (Crystal 1997:11).
[47] In sentence 32 of the Dungra Bhil text (cited in sec. 3.3), the associative conjunction ono (glossed *and*) links a negative and a POSITIVE proposition. The free translation into English, in contrast, has to use "but".

default order: *Allow the children to come to me*   καί/***and** do not prevent them!* (Luke 18:16)
marked order: *Lead us not into temptation*   ἀλλά/***but** deliver us from evil!* (Matt. 6:13).

The converse is found in Konso (Ethiopia—OV). When the default negative-POSITIVE order occurs, the default connective **ka** is used. When the marked POSITIVE-negative order occurs, the marked connective **umma** is used. (In fact, POSITIVE-connective-negative is the preferred order in a number of Ethiopian OV languages, including Amharic.)

3.2.2 Application to Koiné Greek

A number of connectives are used to link propositions in a countering relationship. The following factors enable the most common ones (ἀλλά, καί and δέ) to be distinguished.

- To **associate** propositions when the first is **negative** and the second **positive**, ἀλλά is used, as in 1 Thess. 5:6:
  So then, let us not be like others, who are asleep, **ἀλλά** *let us be alert and self-controlled.*
- Otherwise, when propositions in a countering relationship are associated because they are more or less of **equal importance or relevance**, καί occurs, as in Luke 1:52:
  He has brought down rulers from their thrones **καί** *has lifted up the humble.*
  This includes occasions when the first proposition is **POSITIVE** and the second negative, as in Luke 18:16: *Allow the children to come to me* **καί** *do not prevent them!*
- To MARK the second proposition in a countering relationship as **more important or relevant** than the first, the development marker δέ is used (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 6.5.3), as in 1 Tim. 4:8:
  For physical training is of some value, the **δέ** *godliness has value for all things.*
  See also 1 Thess. 5:20-21, in which the first exhortation is negative and the second, positive:
  Do not treat prophecies with contempt; test **δέ** *everything.*

Application to the letter to Philemon

1. Propositions are linked with ἀλλά in 14 and 16. Is this to be expected?
2. Propositions or groups of propositions in a countering relation are linked with δέ in 11a-b, 13-14, 16c-d and possibly 17-18.[48] What does this signal?[49]

3.2.3 Countering in the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

Although Kalinga has a countering connective (yakon *but*), it is not used in the hortatory text.

(In narratives, yakon is used only when the countering proposition is important or relevant to what follows. For example, the sentence *Then they went and built houses, but* (yakon) *there was no name yet for the district* is followed immediately by a description of how the district acquired its name.)

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[48] The combination of δέ and the additive καί (9c, 22) does not usually link propositions or larger units in a countering relation.

[49] **Suggested answers:**

1. Yes, ἀλλά is the expected conjunction in 14 and 16, since the first proposition is negative and the second, positive.

2. Δέ in these contexts marks the second proposition as more important or relevant than the first, as far as Paul's purpose in writing the letter is concerned.

In 11 (*one formerly useless to you, but* [δέ] *now indeed useful both to you and to me*), Onesimus' current state is more relevant than his previous one.

In 13-14 (*whom I was wanting to keep with me, so that he might be of service to me in your place during my imprisonment for the gospel; but* [δέ] *I preferred to do nothing without your consent…*), Philemon's consent is more relevant than what Paul was wanting.

In 16c-d (*especially to me but* [δέ] *how much more to you*), Philemon's attitude to Onesimus is more relevant than Paul's attitude.

Finally, whether or not the exhortations of 17 and 18 are in a countering relation, the way Philemon responds to Onesimus for wronging him is more relevant than the way he responds because he is a partner with Paul in the faith.

3.2.4 Countering in the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

The only overt countering connective used in this text is the combination of the general preposition Ngan and the verb kado *you do* (16a), which has been translated 'Otherwise'. This combination introduces a consequence of **not** obeying the exhortations of 15.

When propositions are in a countering relation but relate to the same situation, then Bariai uses the **additive** be. This is illustrated in sentence 3, where be links negative and positive propositions *if anyone doesn't listen to my voice* **be**[50] *consumes bad tobacco and drinks banana [beer]*.

3.2.5 Countering in the hortatory text in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

The following means of signalling countering relations are found in this text:

- peʔe *but, rather*. In related Indo-Aryan languages, a related connective introduces countering propositions that are **important**, so such is presumably the case also in Dungra Bhil See, for example, *We should not roam about without working like other people who roam about without working.* **Rather** (peʔe), *we need to work.* (35-36)

- gaʔṭhehe *in contrast, on the contrary*. This conjunction may be used following negative propositions (e.g. *he will not get peace*). Placing the conjunction after the subject signals a switch of attention from a corresponding subject (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1 for conjunctions used as spacers).[51]

  Both peʔe and gaʔṭhehe are used in 19. Gaʔṭhehe follows the second person pronoun tumi to signal a switch of attention from the *liquor-drinking person*: *Till he dies, all these things will happen like this, but he will not get peace. As for you,* **in contrast** (peʔe tumi gaʔṭhehe), *someone may tell you...*

- to. In this and related Indo-Aryan languages, this 'contrastive emphasis' marker (Schmidt 1999:210) signals that the **first** of a pair of countering propositions is a **counterpoint** to set off the following THESIS (see sec. 3.3).

Review Question

What three factors may determine when a countering relation is marked or left implicit?[52]

Application to the language you are analysing

1. Look for instances of countering relations in your texts, including examples where the relation is left implicit.
2. If more than one countering connective is used, then distinguish their functions.
3. Under what circumstances is the countering relation normally left implicit?
4. If you are working in an **OV** language and encounter a pair of propositions whose order in Greek is POSITIVE-negative, the most natural way of translating them may be to reverse the order. In Inga (OV—Quechuan), for example: *I am telling the truth, I am not lying* (1 Tim. 2:7) became *I, just not lying, tell you what is true*.

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[50] Translations of this sentence into English use "but" since a negative proposition precedes a positive one (sec. 3.2.1). This does NOT mean that be in Bariai is a countering connective. Whereas English *but* constrains the reader to counter something in the context, Bariai be constrains the reader to add what follows to something in the context. It is the **content** of the added proposition that leads to the perception of countering, not the presence of be.

[51] "Spacers ... may have a default grammatical position in the sentence... but alternatively can be placed between constituents with distinct discourse-pragmatic roles" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:73).

[52] **Suggested Answer**: The following factors may determine when a countering relation is marked or left implicit:
- The default way of expressing the relation is to leave it implicit. The relation is marked only when it would otherwise be unclear or to draw attention to it.
- The relation is only made explicit when the proposition being introduced is more important than what precedes.
- When a countering relation exists between a POSITIVE and a negative proposition, the relation may be marked only when their relative order is not the default or preferred one.

   If you are working in a **VO** language and encounter a pair of propositions whose order in Greek is negative ἀλλά POSITIVE, the most natural way of translating them may be to reverse the order. For example, the NRSV translation of ἵνα μὴ ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τὸ ἀγαθόν σου ᾖ ἀλλά κατὰ ἑκούσιον *that your goodness might not be according to necessity* **ἀλλά** *according to willingness* (Philemon 14b-c) is "in order that your good deed might be voluntary and not something forced**".**

3.3 Counterpoints

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a counterpoint as a "contrasting... idea, used to set off the main element". Counterpoints are a frequently used rhetorical device in some languages (e.g. Koiné Greek and Indo-Aryan), but are rarely found in natural texts in others. Typically, the counterpoint and main point share a common feature (e.g., the verb or complement).

Koiné Greek. Greek epistles commonly begin an exposition or exhortation with a point of minor significance that forms the counterpoint for a following THESIS. Typically, the THESIS is introduced with the development marker δέ. This is seen in James 1:9-10; 9 provides the counterpoint for the THESIS statement of 10.[53]

9 (counterpoint) Καυχάσθω   δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς   ὁ ταπεινὸς   ἐν τῷ ὕψει   αὐτοῦ,
                  let.boast   DM the brother   the humble   in the height   his
                  The brother in humble circumstances ought to take pride in his high position.

10 (THESIS)   ὁ δὲ πλούσιος   ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει   αὐτοῦ,
                  the DM rich   in the humiliation   his
                  The rich, in contrast, should take pride in his low position…

Application to the letter to Philemon

In your opinion, which propositions might be viewed as counterpoints for a following THESIS?[54]

Indo-Aryan. Section 3.2.5 noted that a particle like *to* in Dungra Bhil may be used to mark the first of a pair of countering propositions as a counterpoint for a following THESIS. In the following passage from another Indo-Aryan language, the contrastive emphasis marker (CON) is *tə*.

1 (counterpoint) tu-stə   wəzew pṛoṛ   **tə**   gwo
                  2s-from   axe   wound   CON   went

2 (THESIS)   tu-stə   wiri   pṛoṛ   nə-gwəstə   as-ε[i]
                  2s-from   speech wound   not-gone   is-also
                  *Although **your axe wound** has gone, **the wound from your words** has not gone.*

Question.

Why would it be appropriate to call 1 Timothy 4:8a (below) a counterpoint for 8b?[55]

7b *Train yourself in godliness.*

8a ἡ **γὰρ**   σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς   ὀλίγον ἐστὶν   ὠφέλιμος,
   the for   bodily   training   for   little   is   profitable
   For physical training is of some value.

8b ἡ δὲ   εὐσέβεια   πρὸς   πάντα ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν
   the DM   godliness   for   all   profitable 3S.is
   But godliness has value for all things.

---

[53] Since attention switches from *the brother in humble circumstances* to the rich, ὁ πλούσιος (*the rich*) is placed first in 10 (see sec. 4.2). The Greek connective μέν often introduces the counterpoint for a following THESIS which is introduced with δέ (Levinsohn 2000 sec.10.1).

[54] **Suggested Answer**: The use of a pre-nuclear participial clause in 8, together with μᾶλλον 'rather' in 9, makes 8 a possible counterpoint for a following THESIS in 9. I judge 11a to be a counterpoint for 11b. 14b and 16a are potential counterpoints, but the presence of ἀλλά implies that Paul did not in fact intend them to be so interpreted.

[55] **Suggested Answer**: It would be appropriate to call 1 Tim. 4:8a a counterpoint for 8b because 8b (*Godliness is valuable...*) is the "main element" (*OED*) that supports the hortatory THESIS of 7b (*Train yourself in godliness*), and 8a is a contrasting idea, used to set 8b off.

Application to translation

As noted above, it is common in Koiné Greek to begin an exposition or exhortation with a point of minor significance that forms the counterpoint for a following THESIS. The problem is that such a rhetorical strategy is not common to all languages. For example, the uninitiated English reader does not recognise James 1:9 (above) as a counterpoint for the THESIS about the rich.

Ways to counteract this problem include:
- The use of a backgrounding device (see sec. 7.6). For example, NRSV translates the counterpoint of 1 Tim. 4:8a with a pre-nuclear subordinate clause: *while physical training is of some value*. To achieve a similar effect, other languages link 8a and 8b with a spacer.
- A development marker or similar connective.
- The selection of an appropriate title. The GNB title "Poverty and Riches" at James 1:9 is misleading!

Note. **Cataphoric orienters** such as *This is what I want to tell you* are similar to counterpoints in that they allow an author to begin with a point of minor significance, rather than the THESIS.

3.4 Constituent order and the order of propositions

In sec. 3.2.1 we noted a correlation between the order of the verb (V) and the object (O), on the one hand, and the relative order of POSITIVE and negative propositions, on the other. This correlation is an instance of a more general principle, that VO languages prefer HEAD-dependent ordering, while OV languages favour dependent-HEAD ordering (Greenberg 1963, Dryer 1997). Thus, pairs of propositions that involve **unequal prominence** NUCLEUS—support relations are typically presented in the same order as other HEAD—dependent pairs in the language (Roberts 1997; Diessel 2001).

3.4.1 Verb-object order and the ordering of unequal prominence relations

The following table displays some HEAD-dependent ordering correlations (see Roberts pp. 16-18).

HEAD-dependent ordering	dependent-HEAD ordering
VERB—object (VO)	object—VERB (OV)
PREPOSITION—NP	NP—POSTPOSITION
AUXILIARY—main verb	main verb—AUXILIARY
SUBORDINATOR—clause	clause— SUBORDINATOR
NUCLEUS-support proposition	support proposition-NUCLEUS

The following chart (based on Roberts p. 32) summarises the expected correlations between VERB-object order and the ordering of unequal prominence NUCLEUS-support propositions.

VO	OV
POSITIVE-negative	negative-POSITIVE
OBJECT OF COMPARISON—standard of comparison	standard of comparison—OBJECT OF COMPARISON
NUCLEUS—manner	manner— NUCLEUS
COMMAND—assertion	assertion—COMMAND
RESULT—reason	reason— RESULT
RESULT—means	means— RESULT
MEANS—purpose	purpose—MEANS

This ordering of propositions is not only found within sentences; it also occurs **inter-sententially**.

The above relations (with the exception of POSITIVE-negative—sec. 3.2.1) are now exemplified for English and Greek (VO) and for the Papuan language Amele (OV) (see Roberts pp. 21-25, 28-31).

OBJECT OF COMPARISON—standard of comparison: Revelation 1:14

VO		OV	
OBJECT	*His head and hair were white*	standard	*As snow is white*
standard	*as snow (is white).*	OBJECT	*so his head and hair were white.*

NUCLEUS—manner: Acts 1:11

NUCLEUS	*This Jesus ... will come*	manner	*In the same way as you saw Jesus go into heaven,*
manner	*in the same way as you saw him go into heaven.*	NUCLEUS	*like that he ... will come.*

COMMAND—assertion: Matthew 26:26

(deductive style)		(inductive style)[56]	
COMMAND	*Take and eat.*	assertion	*This is my body.*
assertion	*This is my body.*	COMMAND	*Take and eat.*

RESULT—reason: Acts 2:6

When they heard this sound, a large group of men gathered.

RESULT	*They were confounded*	reason	*Each one heard them speaking in his own language,*
reason	*because each one heard them speaking in his own language*	RESULT	*so they were confounded.*

POSITIVE—negative and RESULT—reason: Luke 18:16

POSITIVE	*Allow the children to come to me*	reason	*The kingdom of God belongs to such children.*
negative	*and do not prevent them.*	negative	*So do not prevent them;*
reason	*For the kingdom of God belongs to such.*	POSITIVE	*let them come to me.*

or (using an *inclusio*—see below):

POSITIVE	*Allow the children to come to me*	negative	*Do not prevent the children coming to me.*
negative	*and do not prevent them.*	reason	*The kingdom of God belongs to such.*
reason	*For the kingdom of God belongs to such.*	POSITIVE	*So let them come.*

The RESULT-reason order of propositions in the Greek is particularly problematic for many OV languages, as it occurs so often in the Epistles. See sec. 3.5.3 for the connectives used in the letter to Philemon to introduce reasons and other strengthening information.

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[56] See sec. 2.4 on other factors that determine the selection of inductive or deductive style.

RESULT—means: Luke 24:35

VO		OV	
RESULT	*He was known to them*	means	*The Lord broke the bread for them.*
means	*by the breaking of the bread.*	RESULT	*By this means they knew him.*

MEANS—purpose: Acts 16:30

MEANS	*What must I do*	purpose	*To be saved*
purpose	*to be saved?*	MEANS	*what must I do?*

However, the MEANS-purpose order is common even in OV languages (see point 2 of sec. 3.4.2 for a possible reason).

3.4.2 Observations

1. In OV languages, ***inclusio*** structures are often used to enable the NUCLEAR proposition to be stated early, then supported, before concluding with a reiteration of the NUCLEUS (sec. 2.6). The following example is from a folktale in Kambaata (Cushitic, Ethiopia):

a		*They tried various tricks,*
b	(RESULT)	*but they couldn't make them quarrel.*
c	(reason)	*The reason was that the two friends always lived together & shared what people told them*
d	(RESULT')	*so they didn't fall for the tricks.*

See also the second ordering of Luke 18:16 (sec. 3.4.1) in OV languages.

2. The following factors may also affect the order of propositions.

- In some languages, a desire to **preserve chronological or logical sequence** may determine the order (e.g. in reason—RESULT, cause—EFFECT and MEANS—purpose pairs).

- When the **focus** falls on the **support** proposition (Levinsohn 1999:55), the order of the propositions may be reversed. In the following reported conversation from a Booranna-Oromo (Cushitic, Ethiopia —OV) folktale, for example, the normal reason—RESULT order was reversed because the result was established information:

Speaker A:		*Why won't you come near me?*
Speaker B:	result	*I won't go near you.*
	REASON	*Why ... do the footprints of the people who went to see you enter, but I don't see them coming out?*

- **Marked order** may give extra prominence to a focal constituent. In Matt. 6:10b, the Greek places the standard before the OBJECT (contrast sec. 3.4.1). The effect of postposing the focal constituent *also on earth* is to give it extra prominence (see Levinsohn 2000:34-35).

English:	*Your will be done **on earth, as it is in heaven**.*
Greek:	*Your will be done, **as in heaven, also on earth**.*

Review Questions

1. When a language has OV constituent order, what is the preferred order of pairs of propositions of unequal prominence?
2. When the preferred order of propositions is not followed, how may this influence the connective used (see sec. 3.2.1)?
3. What three factors have been observed to influence the order of propositions?[57]

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[57] **Suggested Answers:**
1. When a language has OV constituent order, the preferred order of pairs of propositions of unequal prominence is support-NUCLEUS.
2. When the preferred order of propositions is not followed, a marked connective may replace the default means of connection.

Application to the language you are analysing

1. What is the preferred/default order for the propositional pairs listed in sec. 3.4.1, especially when they are found inter-sententially? Does it correspond to VO *versus* OV order, or does the preservation of chronological or logical sequence in the ordering seem to be more important?
   Is deductive *versus* inductive reasoning a factor?

2. Are other orders possible for some propositional pairs (e.g. if a marked connective is used)? If so, what is their function when they occur?

3. Are *inclusio* structures ever used? If so, what is their function?

3.5 Encoding logical relations[58]

Languages tend to use a logical connective to signal a reason or RESULT only in certain specific circumstances. This section begins with a discussion of specific occasions where some languages prefer not to use a logical connective (sec. 3.5.1). It then considers factors that may determine when a logical relation is marked or left implicit (sec. 3.5.2). Observations are then made about logical connectives in the four languages we have been examining.

3.5.1 Encoding logical relations in specific contexts

This section alludes to four contexts in which a logical relation appears to exist between propositions, yet certain languages prefer not to use a logical connective.

a) When a RESULT is **expected** because it is constrained by the context, some African and Iranian languages use an **additive** (*also*) where English might use *so*. Luke 6:8 (NIV) provides a narrative example where *so* would be replaced by *also* in such languages:

> 8b   *and said to the man with the shrivelled hand, "Get up and stand in front of everyone".*

> 8c   ***So/Also** he got up and stood there.*

b) In some languages, the **RESULT-reason** relation is not made explicit when a constituent of the comment of one sentence becomes the topic of the next.[59] Compare the following pairs of sentences in Marba (Chadic VO, Chad):

> RESULT *Do not court another man's wife.*

> reason **Kayam** *(for) many have died because of a woman.*

(*them* becomes the topic of the reason)

> RESULT *I don't want you to associate with them.*

> reason **Ø** *They are people who do not respect their parents.*

c) In some languages, a PURPOSE whose subject is not the same as that of the main clause is typically expressed as an independent clause with an imperfective (IMPF) or irrealis (IRR) marker. In such languages, *I sent her to the river to bring water back* might be rendered *I sent her to the river. She **IMPF/IRR** comes with water.*

d) In some languages, a connective is only used for reason-RESULT (support-THESIS) relations when the RESULT is a **conclusion**. No connective is used when the RESULT is not a conclusion. In the following example from Koorete (Omotic, Ethiopia—OV), the supportive material leads to some hortatory THESES. However, because the THESES are not the conclusion of the unit, they do not begin with the connective `ha e gisha` *therefore, because of this*:

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3. The following three factors have been observed to influence the order of propositions:
- a desire to preserve chronological or logical sequence
- when the focus falls on the support proposition
- to give extra prominence to a focal constituent.

[58] For charts of the communication relations used in Semantic Structure Analyses (SSAs), see Banker 1996:11-12.

[59] Material arranged in this way is said to be organised **sequentially** (see sec. 4.1).

support	*Also, when you look at it, very many are about to be destroyed.*
hort. THESES	*Ø I, my brother, am really asking you. I am asking you, 'Get up from this place, from this land! After you get up from here, build in a fitting place!*

3.5.2 Factors that may determine when a logical relation is marked or left implicit

Sections 3.2.1 and 3.4.2 discussed three factors that sometimes determine when a countering relation is marked or left implicit. The same factors may influence the marking of other relations. The factors discussed were as follows:

- The **default** way of expressing the relation may be to leave it implicit, so that the relation is conveyed only by the content of the propositions concerned. The relation is then marked only when it would otherwise be **unclear** or to **draw attention** to it.[60]
- In some languages, certain relations are only made explicit when the following proposition is at least as **important** as the preceding one.
- The relation may be marked only when the **order** of propositions is not the default or preferred one (see below for examples from French).

A related factor that may determine when a relation is marked or left implicit relates to whether the style of the paragraph or larger unit is **deductive** or **inductive** (sec. 2.4).

- In some languages, certain relations between the THESIS and supportive material are normally left implicit when the style is **deductive**. The following examples reflect the "français courant" translation into French (SVO):

  Deductive style (default propositional order): Luke 7:7*f*

THESIS		*Just give the order, and my servant will get well.*
support	*Ø*	*I, too, am a man placed under the authority of superior officers...*

  Inductive style (marked propositional order): Matt. 9:37*f*

support		*The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few;*
THESIS	*therefore*	*ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers into his harvest.*

- In other languages, certain relations between the THESIS and supportive material are normally left implicit when the style is **inductive**. The following example from Chadian Arabic uses inductive style, so the conjunction meaning *so, therefore* is not used:

support	&	*how will your daughter learn all that? Only with your help, mother.*
THESIS	Ø	*Get this into your head, mother: "If I don't set my daughter an example, she will not turn out as I want".*

3.5.3 Logical relations in the letter to Philemon in Koiné Greek

The norm in Koiné Greek is to mark inter-sentential logical relations with a connective. The logical connectives of Greek may be divided into two types:

- **inferential** (inductive or introducing consequences): those that introduce a THESIS, CONCLUSION or RESULT which is inferred from the context.
- **strengthening** (deductive): those that support a THESIS by introducing a reason, ground or explanation.

Connectives of both types are found in the letter to Philemon. I briefly discuss them in turn.

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[60] In *Screwtape Letters* (London: HarperCollins*Publishers*), C. S. Lewis seldom uses conjunctions to mark logical relations. Often, when he uses 'For' or 'Hence', the following material relates to **two or more** THESES.

Inferential connectives

διό[61] *therefore, it is for that reason that* (8). This connective typically introduces an expository or hortatory THESIS that is inferred from what has already been said. In this instance, Paul indicates that he is about to make an exhortation (παρακαλῶ *I appeal*), but does not actually give it till 17![62]

οὖν *then* (17). This connective usually marks the **resumption** and further development of the **same theme** line (sec. 3.6). As noted in the last paragraph, 8-9 introduce the exhortation that Paul is about to make. Verse 17 returns to this hortatory theme after the supportive material of the intervening verses.

Strengthening connectives

γάρ *for, after all* is the **default** strengthening connective, which does NOT indicate a specific logical relation. It is used in 7, 15 and 22b.

ὅτι *because, that* is generally NOT used inter-sententially (but see 2 John 7). However, I include it here for completeness. It is an **interpretive use** marker, showing that what follows relates back to something that has already been said or implied (Levinsohn 2003a, Levinsohn 2011 sec. 7.10). When used as a logical connective, it introduces a reason or evidence for the last assertion (THESIS). In 7b, for example, it interprets the assertion that *I received much joy and encouragement from your love* by specifying the aspect of *your love* that produced *much joy and encouragement*: *because the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through you*.

3.5.4 Logical relations in the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

The norm in Koiné Greek is to mark inter-sentential logical relations with a connective (sec. 3.5.3). Does the Kalinga text suggest that the language is similar to or differs from Greek in this respect?[63]

3.5.5 Logical relations in the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

The norm in Koiné Greek is to mark inter-sentential logical relations with a connective. Does the Bariai text suggest that the language is similar to or differs from Greek in this respect?[64]

3.5.6 Logical relations in the hortatory text in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

The norm in Koiné Greek is to mark inter-sentential logical relations with a connective. In what respects does the Dungra Bhil text suggest that the language (a) is similar to (b) differs from Greek?[65]

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[61] Derived from διὰ ὅ—often associated with sequential progression—see sec. 4.1.

[62] διό is non-developmental. This is illustrated in Acts 27:25, where it introduces a command διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἄνδρες 'be cheerful', which is a reiteration of the command on v. 22 (καὶ τὰ νῦν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν· 'and now I advise you to be courageous').

[63] **Suggested Answer**: Kalinga is **similar** to Koiné Greek in that it is the norm in the text to mark logical relations with a connective. **Kad** (glossed *then*) as a second-place connective is **inferential** (12, 14 and possibly 19). **Te** (glossed *for, after all*) is the **default** way of introducing **strengthening** material (3, 9, 21; compare Greek γάρ). (Some languages related to Kalinga have a more specific strengthening connective [e.g. pomon to *from, because, due to the fact that*–Obo Manobo] to introduce a reason which is a known fact and which directly leads to the RESULT.)

[64] **Suggested Answer**: Bariai **differs** from Koiné Greek in that no inter-sentential connective is used in the text to signal a logical relation. In particular, NO inferential connective introduces the concluding hortatory THESIS of the text. (Ngansa (glossed *because*) is a strengthening connective that supports a THESIS by introducing a **reason**. However, it is only found within sentences: 2c, 4c, 6b.)

[65] **Suggested Answer**:
(a) Dungra Bhil is similar to Koiné Greek in that it marks inter-sentential **inferential** relations with a connective (tahã, glossed *then*—24. However, in Kangri (a related Indo-Aryan language), an inferential connective was only used when the consequence was to be given prominence (Bob Eaton p.c.).

Application to the language you are analysing

1. Look for instances of logical relations in your texts, including ones in which the relation is left implicit. Identify how they are encoded. Describe when each is used.

2. In paragraphs with **deductive** style, how is supportive material introduced: with a connective or by juxtaposition? If there is a choice, what factors are involved?

3. Do the same for paragraphs in your texts with **inductive** style.

3.6 Resuming an argument line

When a theme line THESIS is followed by supportive material or an aside, languages have devices for indicating when the theme line is being resumed. One such device is the use of a development marker or similar connective (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 6.6). In expository and hortatory material, the connective used is likely to be an inferential, logical one, such as *then* in English when placed in a non-initial position (e.g. *I desire, **then**, that...*—see 1 Tim. 2:8 below).

In **Greek**, the inferential connective οὖν is frequently used as a resumptive, following supportive material or an aside. So, if a Greek sentence is introduced with οὖν, you should check whether the immediately preceding material has been introduced with a strengthening connective such as γάρ *for* or ὅτι *because*. If it has, then οὖν is almost certainly being used to mark the resumption of the theme line (see Levinsohn 2000:128*f*).[66]

This is illustrated in 1 Tim. 2:1-8. 1-2 present a hortatory THESIS, which is followed, in 3-7, by supportive information. When the hortatory THESES are resumed in 8, οὖν is used:

> THESIS   [1]*First of all, **then** (**οὖν**), I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for everyone, [2]for kings and all who are in high positions, so that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and dignity.*
>
> support   [3]*This is right and is acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, [4]who desires everyone to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. [5]For (γάρ) there is one God; there is also one mediator between God and humankind, Christ Jesus, himself human, [6]who gave himself a ransom for all—this was attested at the right time. [7]For this I was appointed a herald and an apostle (I am telling the truth, I am not lying), a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth.*
>
> THESIS   [8]*I desire, **then** (**οὖν**), that in every place the men should pray...*

See sec. 3.5.3 on οὖν in Philemon 17.

Application to the Kalinga text

Where is the inferential connective kad used to mark the resumption of the hortatory theme line?[67]

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for instances in your texts where the theme line is being **resumed** after the presentation of supportive material. Identify the mechanism(s) that are used to indicate the resumption of the theme line.

(b) Dunga Bhil differs from Koiné Greek in that a **strengthening** connective such as kihíke *because* is NEVER used inter-sententially in the text to introduce motivational information that supports a THESIS. (In RESULT-reason pairs, the particle to follows the subject when the reason is based on the opposite of the RESULT—see sent. 2.)

Kangri is similar. When the REASON is more prominent than the result, then the REASON precedes the result (see sec. 3.4.2 (2)), and an emphatic connective translated *having done **this*** introduces the result.

[66] In 1 Tim. 3:2a, *oun* is NOT resumptive; see Levinsohn 2000:126*f*. For further discussion of *oun* as a resumptive, see pp. 127-31.

[67] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga: The inferential connective kad is used to mark the resumption of the hortatory theme line at 20, following the supportive material of 19.

4. Inter-Sentential Progression within a Paragraph; Variations in Constituent Order

This chapter begins with some observations by Connor (1996) concerning the different ways that paragraphs are organised (sec. 4.1). It then gives an overview of factors that underlie variations in constituent order (sec. 4.2), before discussing two of these factors: the role of topicalised constituents (here referred to as "points of departure"—sec. 4.3) in non-narrative texts and conformity to Comrie's (1989:127*f*) "Principle of Natural Information Flow" (sec. 4.4)

4.1 Inter-sentential and inter-clausal progression within a paragraph

Connor (1996:84-85—following Lautamatti 1987) distinguishes three types of inter-sentential progression, with the following characteristics:[68]

- **Parallel** progression: topics (or points of departure) of successive sentences are the **same**.
- **Sequential** progression: topics of successive sentences are different, as a constituent of the comment of one sentence becomes **topical** in the next. "Topical" means that this constituent becomes either the new topic or (part of) the point of departure for the next sentence.
- *Inclusio*: a passage is **bracketed** by a statement made at its beginning, an approximation of which is repeated at its conclusion (see Guthrie 1998:14).

I exemplify these three types of inter-sentential and inter-clausal progression in turn.

Examples of parallel progression[69]

(**1**) English (rededication service of a church)
> *You have blessed this church.*
> *Here the Gospel of Jesus Christ is proclaimed...*
> *Here the sacraments are celebrated...*
> *Here the seeker finds faith...*

(**2**) Greek (Philemon 10-13)

(10a	*I am appealing to you for my child*)							
10b	ὃν	ἐγέννησα	ἐν	τοῖς	δεσμοῖς,	Ὀνήσιμον,		
	whom	I.gave.birth	in	the	bonds	Onesimus		
11	τόν	ποτέ	σοι	ἄχρηστον	νυνὶ	δὲ [καὶ]	σοὶ	καὶ ἐμοὶ	εὔχρηστον,
	the.one	once	to.you	useless	now	DM ADD	to.you	and to.me	useful
12a	ὃν	ἀνέπεμψά	σοι,					
	whom	I.sent.back	to.you					
12b	αὐτόν,	τοῦτ'	ἔστιν	τὰ	ἐμὰ	σπλάγχνα•		
	him	this	is	the	my	inward.parts		
13ab	ὃν	ἐγὼ	ἐβουλόμην	/	πρὸς	ἐμαυτὸν	κατέχειν,	
	whom	I	I.was.desiring		with	myself	to.keep	

> *to whom I became a father during my imprisonment, Onesimus;*
> *the one formerly useless to you, but now indeed useful both to you and to me;*
> *whom I am sending back to you—*
> *him, that is, my own heart;*
> *whom I was wanting to keep with me…*

---

[68] I have modified Connor's definitions (for *inclusio*, she uses the term "extended parallel progression").

[69] Throughout this chapter, underlining indicates that the constituent precedes the verb (where present) and is a point of departure (sec. 4.3) or pre-verbal subject (see sec. 4.3.2). Relative pronouns have also been underlined where they establish the topic of the next clause (e.g. in (2) and (4)).

Examples of sequential progression

(3) Greek (Romans 8:29-30)

29 *For <u>those whom he foreknew</u> he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son...*

30a οὓς   δὲ   προώρισεν,   τούτους   καὶ   ἐκάλεσεν•
     whom   DM   he.predestined   these   also   he.called
     And those whom he predestined he also called;

30b καὶ <u>οὓς</u>   ἐκάλεσεν,   τούτους   καὶ   ἐδικαίωσεν•
     and whom   he.called   these   also   he.justified
     and those whom he called he also justified

30c <u>οὓς</u>   δὲ   ἐδικαίωσεν,   τούτους   καὶ   ἐδόξασεν.
     whom   DM   he.justified   these   also   he.glorified
     and those whom he justified he also glorified.

(4) Greek (1 Peter 3:18-22)

18 *For <u>Christ</u> died for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, to bring you to God, being put to death in the body but made alive by the Spirit,*

19 *<u>through whom</u> (ἐν ᾧ) also he went and preached to the spirits in prison (20a) who disobeyed long ago in the days of Noah while the ark was being built;*

20b *<u>in which</u> (εἰς ἣν) only a few people, eight in all, were saved through water;*

21 *<u>which</u> (ὃ) symbolises baptism that now saves you also—not the removal of dirt from the body but the pledge of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ,*

22 *<u>who</u> (ὅς) has gone into heaven and is at God's right hand...*

Examples of *inclusio*

(5) English (Connor p. 85): the topics of 1 and 4 are the same.

1 *Body language varies from culture to culture.*

2 *<u>To say yes</u>, Americans nod their heads up and down.*

3 *Japanese and Italians use the same nod to say no.*

4 *Body language is an important skill for international managers.*

(6) Greek (Matt. 7:16-20): the THESIS statement of 16a is reiterated in 20.

16a *By their fruit you will recognise them.*

16b *Do people pick grapes from thorn-bushes, or figs from thistles?*

17 *Likewise <u>every good tree</u> bears good fruit, but <u>a bad tree</u> bears bad fruit.*

18 *A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, and a bad tree cannot bear good fruit.*

19 *<u>Every tree that does not bear good fruit</u> is cut down and thrown into the fire.*

20 *Thus by their fruit you will certainly recognise them.*

A language may be expected to use all three types of inter-sentential progression. It is likely, though, that it will favour a particular type (e.g. sequential progression in Greek, parallel progression in Hebrew).[70] NOTE, however, that many paragraphs may show little or no evidence of any of the types of inter-sentential progression described in this section. In other words, the inter-sentential progression within many paragraphs may be very informal.

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[70] Connor (1996:34-35, reporting 1972 research by Kaplan) claims that "Arabic develops paragraphs through a series of parallel constructions, both positive and negative… Hebrew… like Arabic, is a Semitic language whose coordinating structure favors rhetorical parallelism". In Exodus 20:2-17, for instance, parallel structures such as *You shall not…* are used to present the Ten Commandments.

Review Questions

1. What are the three types of inter-sentential progression? How do they differ from each other?

2. Which type of inter-clausal progression is found in Philemon 5-6? Explain!

    5   *because I hear of your love for all the saints and your faith toward the Lord Jesus.*

    6   ὅπως ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεώς σου ἐνεργὴς   γένηται

       so.that the sharing   of.the faith   your   effective   may.become

       ἐν ἐπιγνώσει   παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰς Χριστόν.

       in acknowledgment of.every good.thing of.the in us   for Christ

       (*I pray) that the sharing of your faith may become effective when you perceive all the good that we may do for Christ.*[71]

Application to the hortatory text in Kalinga (VS/VO)

Which type of inter-sentential progression is associated with the use of `sadi` *that* in 4 and 9? (See also 5c.)[72]

Application to the hortatory text in Bariai (SVO)

Which type of inter-sentential progression is found in 13-14? (See also 1-4.)[73]

Application to the hortatory text in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

1. Which type of inter-sentential progression is found in 1-2?
2. Which type of inter-sentential progression is found in 10-12? (See also 27-29.)
3. What type of inter-sentential progression does the text as a whole have?[74]

Application to the language you are analysing

Which type of inter-sentential progression does the language favour? How common are the other types? (REMINDER: Many paragraphs show little or no evidence of any of the types of inter-sentential progression described in this section.)

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[71] **Suggested answers**:

1. The three types of inter-sentential progression are parallel, sequential and *inclusio*.
   - In parallel progression, the topics of successive sentences are the same.
   - In sequential progression, the topics of successive sentences are different, as a constituent of the comment of one sentence becomes either the new topic or (part of) the point of departure for the next sentence.
   - In an *inclusio*, a passage is bracketed by a statement made at its beginning, an approximation of which is repeated at its conclusion.
2. **Sequential** progression is found in Philemon 5-6. The topic in 4-5 is *I*, and *your faith* is a constituent of the comment in 5. In 6, *the sharing of your faith* becomes the topic.

[72] **Suggested answer** for the Kalinga text: The use of `sadi` *that* in 4, 5c and 9 is associated with **sequential** progression. The referent of `sadi` is the action described in the previous clause or sentence. This action becomes the topic in the next clause or sentence. (Compare Philemon 18, in which τοῦτο *this* is used in the same way.)

[73] **Suggested answer** for the Bariai text. **Parallel** progression is found in 13-14. Both sentences have `Oatai ngan earum-nga le-m` … `eta mao` *You won't experience the planting of any…* (11 is similar).

[74] **Suggested answers** for the Dungra Bhil text.

1. **Sequential** progression is found in 1-2. *Liquor* is introduced in the comment of 1, and becomes the topic of 2.

2. **Parallel** progression is found in 10-12. Each sentence begins with `horu pi-t pohõʔõ` *after drinking liquor*.

3. The text as a whole forms an ***inclusio***: it is bracketed by a statement made at its beginning (*You should not be drinking liquor*—1), an approximation of which is repeated near the end of the text (37a). (See sec. 8.5 for other *inclusios* in this text.)

4.2 Variations in constituent order: An overview

When there is **parallel** progression between sentences, they begin in the same way, and the repeated constituent may not be the subject. In passage (1) (repeated below), for instance, each sentence begins with *here*:

> **(1)** English (rededication service of a church)
> *You have blessed this church.*
> <u>*Here*</u> *the Gospel of Jesus Christ is proclaimed...*
> <u>*Here*</u> *the sacraments are celebrated...*
> <u>*Here*</u> *the seeker finds faith...*

Although *here* begins the above sentences in parallel progression, it is more commonly found following the verb (e.g. *We were sitting **here** this morning when…)*

When there is **sequential** progression between sentences, the constituent from the previous comment that becomes topical begins the sentence. This constituent is usually the subject, but does not have to be.[75] In passage (3) (repeated below), for instance, each of the actions introduced in the previous sentence that becomes topical in the next is the object of its verb (see also τοῦτο *this* in Philemon 18b):

> **(3)** Greek (Romans 8:29-30)
>
> 29 *For <u>those whom he foreknew</u> he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son...*
>
> 30a <u>οὓς</u>   δὲ   <u>προώρισεν,</u>   <u>τούτους</u>   καὶ   <u>ἐκάλεσεν•</u>
>   whom   DM   he.predestined   these   also   he.called
>   *And those whom he predestined he also called;*
>
> 30b καὶ   <u>οὓς</u>   <u>ἐκάλεσεν,</u>   <u>τούτους</u>   καὶ   <u>ἐδικαίωσεν•</u>
>   and whom he.called   these   also   he.justified
>   *and those whom he called he also justified*
>
> 30c <u>οὓς</u>   δὲ   <u>ἐδικαίωσεν,</u>   <u>τούτους</u>   καὶ   <u>ἐδόξασεν.</u>
>   whom   DM   he.justified   these   also   he.glorified
>   *and those whom he justified he also glorified.*

Although the object begins each of the above sentences, objects frequently follow the verb in Koiné Greek (e.g. Παράγγελλε ταῦτα *Command these things*—1 Tim. 4:11a).

The above passages remind us that, in natural texts in all languages, constituents sometimes occur in one position in the sentence and sometimes in another. Many of these variations in constituent order can be explained with reference to three factors that were discussed in chapters 3 and 4 of Levinsohn 2011:

- the provision of an explicit starting point or "point of departure" for the communication;
- the "Principle of Natural Information Flow" (Comrie 1989:127*f*);
- prominence ("emphasis", in layman's terms).

The remainder of this chapter concerns points of departure and variations in constituent order that conform to the Principle of Natural Information Flow. The next chapter discusses devices (including the violation of the Principle of Natural Information Flow) that give prominence to constituents.

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[75] In N.W. Austronesian languages such as Kalinga, the topical constituent does have to be the subject.

4.3 Points of departure in non-narrative

In the passages cited in the above sections, certain constituents that began a clause or sentence were underlined to show that they function as "points of departure". This term designates a constituent that is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence with a dual function (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1):[76]

1. It provides a starting point for the communication; and
2. It cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something that is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer's mental representation).

For instance, the placement of νυνὶ *now* at the beginning of Philemon 11b (below) provides a starting point for the assertion *indeed useful both to you and to me*. In addition, it cohesively anchors 11b to the context by signalling a switch from ποτέ *once* in 11a.

> 11a τόν   ποτέ   σοι   ἄχρηστον
>   the.one   once   to.you   useless
>
> 11b <u>νυνὶ</u>   δὲ [καὶ]   σοὶ   καὶ ἐμοὶ   εὔχρηστον,
>   now   DM ADD   to.you   and to.me useful
>   *the one formerly useless to you, but now indeed useful both to you and to me;*

The examples of section 4.2 show that points of departure play a significant role in marking inter-sentential progression. When there is **parallel** progression between sentences, the second sentence is often anchored to the context by a point of departure involving **renewal**. In passage (1), for instance, sentence-initial *here* is a point of departure that renews the situation applicable to the previous sentence.

With **sequential** progression between sentences, the second sentence is also anchored to the context by a point of departure involving **renewal**, in the sense that a constituent of the comment of the first sentence becomes topical in the second. For example, Romans 8:30b is anchored to 30a by the repetition of ἐκάλεσεν *he called*.

At the same time, when sequential progression extends over a series of sentences, each point of departure also signals a **switch** from the previous point of departure. Again in Romans 8:30b, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν *whom he called* both renews ἐκάλεσεν *he called* from 30a and signals a switch from οὓς προώρισεν *whom he predestined* in 30a.

In fact, all points of departure anchor what follows to the context either by renewal or by a switch from a corresponding constituent of the context (implying a discontinuity in that dimension). Both types are found in the four languages we have been examining.

4.3.1 Points of departure in Koiné Greek[77]

Points of departure in Greek anchor what follows to the context either by switch or by renewal. Such anchoring may be situational or referential (a cover term for references to participants and themes—see the final paragraph of Levinsohn 2011 sec. 2.4). Note that discussion of pre-verbal subjects in Greek is delayed until the next section, because of the special problems they pose.

Switches of situation.

Switches of situation include switches of time (e.g. from ποτέ *once* in Philemon 11a to νυνὶ *now* in 11b—illustrated above), place, condition, reason, purpose and comparison (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1 for examples and discussion). Most switches of situation in non-narrative texts, though, are signalled with conditional points of departure.

Thus, Philemon 18 begins with a conditional clause (εἴ τι ἠδίκησέν σε ἢ ὀφείλει *if he has wronged you in any way or owes you anything*) that signals a switch of situation from that of 17 (Εἰ με ἔχεις κοινωνόν *if you consider me your partner*).

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[76] Connectives (chap. 3) are generally NOT points of departure.

[77] For a detailed discussion of points of departure in Greek non-narrative texts, see Levinsohn 2000:22-26.

Switches of reference.

1 Thessalonians 4:9a provides an example in which a point of departure signals a switch of theme. The sentence begins with the prepositional phrase Περὶ τῆς φιλαδελφίας *Concerning [the] brotherly love*. This point of departure signals a **switch of theme** from sexual matters (3-8) to brotherly love (9-12).

Renewal of situation.

We have already illustrated the use of points of departure involving renewal in connection with parallel and sequential progression. Philemon 22 provides an additional example; it begins with the temporal point of departure ἅμα *at the same time, together*, which signals "the coincidence of two actions in time" or "in place" (Arndt & Gingrich 1957:41).

In narrative, "[o]ne reason for using a situational point of departure involving renewal is to introduce **different episodes** that occur in the same general setting" (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.2.2).[78] Situational points of departure involving renewal function in a similar way in non-narrative texts, in that they may introduce different THESES applicable to the same general setting. Such is the case in Philemon 22; the request to *prepare a guest room for me* is quite different from the exhortations to *welcome him [Onesimus] as you would welcome me* (17).[79]

Renewal of reference.

A possible example is found in Philemon 9b-c, which begins with τοιοῦτος *such a one*. After indicating that he is appealing to Philemon on the basis of love (9a), Paul presents some credential information (sec. 2.5). Since Paul was already the subject in 8-9a, I take τοιοῦτος to be a pre-verbal subject or "referential point of departure" (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.2.1).[80] Such points of departure commonly "introduce background information" (loc. cit.).

Potential points of departure that do not in fact begin a clause or sentence.

If a potential point of departure would NOT indicate the primary basis for relating the clause or sentence to the context, then it is NOT placed initial. If this is an unfamiliar concept to you, then please read section 3.3 of Levinsohn 2011.

Potential points of departure include **conditional** clauses that do not begin a sentence. 2 Corinthians 13:5 (below) provides an example. The conditional clause εἰ ἐστὲ ἐν τῇ πίστει *if you are in the faith* follows the main clause because it does not provide a starting point for the communication. Instead, it is part of the communication itself (it is focal—sec. 5.1):

5a Ἑαυτοὺς   πειράζετε   **εἰ   ἐστὲ   ἐν τῇ πίστει**,
    selves   test   if   you.are in the faith
    Examine yourselves (to see) whether you are in the faith.

Other potential points of departure are **temporal** expressions that do not begin a clause or sentence. Acts 1:5b provides an example. The temporal expression **οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας** *not many days from now* follows the main clause because it is not the primary basis for relating 5b to 5a. Rather, 5b relates to 5a on the basis of a switch of attention from *John* to *you* (see sec. 4.3.2):

4   *... he ordered them not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait there for the promise of the Father...*

5a ὅτι   Ἰωάννης μὲν   ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι,
    because John   on.one.hand   baptized   with.water
    for John, on the one hand, baptised with water;

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[78] Points of departure by renewal are also used to slow down the discourse in order to highlight what follows; see sec. 7.7.

[79] Section 5.2.1 discusses the preposed constituent διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν *through your prayers* in 22c.

[80] See Banker 1999 for discussion of other interpretations of the function of τοιοῦτος in this verse.

5b <u>ὑμεῖς</u> δὲ ἐν πνεύματι βαπτισθήσεσθε ἁγίῳ **οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας.**
    you   DM in Spirit   will.be.baptized Holy not after many these days.
    You, on the other hand, will be baptised with the Holy Spirit not many days from now.

I close this section with a reminder that constituents may be preposed in Greek for **other** reasons than to establish points of departure (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.2). We will discuss this further in sec. 5.2.

4.3.2 Pre-verbal subjects in Koiné Greek

In Levinsohn 2000:22*ff* I treat pre-verbal subjects in non-narrative material in Greek as referential points of departure, since they anchor what follows to the context by switch or by renewal. Other linguists find difficulties with this analysis, since most overt subjects in non-narratives precede the verb (Terry 1995:147, Porter 1992:295). Indeed, only one overt subject in the letter to Philemon follows the verb (23-24) and this can be explained by reference to the Principle of Natural Information Flow (see sec. 4.4).

Simon **Dik**'s approach to constituent order can explain why subjects often follow the verb in Greek narrative but more often precede it in non-narrative material. He proposed a template that is particularly applicable to Koiné Greek, Ancient Hebrew and any other language like Kalinga that allows the subject and object to follow the verb fairly often. Dik's template is (1989:363):

P1 P2 V X, where
position P1 can be occupied by one or more TOPIC constituents, and
position P2 can be occupied by a FOCUS constituent.[81]

Dik's template does NOT imply that the language to which it is applied has VS/VO as its default order. The template allows, for example, that it be the **norm** for P1 to be occupied by a topical subject (as is the case in Bantu languages). Rather, we find that some constituents in 'X' nearly always precede V and occupy the P1 position (e.g. temporal and conditional expressions in all languages, subjects in much Koiné Greek non-narrative material). Other constituents occupy the P1 position only occasionally (e.g. expressions of reason and purpose). When they do so, though, it is for the same basic reason.[82]

I noted above that overt subjects in the letter to Philemon nearly always precede the verb. In 13a, for instance, the pronoun ἐγὼ *I* precedes the verb (see also 19a [cited below], where the pre-verbal subject is ἐγὼ Παῦλος *I Paul*):

13ab ὃν **ἐγὼ** ἐβουλόμην /   πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κατέχειν
     whom I   I.was.desiring   with   myself   to.keep
     whom I was wanting to keep with me

However, subject pronouns may also follow the verb, as in Colossians 1:23f:

23f οὗ   ἐγενόμην **ἐγὼ** Παῦλος διάκονος.
    of.which I.became I   Paul   minister.
    of which I, Paul, became a minister.

Most **pre-verbal subjects** in Greek non-narrative signal a switch of attention to the new subject-topic. Many of these switches of attention are **from the current centre of attention**. Because hortatory texts deal "with how people... should behave" (Longacre 1996:9), the default centre of attention in a letter is its recipient(s). Consequently, many Greek subjects are pre-verbal in hortatory material to signal a switch of attention from *you* to another referent.

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[81] Dik's template has **P0** instead of **P2**. The concept of focus is discussed in Levinsohn 2011 chap. 4 and in sec. 5.1 of this course.

[82] Levinsohn 2000:23 discusses of **why** subjects more frequently precede the verb in non-narrative material than in narrative.

In Philemon 6a, for example, attention switches from *you* to ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεώς σου *the sharing of your faith*. In 19a, the switch is from *you* to ἐγὼ Παῦλος *I Paul*. In 7b, whose subject is τὰ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἁγίων *the hearts of the saints*, the switch is probably from *you*, too, even though the immediately preceding subject is *I*.[83]

In 10-13 (passage (2) of sec. 4.1), the repeated relative pronouns establish Onesimus as the centre of attention. This probably explains why Paul places ἐγὼ *I* before the verb in 13a (above); it is to mark the switch of attention to himself.

Even when an overt subject precedes the verb when there is **no** change of subject, it may be present to maintain attention on other than the default centre of attention. This is seen in 19b (below). Philemon is the default centre of attention in this passage (see 18), but there is a switch of attention to Paul in 19a, which continues into 19b.[84]

18   *And if he has wronged you in any way or owes you anything, this charge to my account.*

19a	**ἐγὼ**	Παῦλος	ἔγραψα	τῇ	ἐμῇ	χειρί,
	I	Paul	wrote	with.the	my	hand

19b	**ἐγὼ**	ἀποτίσω•
	I	I.will.repay

I, Paul, am writing this with my own hand: I will repay it.

Now for **subjects that follow the verb**. When a subject follows the verb in a **topic-comment** sentence in Greek, attention does **not** switch to that subject. This happens for a couple of related reasons:[85]

- because the centre of attention is **other** than the new subject
- because there is **topic continuity.**

The centre of attention is other than the new subject. This is illustrated below in 1 Thess. 4:7. Although there is a change of subject in 7 to *God* (ὁ θεὸς), attention remains on *us*, including the recipients of the letter (in 8, they are warned of the dangers of rejecting the instruction that culminates in 6).

6   *and that in this matter no one should wrong his brother or take advantage of him, since the Lord will punish men for all such sins, as we have already told you and warned you.*

7	οὐ	γὰρ	ἐκάλεσεν	ἡμᾶς	ὁ θεὸς	ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ	ἀλλ'	ἐν	ἁγιασμῷ.
	not	for	called	us	the God	to impurity	but	in	sanctification

For God did not call us to be impure, but to live a holy life.

8   *Therefore, he who rejects this instruction does not reject man but God, who gives you his Holy Spirit.*[86]

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[83] The subject also precedes the verb in 14b (see sec. 5.2.1 footnote 5).

[84] When the subject remains the same and precedes the verb, then the proposition makes a **distinct assertion** about the same referent; see sec. 4.3.1 and Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.2.

A further example with ἐγὼ *I* (20a) can be analysed as involving a switch of subject with respect to the immediately preceding clause (19d) or the same subject with respect to the last **comparable** clause (19b).

When a topical subject is seemingly 'redundant', it may highlight the comment about it (sec. 8.8).

[85] The subject may also follow the verb in Greek when it is **not** the topic about which a comment is made (see also sec. 4.4). Such is the case in 1 Cor. 1:27-28 (e.g. ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός *But it is what is foolish in the world that God chose…*). 26 states that, among those called by God, there are not many wise, powerful or well-born people. 27-28 then contrast such people with those that God has called: the foolish, weak and low-born. These sentences have identificational articulation (sec. 2.1), with *God has chosen 'X'* as their presupposition and who 'X' is as their focus.

[86] Colossians 1:23f (cited above) is similar. The preposing of the object pronoun ὑμᾶς *you* in 21 established the recipients of the letter as the centre of attention. Failure to prepose the reference to Paul in 23f ensures that they remain the centre of attention.

Levinsohn 2000:23-25 discusses post-verbal subjects in James 1:9 & 11 and Titus 1:12a & 15c.

Topic continuity. This is illustrated below in 1 Thess. 4:3b-4, where *you*, the recipients of the letter, are already the centre of attention. Consequently, the pronominal references to *you* as the subject of 3b and 4 follow the verb:

3a *For this is God's will for you—your sanctification:*

3b ἀπέχεσθαι   ὑμᾶς   ἀπὸ   τῆς   πορνείας,
    to abstain   you   from   the   fornication

4 εἰδέναι ἕκαστον   ὑμῶν   τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος   κτᾶσθαι   ἐν ἁγιασμῷ   καὶ τιμῇ,
    to.know each one   of you   the own   vessel   to control   in sanctification   and honour
    that you should avoid sexual immorality; that each of you should learn to control his own
    body in a way that is holy and honorable…[87]

The placement of a subject after the verb in Koiné Greek in order to maintain continuity of topic is part of a more general pattern that relates to any point of departure. One function of points of departure is to indicate discontinuities of situation, referent or topic. Conversely, the absence of any point of departure often implies continuity of topic, etc. (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.3).[88]
I return to this point at the end of the chapter.

4.3.3 Points of departure in the Kalinga (VS/VO) text

This text uses points of departure to signal switches of theme and of situation. In fact, an exhortation can be preceded by **two** points of departure: one signalling a switch of theme and the other signalling a switch of situation.[89] Sentence 8 (below) illustrates this. The nominalised clause `Sa mi-baga bos` *What I'm also saying* signals a change of theme, while the conditional clause `nu inggaw-kayu si adayu` *if you stay far (away)* provides the situation for the following exhortation:

8 <u>Sa   mi-baga bos,</u>   <u>nu inggaw-kayu   si   adayu,</u>
    what PASS-tell also   if stay-2p.ABS   LOC   far

                      adi-kayu ang-gakagakay   kan   pat   si   barkada.
                      NEG-2p.ABS AG.IMPF-DUR.roam   and   fond.of OBL   peers
    What I'm also saying is,   *if you stay far (away),   don't be fond of (going out with) your peers.*

Questions

1. What other sentences begin with a NP or nominalised clause to signal a switch of theme?

2. Which are the other sentences in which a conditional clause precedes the main clause to signal a switch of situation?[90]

3. How does the first conditional clause of 20 (`nu awad i-gangput-yu` *If/When you've finished*) anchor what follows to the context?

4. Why does the second conditional clause of 20 (`nu ang-das-kayu 'k kewaa`<u>`l`</u>`-yu` *if/provided you find work*) follow the main clause?[91]

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[87] The subject in James 1:7 is also post-verbal because of topic continuity (see Levinsohn 2000:23).

[88] "If *no* potential point of departure begins a sentence, then the pragmatic effect is often to convey *continuity* with the context" (Levinsohn 2000:14).

[89] Romans 11:30 (discussed at the end of Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1) provides a comparable example in Greek.

[90] **Suggested Answers**: for Kalinga text:

1. The other sentences that begin with a NP or nominalised clause to signal a switch of theme are 2 (`Sa um-una` *The first thing* signals a **switch** from the generic exhortation *you need to do this when you go to school in a far place* (1) to the first specific exhortation *think hard...*); 5, 6, 13, 16 and 18.

2. The other sentences in which a conditional clause precedes the main clause to signal a switch of situation are 6 and 16 (following a nominalised clause), 17 (following `Dikayu bos abeng` *Also, you children*), 21 and possibly 20 (see question 3).

I now turn to **temporal** expressions in the text. Expressions such as `sillalabi-na` *sometimes* (7e, 12) and `sinsana` *nowadays* (14) usually begin a clause or sentence to establish a starting point for what follows. However, the temporal clauses of 3c-d follow the main clause (3b), as they do not provide a starting point for the communication, but rather are part of the communication itself:

3b	ka-adu-wan'	e	maka-taktak	si	an-uswila,			
	REC-many-REC	LK	POT-delay	OBL	AG-study			
3c			adi-na	pun	kad	pion	awa	illus-na iy-enrol
			NEG-3s	NEG	when	want	EXIS	TH.start-3s TH-enroll
3d			i-kasin-na bos	ang-ala	'k	osa	'k	courso.
			TH-repeat-3s also	AG-take	OBL	one	OBL	course

there are many who are delayed in their studies when they don't like what it is they enrolled in and so take another course.

4.3.4 Points of departure in the Bariai (SVO) text

"**Subject-initial languages** typically use a **spacer** … or **left-dislocation** to separate the subject from the rest of the sentence and indicate that it is a point of departure.

"Left-dislocated points of departure are separated from the rest of the sentence by a **pause** (or a comma, in written material). Typically, a pronominal **trace** of the left-dislocated constituent occurs in its usual position in the clause." (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1)

The Bariai text uses **left-dislocation** to indicate when a subject is also a point of departure. In 1 (below), for instance, `Iaba ga mariuana` *Banana [beer] and marijuana* is left-dislocated, with the pronominal trace `ein` *this* in its usual position in the clause. In providing a starting point for the communication, this left-dislocated constituent establishes the theme for the text:

1	Iaba	ga	mariuana,	ein	danga	paeamao.
	banana.sp	&	marijuana	this	thing	bad

Banana [beer] and marijuana, this is a bad thing.

Questions

1. Which other sentences contain left-dislocated constituents? What do they signal?

2. What is the function of the conditional clause that begins 8?

3. What is the function of the conditional clauses that begin 3?

4. What is the function of the conditional clause in 4c?[92]

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[91] 3. The first conditional clause of 20 anchors what follows to the context by **renewing** the situation that is urged on the children in 18 (*the need for you to finish your studies*). This point of departure by renewal is an instance of **resumptive** tail-head linkage (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.2.3).

4. The second conditional clause of 20 follows the main clause because it does not provide a starting point for the communication. Rather, it is part of the communication, as it encodes an indirect exhortation.

[92] **Suggested Answers**:

1. The other sentences that contain left-dislocated constituents are 2, 4 and 9 (each of which renews the expository THESIS of 1, to introduce supportive material).

2. The conditional clause that begins 8 signals a switch of situation from that of 7.

3. The conditional clauses that begin 3 mostly renew the point of departure from 2b, to introduce a consequence of not obeying the implied exhortation to *listen to my voice*.

4. The conditional clause in 4c, which renews the situation described in 4b, provides a starting point for what follows (4c). We shall see in sec. 7.7.1 that such repetition highlights 4d.

4.3.5 Points of departure in the Dungra Bhil (SOV) text

As noted in sec. 4.3.4, subject-initial languages "typically use a **spacer** … or **left-dislocation** to separate the subject from the rest of the sentence and indicate that it is a point of departure" (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1). The Dungra Bhil text uses **spacers** to indicate when a subject is also a point of departure.

In 19, for instance, the connective ɡaʔʈhehe *in contrast* acts as a spacer by separating the subject pronoun tumi *you (plural)* from what follows. The effect is to signal a switch of attention from *a liquor-drinking person* (17) to *you*.

17   *Similarly, <u>in the house of a liquor-drinking person</u> there will never be any peace.*

18   *Till he dies, all these things will happen like this, but he will not get peace.*

19   peʔe   tumi   ɡaʔʈhehe   ekhũhũ   mahũʔũ   tuma-ha   ko[j]
     but   2p   in.contrast someone   person   2p.OBL-ACC say
     But <u>as for you</u>, in contrast, someone may tell you...

Questions

1. In 2, what device indicates that the subject is also a point of departure? What does the point of departure signal?

2. We noted in sec. 4.1 that parallel progression is found in 10-12. Each sentence begins with the adverbial clause of time horu pi-t pohõʔõ *after drinking liquor*. What type of point of departure is this?[93]

Dungra Bhil does NOT use subordinate clauses of **condition** to provide situational starting points for the following assertions. Instead, imperatives or independent clauses in the future are immediately followed by the assertion. For example (5 and 13 are similar):

21a   ehnoho   toʔo   tuma-ha   ko-je
      like.this that   2p.OBL-ACC say-FUT

21b   tahã   tumi   tijaa   ɡuʈhi   manu-hũ   dʒuve.
      then   2p   3ms.POS speech   accept-INF OBLIGATION
      (If) this is what that person says to you, then you should accept his counsel.

This section has not discussed a number of occasions in the Dungra Bhil text when a constituent precedes the subject. This is because there is another factor that results in constituents being placed before the subject, especially in SOV languages: the Principle of Natural Information Flow. We now turn to consideration of this principle.

Application to translation

Most languages handle most points of departure in a very similar way (the one major exception being subjects that are also points of departure—see further below). This means that a first option in translation is to **render a point of departure as a point of departure**.

Points of departure that do not relate to inter-sentential progression typically signal a discontinuity in the relevant dimension (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.1). A common error in translation is to **introduce a discontinuity** into the text by means of a point of departure when there was no discontinuity in the source language.

In one OV language, for example, a draft of 1 Thess. 4:15a (*For this we say to you by a word of the Lord*) began the clause with "According to Lord's own word". The effect was to introduce a discontinuity with the previous verse. A translation that avoids this pitfall and conforms to the

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[93] **Suggested Answers**:
1. In 2, the particle to indicates that the subject is also a point of departure. This point of departure signals a switch from the exhortation not to be drinking liquor to the theme of liquor itself.
2. When there is parallel progression between sentences, the second sentence is often anchored to the context by a point of departure involving **renewal** (sec. 4.3). Such is the case in 10-12.

Principle of Natural Information Flow is, "We / to you / according to Lord's own word / this / tell".

Another common error in translations is to **change the primary basis** for relating what follows to the context by starting with the wrong point of departure. For example, NIV changes the basis for relating Acts 1:5b to 5a (discussed in sec. 4.3.1) by translating 5b, "but <u>in a few days</u> you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit".

Finally, I offer a few comments on what to do with **pre-verbal subjects** in Koiné Greek or Ancient Hebrew when translating into SV languages (those in which the subject almost always precedes the verb). Consider 1 Corinthians 1:12c, where Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου is literally, "I on.the.one.hand I.am of.Paul".

- In **pro-drop** languages (whether SVO or SOV), the equivalent of a pre-verbal subject in the source language is likely to be an independent pronoun (e.g. Spanish *Yo soy de Pablo* "I I.am of Paul").
- In many **SOV** languages, the equivalent of a pre-verbal subject in the source-language is often the combination of a subject and some sort of topic marker (e.g. I-**TOP** Paul.of I.am). Such is the case in Inga (Quechuan, Colombia), even though it is a pro-drop language.
- In **SVO** languages that are **not pro-drop**, the situation is more complex. The choice facing the translator is often between ignoring the fact that the subject is pre-verbal in the source language and employing some type of topicalisation.

Thus, English translations of 1 Corinthians 1:12c include "I belong to Paul" (NRSV) and "**As for me**, I belong to Paul" (Miller & Martens 1998). How about "I, **for my part**, belong to Paul"? Translations into French, in contrast, typically begin such a sentence with *Moi je* ("Me I"). In other languages again, "I here" expresses the same idea.

4.4 Constituent order changes and the Principle of Natural Information Flow

The "Principle of Natural Information Flow" (Comrie 1989:127*f*) was introduced in sec. 4.2.1 of Levinsohn 2011. When this principle is adhered to, then, to the extent that the syntax of the language permits, the established information in the utterance will precede the non-established information. A number of changes from the default order of constituents conform to this principle.

When the Principle of Natural Information Flow is adhered to in a SOV language like Dungra Bhil, **non-verbal** constituents that convey established information are presented before those that convey non-established information. Clause 9a (below) is an example. The object `tija-ha` *to him*, which conveys established information, is presented before `koḍa` *no-one* and `pojsa` *money*, which convey non-established information. As for the relative order of these last two constituents, the subject `koḍa` precedes the object `pojsa`: because the default order is SOV:

9a	ESTABLISHED	NON-ESTABLISHED		
ono	tija-ha	koḍa	pojsa naj	ap-e
&	3ms.OBL-ACC	no-one	money NEG	give-FUT

And no one will give him money

Thetic sentences present or introduce a new entity or event (sec. 2.1). Such sentences often conform to the Principle of Natural Information Flow, with the reference to the new entity or event after any reference to the location.

In sentence 17 of the Dungra Bhil text, for instance, *in the house of a liquor-drinking person*, which conveys established information, occurs before *never any peace*, which presents non-established information:

17	ESTABLISHED- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ->			NON-ESTABLISHED			
	ihĩkojite	horu	pi-nara-a	koʔ-me	kedihi	sãti	naj	uve.
	likewise	liquor	drink-AG-POS	house-in	never	peace	NEG	become

Similarly,   in the house of a liquor-drinking person   there will never be any peace.

James 2:2 provides a Greek example of the same ordering. (If the subject had been the topic of the proposition, it would have preceded the adjunct *into your assembly*):

2		ESTABLISHED		NON-ESTABLISHED- ->				
	ἐὰν γὰρ εἰσέλθῃ	εἰς συναγωγὴν	ὑμῶν	**ἀνὴρ**	**χρυσοδακτύλιος**	**ἐν**	**ἐσθῆτι**	**λαμπρᾷ,**
	if for enters	into assembly	your	man	finger gold ringed	in	clothing	splendid

For suppose a person with gold rings and in fine clothes enters into your assembly. OR
For suppose there enters into your assembly a person with gold rings and in fine clothes.

As I noted in sec. 4.3.2, the only post-verbal subject in the letter to Philemon is found in 23-24. This subject lists the people who join Paul in sending greetings to Philemon, so also conveys non-established information:

23-24	ESTABLISHED	NON-ESTABLISHED- ->				
	Ἀσπάζεταί	σε	Ἐπαφρᾶς ὁ συναιχμάλωτός	μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,	Μᾶρκος,
	greets	you	Epaphras the fellow.prisoner	my in Christ Jesus	Mark

Epaphras, my fellow prisoner in Christ Jesus, sends greetings to you, as do Mark... OR
Greetings are sent to you by Epaphras, my fellow prisoner in Christ Jesus, Mark...

Application to the language you are analysing

1. Classify the points of departure used in your texts as situational or referential (relating to themes), and as involving a switch of attention or renewal. Then state why each was used.
        Reminder. Connectives (chap. 3) are generally NOT points of departure.
2. Look for clauses and sentences in your texts in which the constituents are in other than what you consider to be default order (including potential points of departure that do not in fact begin a clause of sentence). Mark those that conform to the Principle of Natural Information Flow. (Those that violate the Principle of Natural Information Flow will be considered in the next chapter.)

Application to translation

The Principle of Natural Information Flow operates in many languages, but translators often fail to obey it. In this connection, consider 1 Thess. 4:6a in Koiné Greek. The norm in Greek is for adjuncts to follow objects. In this clause, however, the adjunct ἐν τῷ πράγματι, which refers to previously established information, precedes the object τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, which conveys non-established information. The clause therefore conforms to the Principle of Natural Information Flow.

6a			ESTABLISHED	NON-ESTABLISHED	
	τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν	καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν	ἐν τῷ πράγματι	**τὸν ἀδελφὸν**	**αὐτοῦ,**
	the not to overstep	and to wrong	in the matter	the brother	his

and that no one should wrong his brother or take advantage of him in this matter.

Natural texts in both OV and VO receptor languages represented in recent workshops typically deviated from default constituent order in similar ways to Greek in order to place non-established information after established information. Nevertheless, translators of this verse had invariably placed the object before the adjunct in the draft they brought to the workshop. Nevertheless, as soon as a consultant prompted them to change the order, they agreed that it sounded better that way!!!

5. Focal and Emphatic Prominence

This chapter applies the principles presented in chapter 4 of Levinsohn 2011 to the hortatory texts that we have been analysing. I begin by reminding the reader how I use the technical terms "focus" and "prominence" (sec. 5.1). Section 5.2 concerns violations of the Principle of Natural Information Flow. The Principle may be violated not only in identificational sentences, but also for contrastive or emphatic prominence (as defined below), and through the preposing of a foil (a constituent that serves to set off a later constituent to advantage by contrast). Other devices that give prominence to a focal constituent include the postposing or isolation of the dominant focal element (DFE—Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.2.4) and the use of prominence markers (secs. 5.3-5.4). The final section concerns devices that give prominence to only part of a constituent.

5.1 Two technical terms: focus and prominence

The chapter is particularly concerned with **focus**, where the focus of an utterance is defined as "that part which indicates what the speaker intends as the most important… change to be made in the hearer's [reader's] mental representation" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:62). Such a change is usually brought about by the presentation in the utterance of **non-established** information.

Every utterance has a focus, whatever its articulation. I illustrate this from the examples I cited to illustrate sentence articulations in section 2.1.

- In an utterance with **topic-comment** articulation, the focus is usually all the information in the comment that has not already been established in the hearer's mental representation. Consider clause 3b of the Dungra Bhil text, together with its context (3a):

  3a` *Look at the eyes of a liquor-drinking person;*

  3b   TOPIC - - - - - - - ->   COMMENT - - - - - - - - - - - - - ->

tijaa	ɖua	/	ekdom	rata rata	dekh-a.
3ms.POS	eye.OBL		complete	red red	see-PASS
his eyes			*appear completely red.*		

  In 3a, no reference is made to the eyes of a liquor-drinking person appearing completely red, so the comment about the topic *his eyes* only contains non-established information. This means that the focus of 3b is all the information in the comment: *appear completely red.*

- In an utterance with **identificational** articulation, the focus is the element of non-established information that is being sought or supplied. 1 Corinthians 1:13b has a presupposition that, except for one element, is assumed to be known ([someone] *was crucified for you*). The focus is the element that was lacking in the presupposed proposition (who the someone was – or wasn't, in this case).[94]

  FOCUS   PRESUPPOSITION - - - - - - - - - ->

13b	μὴ	**Παῦλος**	ἐσταυρώθη	ὑπὲρ	ὑμῶν,
	[surely].not	Paul	was.crucified	for	you?

  *Was **Paul** crucified for you?* (expected answer, "No!")

- In an utterance with **thetic** articulation, the focus is the entity or event that is being presented. In sentence 17 of the Dungra Bhil text, the proposition presents or introduces a new event (the absence of *peace*) into the text:

  17   FOCUS - - - - - ->

ihĩkojite	horu	pi-nara-a	koʔ-me	kedihi	sāti	naj	uve.
likewise	liquor	drink-AG-POS	house-in	never	peace	NEG	become

  Similarly, in the house of a liquor-drinking person there will never be any peace.

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[94] Bolding is used in the examples to indicate that a focal constituent has been given extra prominence (see below).

Remember: focus is NOT the same as (propositional) topic.

A propositional topic CANNOT be focal.

A point of departure CANNOT be focal.

This is because points of departure and propositional topics provide STARTING POINTS for the utterance and relate to what has already been **established** in the hearer's mental representation. In contrast, focus concerns information that has **not** previously been established or that needs to be **re**-established.

Topic	correlates with	established
Focus	correlates with	not established

Another technical term introduced in chapter 4 of Levinsohn 2011 was **prominence**. This is a general term for "any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context" (Callow 1974:50).

I follow Callow in distinguishing focal and thematic prominence:[95]

- **focal** prominence (some device is used to give prominence to a focal constituent—*ibid.* sec. 4.3)

- **thematic** prominence (prominence is given to "what I'm talking about"—*ibid.* sec. 4.6).[96]

For example, a **focal** constituent can be given prominence. Compare the following utterances (based on 1 Thess. 5:7b). In both, *at night* is focal. However, prominence is given to *at night* in the English of (b) by the employment of a "cleft" construction:[97]

(a)   *Drunkards get drunk **at night**.*

(b)   *It is **at night** that drunkards get drunk.*

Similarly, in both of the following Greek utterances, νυκτὸς *by night* is focal. However, prominence is given to νυκτὸς in the Greek of (d) by preposing it:

(c)   οἱ   μεθυσκόμενοι   μεθύουσιν **νυκτὸς**
       the   ones being drunk   are drunk   by night

(d)   οἱ   μεθυσκόμενοι   **νυκτὸς**   μεθύουσιν
       the   ones being drunk   by night   are drunk

If you are not familiar with the concepts of topic, focus and prominence, then please read sections 4.1-4.5 of Levinsohn 2011 before continuing with this chapter.

5.2 Violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow

In section 4.4 we noted the tendency in some languages for the order of constituents in a topic-comment utterance to conform to the Principle of Natural Information Flow by placing the established information in the utterance before the non-established focal information. However, most if not all languages violate the Principle under certain circumstances by presenting the less established information before the more established information.

Many languages (including English) violate the Principle as a matter of course in **identificational** sentences (Kiss 1998:271). 1 Corinthians 1:13b (cited in sec. 5.1) provides a Greek example.

Other languages violate the Principle to give focal prominence to the preposed element in additional circumstances.[98] Most commonly, such violations are for **contrastive** or **emphatic**

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[95] For Callow, **emphatic** prominence (to express strong feelings about an item or to indicate that what follows is unexpected) is a separate category from focal or thematic prominence. Since both focal and thematic constituents may be emphasised, though, I prefer to think of emphasis proper as a reason for giving prominence to a constituent.

[96] Thematic prominence is discussed in chapter 6.

[97] Crystal (1997:63) defines a cleft sentence as "a CONSTRUCTION where a single CLAUSE has been divided into two separate sections, each with its own VERB".

prominence (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.2.3). However, the Principle is also violated by **foils** for later contrasting constituents and by the preposing of **cataphoric demonstratives**. In section 5.1, versions (b) and (d) of 1 Thess. 5:7b illustrate this effect (*by night* is a foil for ἡμέρας *of day*—8).

The following sections discuss reasons for violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow in the three of the languages we have been considering.[99]

5.2.1 Violations of the Principle of Natural Information Flow in the Greek of Philemon

Focal constituents may be preposed in Greek, thus violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow, for contrastive or emphatic prominence or, through the preposing of a foil or cataphoric demonstrative, to give prominence to a later constituent. I illustrate each of these in turn.

Contrastive prominence

A clear example of the preposing of a focal constituent for **contrastive** prominence is found in 15b, where **αἰώνιον** *eternally* contrasts with πρὸς ὥραν *for an hour* (15a):

15a *Perhaps this is the reason he was separated from you for a while,*

15b ἵνα **αἰώνιον** αὐτὸν ἀπέχῃς,
     that eternally him you.might.have
     so that you might have him back forever,

See also 9a (διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην *on the basis of love* probably contrasts with πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν *much boldness in Christ*—8a; see below), 13b (πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν *with myself* contrasts with σοι *to you*—12a), 13c (ὑπὲρ σοῦ *in your place* partially contrasts with πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν *with myself*—13b) and 19d (καὶ σεαυτόν *even your own self* contrasts with the *anything* (τι) that Onesimus owes Philemon (18a).

Emphatic prominence

Emphasis proper involves expressing strong feelings about an item or indicating that what follows is unexpected (Callow 1974:52). A clear example of the preposing of a focal constituent for emphatic prominence is found in 21d, as the use of *even* in the translation into English indicates. Paul is confident that Philemon will do as he asks, yet he knows that, contrary to expectation, Philemon will do even more than that:

21a-b *Confident of your obedience, I am writing to you,*

21c-d εἰδὼς ὅτι **καὶ** **ὑπὲρ** **ἃ** λέγω ποιήσεις.
     knowing that ADD above what I.say you.will.do
     knowing that you will do even more than I say.

The following appear also to be instances of preposing for emphatic prominence:

- ἐνεργὴς *effective, active* (6b), following the pre-verbal subject *the fellowship/sharing of your faith*. Following one interpretation of this verse, Paul wants Philemon to demonstrate *the fellowship of the faith* in an effective way by welcoming Onesimus as he would welcome Paul (17).
- χαρὰν πολλὴν *much joy* (7b). Paul emphasises the extent of his joy.[100]
- χωρὶς τῆς σῆς γνώμης *without your consent* (14a). As the rest of 14 shows, it is important to Paul that he have Philemon's consent.
- ἐμοὶ *to me* (18b). One would not expect Onesimus' debt to Philemon to be charged to Paul.

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[98] I originally read this claim in Werth (1984), but have not been able to locate his book in recent years.

[99] Although the Principle of Natural Information Flow may be violated in Bariai in order to give prominence to focal constituents, no example occurs in the text we have been using.

[100] When a coordinative constituent is given focal prominence, it is normal for the first part to precede the verb and the second part to follow it (Levinsohn 2000:57-58). In 7b, χαρὰν πολλὴν *much joy* precedes the verb, whereas καὶ παράκλησιν *and encouragement* follows it.

Foils

The concept of a **counterpoint** was discussed in sec. 3.3: a contrasting idea or PROPOSITION that serves to set off the thesis proposition by contrast. It is common for the order of constituents within a counterpoint to be marked, so that one of its constituents is prominent. Such a constituent is often a **foil** for a later constituent.

"The Oxford English Dictionary defines a foil as 'anything that serves to set off another thing distinctly or to advantage by contrast'. The concept of a foil is useful for explaining some unusual intonation patterns and otherwise unexplained instances of prominence." (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.8)

In 14b, for instance, the focal constituent ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην *as according to necessity* is preposed in order to set off κατὰ ἑκούσιον *according to willingness* to advantage by contrast (14a had already emphasised the importance of Philemon giving his consent—see above):[101]

14a   *but I preferred to do nothing without your consent,*

14b   ἵνα   μὴ   **ὡς κατὰ**   **ἀνάγκην**   τὸ ἀγαθόν   σου   ᾖ
      that   not as   according.to   necessity   the goodness   your   might be

14c   ἀλλὰ   κατὰ   ἑκούσιον.
             but   according.to   willingness
      *in order that your good deed might not be something **forced** but voluntary.*

See also 8a (πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν *much boldness/confidence in Christ*). Giving prominence to the "ample authority" that Paul has "in Christ to command Philemon to do what should be done" (Banker 1999) sets off διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην *on the basis of love* (9a) to advantage by contrast.

Remember:

- A **foil** is a CONSTITUENT that serves to set off a later CONSTITUENT to advantage by contrast.
- A **counterpoint** is an idea or PROPOSITION that serves to set off the thesis PROPOSITION by contrast.

Cataphoric Demonstratives

Cataphoric demonstratives are similar to foils in that they are not important in themselves, but point forward to their referent. When preposed, they give prominence to the material to which they refer.

In 15a, for instance, "The use of διὰ τοῦτο 'because of this, for this purpose' and its fore-fronting before the verb show that it is marking the ἵνα purpose clause (15b) as prominent" (*ibid.*).

15a   τάχα   γὰρ   **διὰ**   **τοῦτο**   ἐχωρίσθη   πρὸς   ὥραν,
      perhaps   for   because.of   this   he.was.separated   for   hour

15b   ἵνα   αἰώνιον   αὐτὸν   ἀπέχῃς,
      that   eternally   him   you.might.have
      Perhaps this is the reason he was separated from you for a while, so that you might have him back forever,

Residue

Section 4.5 of Levinsohn 2011 points out that, when a language has the option of preposing focal constituents, this means that both focal constituents and points of departure can occur at the beginning of the sentence. Please review that section, as it suggests how to distinguish them.

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[101] When a focal constituent is preposed in Koiné Greek, it is quite common for a constituent conveying established information to precede the verb, as well (in this case, τὸ ἀγαθόν *your goodness*). This ordering seems to make the violation of the Principle of Natural Information Flow more explicit and thus increases the prominence given to the focal constituent (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.5).

Philemon 22c begins with the preposed constituent διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν *through your prayers*. Because no previous reference has been made in the letter to *your prayers*, this constituent could be judged to be non-established information and, therefore, focal. The sense would then be, *I am hoping to be restored to you **through your prayers***. However, 22b-c support the exhortation to *prepare a guest room for me* (22a), so the focus of 22b is more likely to be on *to be restored to you*. Paul may well have assumed that Philemon would be praying for him, in which case *through your prayers* could be a point of departure for the rest of 22c; hence, the translation *I am hoping <u>through your prayers</u> to be restored to you*.

5.2.2 Violations of the Principle of Natural Information Flow in Kalinga (VS/VO)

Kalinga is like Koiné Greek in that focal constituents may be preposed for contrastive or focal prominence. In addition, a foil may be preposed in order to give prominence to a later contrasting constituent. Unfortunately, there are no clear examples of such preposing in the text we are using.

The following is part of a hortatory text in Sama Bangingih, which is also a N.W. Austronesian language of the Philippines. The bolded constituent in part a is the **foil** for the bolded constituent in part b:[102]

a	pimpom,	in	pagpangadjih	atawa	anuntut	ilmuh,		
	Pimpom	TM	education	or	seek	knowledge		
		dumain	**sadja**	**da allaw**	**atawa**	**dambulan**	ya	ni-itung⬚⬚;
		not-so	only	one day	or	one-month	DEM	PASS-count
b	malaingkan	**tahun**					ya	ni−itung...
	rather	year					DEM	PASS-count

*Pimpom, when getting an education or seeking knowledge, it will not be **just one day or one month** that is counted. Rather, (it is) **years** that will be counted…*

Question

In sentence 1 of the Kalinga text, what is the effect of placing annaya *this* before the verb?[103]

5.2.3 Violations of the Principle of Natural Information Flow in Dungra Bhil (SOV)

Many OV languages can choose to arrange the non-verbal constituents of a clause or sentence either to conform to the Principle of Natural Information Flow or to violate it. Section 4.4 cited instances from the Dungra Bhil text which conformed to the Principle. The text also contains instances in which the Principle was violated.

For example, the constituents that follow the subject in 5a violate the Principle of Natural Information Flow because non-established information precedes established information:[104]

5a		NON-ESTABLISHED		ESTABLISHED	
	tuʔu	ek	vaʔa	horu	pit-neje,
	3ms	one	time	liquor	drink-COMP

(if) he liquor-drinks all at one go...

Question

In 5a (above), **why** does the author violate the Principle of Natural Information Flow?[105]

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[102] This text was given to JoAnn Gault by Mr. Binsalih Barhama. TM is the thematic prominence marker (see sec. 6.2).

[103] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: `Annaya` *this* is a cataphoric demonstrative placed before the verb in order to give prominence to the exhortations that follow.

[104] The combination horu pit- may be an instance of **noun incorporation**, which is why I translate it *liquor-drinking*. "Noun incorporation typically involves the incorporation into the verb or VP of an **indefinite** object, in order to designate an "institutionalized activity" (Mithun 1984:848).

[105] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The author violates the Principle of Natural Information Flow in 5a to **emphasise** ek vaʔa [one time] *all at one go*.

Clause 3a (below) also violates the Principle of Natural Information Flow. Although the author has introduced the theme of drinking liquor, he has not previously referred to the eyes of a liquor-drinker, so the initial constituent horu pi-nara mahõ-õ ḍua *the eyes of a liquor-drinker* contains non-established information. This constituent precedes the subject tumi *you*, which is established information (4 is similar):

3a   NON-ESTABLISHED   ESTABLISHED

horu	pi-nara	mahõ-õ	ḍua	tumi	pala,
liquor	drink-AG	man-POS	eye.OBL	2p	see.IMP

Look at the eyes of a liquor-drinking person; (3b) *his eyes look completely red.*

Question

In 3a (above), **why** does the author violate the Principle of Natural Information Flow?[106]

When Dungra Bhil wishes to gives prominence to a **complex** focal constituent, the constituent is **left-dislocated** (secs. 4.3.4-5). Typically, it is followed immediately by a proximal demonstrative adverb with the same referent.[107]

    Sentence 9 provides an example. The left-dislocated reported speech tuʔu daruɽju hoje *he's a drunkard* conveys non-established information (the hearer did not previously know what people would say) and is followed by ehnoho *like this*. The effect is to give focal prominence to the reported speech (19-21 is the same):

9a   *And no one will give him money*

9b-c   kihĩke   [tuʔu   daruɽju   hoje]:   **ehnoho**   maʔhe tija-ha   ko-je.

because	3mS	drunkard	be	like.this	people	3mS.OB-ACC	say-FUT

*because "You're a drunkard": **that's** what people will say to him.*

Question

In 9b (above), **why** does the author violate the Principle of Natural Information Flow?[108]

See also 12 (the left-dislocated thought ekhahũ-hũ maʔi ʈak-unoʔo naj tahã suri koʔ-unoʔo *killing someone or stealing something*) is followed (though not immediately) by ehnana *like these*.

Application to the language you are analysing

1.   Look for examples in your texts in which the Principle of Natural Information Flow has been violated. For each example, suggest why the constituent concerned has been preposed (e.g. for identificational focus, contrastive prominence, emphatic prominence, to set up a foil for a later contrasting constituent).

2.   If the language has the option of preposing focal constituents and you are uncertain whether certain pre-nuclear constituents in your texts are points of departure or focal, use the pointers of Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.5 to determine the function of each.

5.3 Postposing or isolating the DFE

As section 4.3 of Levinsohn 2011 indicates, preposing is not the only way that a focal constituent can be given prominence. The postposing of certain constituents or, especially in Bantu

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[106] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The author probably violates the Principle of Natural Information Flow in 3a to direct the hearers' attention **specifically** to ḍua eyes. *His eyes* becomes the topic of 3b (an instance of sequential progression—sec. 4.1).

[107] Hindi is among other Indo-Aryan languages that also left-dislocate complex focal constituents. Section 6.4 discusses the functions of the different demonstratives in Dungra Bhil.

[108] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The author violates the Principle of Natural Information Flow in 9b to **emphasise** (express strong feelings) about what people will say.

languages, the isolation at the end of the sentence of the dominant focal element (DFE—*ibid.* sec. 4.2.4) is another way of giving prominence to a focal constituent.

Consider the **verb** in Koiné Greek, for example. Because the verb often begins a clause or sentence, Greek postposes it to give it prominence (even though the resulting order conforms to the Principle of Natural Information Flow). In 1 Thess. 4:11d, for instance, the verb παρηγ-γείλαμεν (*we charged*) is focal and has been postposed to give it prominence:[109]

11d καθὼς   ὑμῖν   **παρηγγείλαμεν**,
   even as   you   we charged
   *just as we **told** you,*

Suri (Nilo-Saharan SVO, Ethiopia) is similar. Although the verb normally precedes the object, it is postposed for focal prominence:

   ŋa-lɔk-tonu   tamaratɔ   wo.
   DEM-situation-that   2p.refuse EMP
   ***Reject** that situation!*

Now consider the following sentence in Makonde (Bantu P20 [SVO], Mozambique).[110] The author's father and two other family members have died. The elders met to decide what to do and concluded:

   ɩnkubidi   matanga   tundatenda mwaka wowo au.
   it.is.necessary ceremonies we.will.do year   same   this
   *We must perform the final funeral ceremonies **before the end of this year**.*

The default position of the object matanga *ceremonies* is after the verb. To give extra prominence to *before the end of this year*, the object is preposed, leaving mwaka wowo au, the DFE, isolated at the end of the sentence.

Application to the language you are analysing

3. Look for examples in your texts in which a constituent has been postposed from its normal position. For each example, suggest why the constituent has been postposed.

4. Look for instances in your texts in which a constituent of the comment has been preposed from its normal position in order to leave the DFE isolated at the end of the sentence.

5.4 Other devices used to give prominence to a focal constituent

Sections 5.2 and 5.3 have described the use of marked constituent orders to give prominence to a focal constituent. Other devices that give prominence to a focal constituent include "**spacers** which separate the focal constituent from the rest of the proposition", often resulting in cleft sentences, and dedicated **prominence markers**: a "characteristic **affixation** or a **particle** associated with either the focal constituent or the verb" (Levinsohn 2011 secs. 4.3, 4.9).

Spacers and cleft sentences

Section 5.2.4 of Levinsohn 2011 points out that the same spacer may be used not only to separate the subject from the rest of the sentence and indicate that it is a point of departure (sec. 4.3.4), but also to separate the focal constituent from the rest of the proposition. To illustrate this, consider sentences 2 and 32a of the Dungra Bhil text:

   1   *Oh, my children, you should not drink liquor.*

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[109] If a Greek clause consists of only two constituents and the verb is at the end, this can be for two different reasons:
- the verb has been postposed to give it focal prominence, OR
- the other constituent has been preposed, either to provide a point of departure or for focal prominence.
See Levinsohn 2000:40*ff* for discussion of this problem.

[110] This sentence is part of an account given to Benjie & Rhoda Leach by Pius Aldeia Ntushi in November 2003.

2   ESTABLISHED   NON-ESTABLISHED - - - - - ->
      horu   to   ek dʒer   hudu   hoje.
      liquor SPACER   one poison like   be
      Liquor is like a poison.

31   *If you don't do any work in the fields in these days for working, what will there be for us to eat?*
32a   FOCUS   PRESUPPOSITION - - - - - - - - - - - - ->
      apũ   **to**-me   phuko   moj   dʒa-hũ
      1in   SPACER-?   hunger.OBL die   go-be.1P.FUT

32b   ono   apũ-ũ   pujre   bi   phuko   moj   dʒa-je.
      &   1in-POS children also   hunger.OBL die   go-FUT
      *Not only will **we** die from hunger, but **our children also** will die from hunger.*

In 2, *to* separates the subject from the rest of the proposition and indicates that it is a point of departure. It is preceded by established information and followed by non-established information.

In contrast, all the information in 32a was established in 31, and *to* separates the focal constituent (the foil for 'our children' in 32b) from the rest of the proposition.

In the following extract from a Bhatri text (an Indo-Aryan SOV language related to Dungra Bhil), the focal material separated from the rest of the sentence by same spacer t̪o is a subordinate clause:

1-3   *I hear that you have been caught. I had told you to remember my words. Why did you not obey my words?*

4   mor   got̪   ke   na sunlis   gunuk t̪o   t̪oke   dʌri   nelaj.
      my   words ACC   not you.listen becauseSPACER you.ACC   catch   took.3p
      *It is **because you did not listen to my words**   that they caught you.*

Section 4.9 of Levinsohn 2011 discussed types of "*it*-cleft" structures in English (the translation into English of Bhatri sentence 4 is an *it*-cleft). In English cleft sentences, a relative pronoun (*that, who*) acts as a spacer to separate the focal material from the rest of the sentence.

You should now reread section 4.9 of Levinsohn 2011, as it shows that focal material may either precede or follow the relative pronoun (spacer).

Some languages move the **vocative** from its default position and use it as a spacer to give prominence to what follows. In Koiné Greek, the non-initial position of a vocative such as ἀδελφοί *brothers* may identify what follows as "an important new idea" (*UBS*, commenting on 1 Thess. 2:1).[111]

The following example is from Kambaata (Cushitic SOV, Ethiopia). The author has warned his children, *be really careful, since there are lots of ways in this world that lead people astray.* He then tells them:

      Every holy day go to church and pray,

      luus-a   woqq-eechchi   ŋagan-o   baraar-inne.
      mistake-GEN   way-ABL   God-o   survive-us
      *"From going astray, O God, **deliver** us".*

Dedicated prominence markers

In many languages, the association of certain particles or affixes with a constituent always gives prominence to that constituent.[112] One such marker in Dungra Bhil and Bhatri is the exclusive

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[111] See also 1 Thess. 2:14a (cited in sec. 5.5) and sec. 7.7. Vocatives are also used to mark the beginning of a new unit (sec. 8.9).

[112] König (1991) talks of "focus particles". However, many such particles give prominence not only to focal constituents, but also to thematic material such as points of departure and connectives (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.6).

suffix -dʒ(e)/-tʃi (sometimes translated *only, just*). This marker is used to give prominence to focal constituents, whether or not they have been preposed.

In sentence 18 of the Dungra Bhil text, for example, -dʒ is attached to a focal constituent in a topic-comment sentence that conforms to the Principle of Natural Information Flow:

18 moj   dʒaj   taʔhũ   dʒãʔa   iʔi   akho   ehnoho-**dʒ**   uve
    die   go.FUT then   till   these all   like.this-EXC   become
    *Till he dies, all these things will happen **just like this**,*

In the following extract from the same Bhatri text, in contrast, -tʃi is attached to a focal constituent that has been preposed for contrastive prominence:

12 t̪or-**tʃi**   lagi   ʌsʌn   hojla.
    your-EXC   reason   like.this became
    *It is because of **you** that this happened.*

Other constructions

Reduplication is one of the ways that contrastive prominence is given to a focal constituent in Yemba (Grassfields Bantu SVO, Cameroon). In the following sentences, *work together* contrasts with *by himself*. This contrast is given prominence by the habitual *be* verb gó and the reduplication of the verb for *work together*:

a   *No one creates a village by himself.*
b   Máà   gó**mboö**   **epo**   ñkwáàtáà   alaöÜ.
    one be SS.work.together work.together SS.attach   village
    *It is **by working together** that one creates a village.*

Before the following Yemba sentences with **identificational** articulation, the speaker has been insisting that it is not the ancestors who will drink the wine that is being offered. The presupposition is that someone will drink it; the focus is on who (*we*). This focal constituent is followed by meà.

Sentence 1 is the default way of marking a focal subject in an utterance with identificational articulation (Harro & Haynes 2002:22):

1   MÔpá meà   nnuà'
    1in   FOC   drink
    *It is **we** who will drink it.*

Sentence 2 illustrates a marked way of presenting the same information. In this structure, the presupposition is presented as the goal of the verb **gúó** (*go*). This construction does not imply that *we* will be going anywhere to drink the wine. Rather, it is a stronger way of implying that *we*, rather than the ancestors, will be the ones drinking it (Gnintedem Jean-Claude p.c.):[113]

2   MÔpá meà   **gúó**   meà   nnuà'
    1in   FOC   go   to   drink
    *It is **we** who will be the ones drinking it.*

Application to the language you are analysing

5.   Look in your texts for any instances in which a spacer separates a focal constituent from the rest of the proposition. Check whether the focal constituent always occurs before the spacer, or whether it can also follow the spacer.

6.   Look for any particles or affixes that always give prominence to the constituent with which they are associated. If there is more than one such marker, then distinguish their functions.

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[113] Other ways of giving contrastive prominence to a focal constituent in Yemba include tone perturbation and the placement of a focal auxiliary to give prominence to the immediately following verb.

5.5 Giving prominence to part of a constituent

I am aware of four devices that languages use to give prominence to part of a constituent:

- using an apparently 'redundant' relative clause
- using a prominence marker
- splitting the constituent
- topicalising the non-focal part of the constituent.

I discuss these devices in turn.

Using a relative clause or similar construction

When a language has the option of modifying a noun directly or by means of a relative clause, then one of the reasons for using the relative clause is in order to give prominence to the modifier, rather than the phrase as a whole.

To say *your jerrycan* in Me'en (Nilo-Saharan SVO, Ethiopia), for example, the possessive may be placed directly after the noun: `jarikani denu` [jerrycan of.you]. To give contrastive prominence to *your* (**your jerrycan** as distinct from mine), a relative clause is used: `jarikani de denu̠o` [jerrycan REL of.you-SUBORDINATOR] (where de is a relative clause marker and -o is a subordinator).[114]

Application to the Kalinga text

In sentence 17, the vocative has the form ðikayu abeng *you children*.

In 13 and 21, in contrast, it has the form ðikayu e bubai *you girls* (where e is a linker). Why is the linker used in 13 and 21, but not in 17?[115]

Using a prominence marker

Another way of giving prominence to part of a constituent is to associate a prominence marker with the part of the constituent that is prominent. (**Example needed.**)

Application to the Kalinga text

In sentence 13, what two devices are used to give prominence to importante *important* in the constituent ʃa importante pagay e m̠ibaga [the important really LINKER TH-tell] *The really important thing I'm saying*?[116]

Splitting a constituent

"A phrase is considered to be discontinuous [split]... when it consists of more than one word but the words are *not contiguous* because another constituent occurs between them" (Levinsohn 2000:57).

The following is an example from Sangil, which is a N.W. Austronesian language of the Philippines related to Kalinga. The limiter `méntì` *only* usually precedes the verb (e.g. `tataw kapang méntì ni-tallimà` *three groups only were received*). To give contrastive prominence to `tataw` *three*, `méntì` separates the number from the head noun:[117]

> *There were 73 groups of people who were very religious and worshipped God;*
> gaydé **tataw méntì kapang** nitallimà u Mavu nkasù su sollogà.
> however three only group be.received by God enter intoparadise
> *however, **only three of the groups** were received by God, enabling them to enter Paradise.*

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[114] I am grateful to Achim Diehl for providing me with this example.

[115] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: The linker e is used in 13 and 21 to give prominence to bubai *girls*. In 17, in contrast, no special prominence is to be given to one part of the vocative rather than another, so no linker is used.

[116] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: The two devices used to give prominence to importante *important* are the linker e and the prominence marker pagay *really*.

[117] I am grateful to Don & Brenda Scheller for providing me with this example. Verb affixes are not indicated.

It is common in **Koiné Greek** for a constituent to be split in order to give prominence to just part of it.[118] Constituents "may be discontinuous [split] because only the *first* or preposed part is in focus, whereas the remainder is supportive" and/or "because only the second part relates to what follows" (Levinsohn 2000:57).

1 Timothy 4:6b (below) includes a split constituent in which "only the *first* or preposed part is in focus". Timothy is already a *servant of Christ Jesus*. Separating the adjective καλὸς *good* from the rest of the constituent gives prominence to *good*, rather than the whole constituent:

6a   *If you put these things before the brothers*

6b   **καλὸς** ἔσῃ   διάκονος   Χριστοῦ   Ἰησοῦ,
      good   you will be servant   of Christ   Jesus
      *you will be a **good** servant of Christ Jesus*

1 Thessalonians 2:14a includes a split constituent of which "only the second part relates to what follows". *You became imitators* has already been stated in 1:6. In contrast, the second part of the constituent activates *the churches of God in Judea...*, which leads to the condemnation of the Jews in 15-16:[119]

14a ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ   ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί,   **τῶν   ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ   θεοῦ   τῶν   οὐσῶν**
    you   for imitators became   brothers   of the churches   of the God   of.the being

    ἐν   τῇ   Ἰουδαίᾳ
    in   the Judea
    *For you became **imitators**, brothers, **of God's churches in Judea**...*

14b *in that* (ὅτι) *you suffered from your own countrymen the same things those churches suffered from the Jews,*

Topicalising the non-focal part of the constituent

In a hunting text in Awara (Papuan SOV, Papua New Guinea), the hunters were looking for wallabies. To give prominence to the number that were caught, the author topicalised *wallaby* by adding the marker –u. This allowed the focus to be on *five*, rather than *five wallabies*:[120]

```
P-ä-ke          ku-na      meläm-u     homu-tä   paipela   yä-ha-kut.
pO-take-SS.PF   go-1p.SR   wallaby-TOP dog-by    five      3pO-bit-3s.PAST
```
We took them (the dogs) and went, and a dog killed five wallabies.

Application to the language you are analysing

Look in your texts for devices that are used to give prominence to only part of a constituent.

Application to translation

The above sections have noted that, because Koiné Greek is a VS/VO language, the preposing of part or all of a constituent is a particularly common device for giving focal prominence to part or all of that constituent. The language you are analysing also has devices for giving contrastive or emphatic prominence to part or all of a constituent. However, unless you are also analysing a VS/VO language, it is unlikely that simple preposing will be as frequent as in Greek. Note, for instance, the frequency with which left-dislocation occurred in the Dungra Bhil text, rather than simple preposing. Furthermore, simple preposing may not even have the same effect in the language you are analysing as in Greek.

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[118] Focal constituents may also be split in Greek when they are coordinative (see sec. 5.2.1 for discussion of Philemon 7b).

[119] The position of the vocative ἀδελφοί *brothers* before this second part also identifies what follows as "an important new idea" (*UBS*) (see sec. 5.4).

[120] I am grateful to Susan Quigley for providing me with this example (SR: switch-reference marker; SS: same subject marker).

So, your challenge is to identify the devices that the language you are analysing uses naturally to give prominence to part or all of a constituent, and then to use the one that will have the same **effect** as the device used in the Greek text.

5.6 Markers of emphasis

First, a reminder that the term **emphasis** is not used in this course as a synonym for prominence (see the introduction to this chapter). Rather, emphatic prominence "normally involves the speaker-hearer relationship in some way" (Callow 1974:52); the speaker feels strongly about something or considers that an event is unexpected. Emphatic prominence may be given to a constituent of a sentence or to a whole sentence.

You should now reread section 4.7 of Levinsohn 2011, which gives examples of markers of emphasis from a number of languages.

We have already seen that one way of conveying emphatic prominence in both Koiné Greek and Dungra Bhil is by violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow (secs. 5.2.1, 5.2.3). We now note some other markers of emphasis in the texts we have been using.

Application to the Kalinga text

ay is glossed EMP: marker of emphasis (1, 13a, 13b, 14b, 21b). Does this seem to be a correct description of its function?[121]

Application to the Bariai text

Which adverb is used to emphasise a following assertion?[122]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Look for three devices mentioned in sec. 4.7 of Levinsohn 2011 that are used in the first few sentences of this text for emphasis (other than changes of constituent order).[123]

Application to the language you are analysing

7.   List the devices used in your texts for **emphatic** prominence. Which ones emphasise a focal constituent? A non-focal constituent? A hortatory or expository THESIS

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[121] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: ay does seem to be used in this text to indicate that "the speaker feels strongly about something". In 1, its attachment to the cataphoric demonstrative annaya *this* suggests that the speaker feels strongly about the following exhortations (see also its use in 13a). In 13b and 21b it emphasises the relevance of the utterances to the female addressees. In 14b it shows how the speaker feels about the assertion *you children do whatever you want* (hence the use of *just*). It does, therefore, seem to be a marker of emphasis.

[122] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: The adverb tautaunga *truly* is used in 2a and 4a to emphasise the following assertion.

[123] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The following devices mentioned in sec. 4.7 of Levinsohn 2011 are used in the first few sentences of this text for emphasis: the inclusive adverb ekdom *complete(ly)* (3b), repetition (rata rata *red red*—3b) and a rhetorical question (7). The interjection o *oh* (1) is probably a marker of emphasis, too.

6. Determiners and Thematic Prominence

Thematic prominence involves devices that draw attention to "what I'm talking about" (Callow 1974:50). This chapter is concerned particularly with devices used to draw attention to a referent because it "will have a significant role to play in the subsequent discourse" (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 4.6.1). Such devices include so-called 'emphatic' **pronouns** (see Lowe 1998:36), one or more of the sets of **demonstratives** found in the language (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 9.2) and, especially in Ancient Hebrew and many African languages, those **relative clauses** that "contain information which is not really needed to establish the identity of the referent" (sec. 10.3.7). In addition, "Some of the devices used to give prominence to a focal constituent … may also be employed to give prominence to a point of departure or connective", thereby highlighting the material that follows (sec. 4.6.2).

You should now reread sections 4.6, 9.2 and 10.3.6-7 of Levinsohn 2011, as they give examples of markers of thematic prominence in a number of languages.

The following four sections discuss determiners and thematic prominence in the languages we have been using for illustration. The final section deals with relative clauses in non-narrative material.

6.1 Determiners and thematic prominence in Koiné Greek

We observed in sec. 4.3.2 that many pre-verbal subjects in Greek non-narrative texts signal a switch of attention from the default centre of attention (typically, the addressees) to another referent who temporarily becomes the centre of attention. This partially explained the frequent use of the first person **pronoun** ἐγώ *I* in the letter to Philemon.[124]

The following subsections consider the function in non-narrative texts of the following Greek determiners: the distal demonstrative ἐκεῖνος *that*, the proximal demonstrative οὗτος *this*, and the article. First, though, you should reread Appendix 1 to chapter 9 of Levinsohn 2011 on the functions of ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος in narrative.

6.1.1 The distal demonstrative ἐκεῖνος *that*

> "The core meaning of the demonstratives in Greek is NOT thematic or athematic. The core meaning of ἐκεῖνος is 'distal' (not at the deictic centre) and the core meaning of οὗτος is 'proximal' (close to the deictic centre). Nevertheless, in certain contexts, a pragmatic effect of using ἐκεῖνος is to identify the referent as athematic. Conversely, a pragmatic effect of using οὗτος in certain contexts is to identify the referent as thematic." (Levinsohn 2011 chap. 9 Appendix 1)[125]

Because referents of ἐκεῖνος are not at the deictic centre, such referents are usually **athematic**; i.e., not the current centre of attention. This is illustrated by the following examples from Hebrews. In each case, ἐκεῖνος is used to refer to potential themes that are not in fact the centre of attention:[126]

- 4:2 (*For we have indeed the good news preached to us, just as those ones* [κἀκεῖνοι]): *we* are the centre of attention, not *those ones*.
- 8:7 (*For if that* [ἐκείνη] *first covenant had been faultless, there would have been no need to look for a second one*): the theme of the passage is the second covenant, not the first.
- 11:15: the centre of attention is *a better country, that is,*[127] *a heavenly one* [16], not **that one** [ἐκείνης] *from which they had left*.

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[124] When a topical subject is seemingly 'redundant', it may highlight the comment about it (see sec. 8.8).

[125] For a more detailed discussion of ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος, see Levinsohn 2003b.

[126] Ἐκεῖνος is NOT used in the letter to Philemon.

[127] The referent of οὗτος in the expression τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν *this is* (also found in Philemon 12b) is a VERY local theme!

The use of ἐκεῖνος to mark referents as athematic explains why Jesus is referred to with ἐκεῖνος in **1 John** 2:6, 3:3, 5, 7 and 16, and 4:17. In each instance, the addressees are thematic, and reference to Jesus is made to reinforce the author's message to them. See, for example, 3:3: *And everyone who has this hope in him purifies himself, just as **he*** (ἐκεῖνος) *is pure.* Whereas ἐκεῖνος may give some prominence to its referent, its primary function is to indicate that the referent is not the current centre of attention.[128]

6.1.2 The proximal demonstrative οὗτος *this*

Οὗτος is used in two ways in the letter to Philemon:

- **cataphorically** (i.e. for referents which have yet to be stated), in which case it is **focal**. In 15, the referent of διὰ τοῦτο *because of this* is the subordinate clause introduced with ἵνα:

  15 *After all, [it was] perhaps because of this* [διὰ τοῦτο] *[that] he was separated from you for a while, so that* [ἵνα] *you might have him back forever...*[129]

- **anaphorically** (i.e. for activated referents), in which case its referent is **thematic**. In 18b, the referent of τοῦτο *this* is whatever Onesimus owes Philemon, which remains thematic into the next verses:

  18 *And if he has wronged you in any way or owes you anything, charge this* [τοῦτο] *to my account.* (19) *I, Paul, am writing this with my own hand: I will repay it...*

  For passages in Hebrews where the referent of οὗτος is thematic, see 3:3, 7:27, 8:3 and 10:12 (οὗτος refers to Jesus, who is contrasted with Moses and earthly high priests), 7:1 and 4 (Melchizedek), and 11:12, 13 and 39 (heroes who exercised faith).

6.1.3 The article[130]

Greek uses the article to indicate that the reader is to locate the referent in his or her current mental representation (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 9.2.4). For example, the concept of godliness is activated in 1 Timothy 4:7b without the article (πρὸς εὐσέβειαν *for godliness*). When *godliness* is referred to again in 8b, it occurs with the article (ἡ εὐσέβεια *[the] godliness*). This indicates that it is now an activated concept that the reader will be able to locate in his or her current mental representation.

Question

In Philemon 3, *from God our Father* lacks the article (ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν). In 4a, *to my God* has the article (τῷ θεῷ μου). Why is the article used in 4a?[131]

In the letter to Philemon, Paul's first reference to Philemon's love and faith (5a) is with the article (σου τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν [*lit.,* of.you **the** love and **the** faith]). This shows that these attributes of Philemon are already active in Paul's mind as he is writing.

Omission of the article. Greek authors sometimes omit the article when referring to a particular activated entity or concept, to give **prominence** to that referent or to a significant action performed by that referent (loc. cit.). I find no examples of this phenomenon in the letter to Philemon, so illustrate it by the references to *God* (θεός) in 1 Thessalonians.

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[128] For instances in which Jesus is thematic in 1 John and is referred to with οὗτος, see 5:6 and 5:20. Ἐκεῖνος is also used in 5:16, which refers to *sin that is mortal*—NOT the sin about which John has been talking.

[129] The majority of instances of οὗτος in 1 John are cataphoric (e.g. **This is the message which we have heard from him and proclaim to you: that** [ὅτι] *God is light...*—1:5). For an exophoric instance of οὗτος, see Heb. 9:20 (citing Exod. 24:8): *...he sprinkled both the scroll itself and all the people saying, "**This** is the blood of the covenant that God has ordained for you".*

[130] Articles are determiners that do not have a deictic-exophoric usage—Levinsohn 2011 sec. 9.2.4.

[131] **Suggested Answer** for the Greek of Philemon: The article in 4a indicates that *God* is now an activated concept that the reader will be able to locate in his or her current mental representation. The reader is thereby led to understand that *my God* refers to the same person as *God our Father* in 3.

Once *God* is activated (1 Thess. 1:1), the article is used to refer to Him whenever the constituent in which θεός occurs is NOT focal. See, for example, 1:2. When the constituent in which θεός occurs IS focal and prominent, then the article is omitted. See 2:4b, 2:5, 2:13d, 2:15c and 4:1b.[132]

6.2 Determiners in languages of the Philippines, including Kalinga

Appendix 2 of chapter 9 of the Narrative online course gives an overview of the use of demonstratives in languages of the Philippines. Please read that section, before applying the observations to the Kalinga text.

Application to the Kalinga text

The demonstratives used in the Kalinga text are **proximal** (ending in –na) or **distal** (ending in –di). In addition, the absolute marker sa begins noun phrases and clauses whose referent is established or accessible, so acts a bit like an **article** or nominaliser (e.g. sa um-una *the first thing*—2; sa osa e mi-baga kan dikayu *the one thing I'm telling you…*—5).

The 'emphatic' proximal demonstrative annaya *this* is used cataphorically in 1 (see sec. 5.2.2). In 19b, the use of anna is probably exophoric (*these* [anna] *difficulties we are having as a family*). The following questions mostly concern distal sadi *that* and proximal sana *this*.

Questions

1. sadi *that* (4, 5c, 9) is the usual way to refer to the event of the previous clause or sentence when there is sequential progression (sec. 4.1). In 13c, though, sana *this* is used in the same way. In the light of the above comments about distal and proximal demonstratives in Philippine languages, how might we expect sadi and sana to be distinguished?

2. sana *this* is also used anaphorically in 22. What prominence, if any, does it seem to give to its referent?

3. How does sana *this* seem to be used in 18c (si sana is translated *at this time*)?

4. In section 6.1 we noted the frequent use of the first person pronoun ἐγώ *I* in the Greek of the letter to Philemon. Why does 19b of the Kalinga text begin with the pronoun dikani *we*?[133]

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[132] The article is also omitted when the referent of θεός is not an activated entity. For example, θέλημα θεοῦ (1 Thess. 5:18) can mean 'the divine will' (though the referent is focal, anyhow). The same is true of 1:9 and 4:16.

The only occasion on which the article is used in 1 Thessalonians when θεός is part of a focal constituent is in 4:8 (τὸν θεὸν τὸν [καὶ] διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς [*lit.*, the God the.one also giving the Spirit the Holy to you]). In this instance, though, the head noun is modified by an adjectival phrase ("the God who gives you his Holy Spirit"—Richard 1995:186) which is there to underline the fact that we are called by God *to a state of holiness* (7) by the same God who gives the **Holy** Spirit to us. In other words, the DFE is *holy*, not *God*, hence the use of the article.

[133] **Suggested Answers** for Kalinga text:

1. When sana *this* is used in 13c, we might expect it to give thematic **prominence** to its referent. This would imply that the theme of being careful of one's body (13-14) is given more prominence than the themes of enrolling in the right course (3-4), homesickness (5c) and the group one goes around with (8-9), which are referred to with sadi.

2. In 22, the use of sana *this* gives **thematic** prominence to *these teachings*, which refers to the theme of the whole letter.

3. In 18, sana *this* appears to be used exophorically, to refer to 'nowadays' as distinct from previous times.

4. 19b begins with the pronoun dikani *we* to signal a temporary switch of attention from the addressees.

6.3 Determiners and thematic prominence in the Bariai text

Since Bariai is an Austronesian language, the –ne ending of the proximal demonstrative (ein(e) *this*, beda-ne *like this*) is probably related to Kalinga -na. Proximal demonstratives are used frequently in the text. Distal demonstratives are used twice (4d, 15a), in the expression kado-nga toa beda-oa *behaviour that (is) like that*.

Questions

1. The author usually uses the expression kado-ne toa beda-oa *behaviour that (is) like this* (4b, 4c, 6b; 8a is similar). Why does he use kado-nga toa beda-oa in 4d and 15a? (You may get a hint from the way distal demonstratives are used in languages of the Philippines.)
2. The first person subject pronoun gau is used in 2a & 9a. Why is it omitted in 4a?[134]

6.4 Determiners and thematic prominence in the Dungra Bhil text

The demonstratives used in the Dungra Bhil text are the following:

* The adverbs ehnono *like this* and ehnana *like these* (proximal) and tetaha *that much* (distal).
* The adjectives ija/ɪʔɪ/ĩʔĩ *these* (proximal) and tija *that* (distal), which has the same form as the third person masculine singular oblique pronoun.
* The pronoun tõʔo/toʔo *that* (distal).[135]

Proximal demonstratives may be used for cataphoric, exophoric or anaphoric reference. Typically, the referent relates closely to the current theme or centre of attention.

We noted in section 5.2.3 that, to give prominence to a complex focal constituent, the constituent is left-dislocated and is followed (usually immediately) by a proximal adverb with the same referent (9, 12, 19-21). A proximal demonstrative may also follow a complex **topic** that has been left-dislocated, provided the referent relates closely to the current theme. For example, the referents of ĩʔĩ in 39 (below) are activities that are mentioned in the left-dislocated constituent that immediately precedes. These are activities that the speaker has already urged his children not to engage in, so relate closely to his main theme:

39b [horu pi-noʔo, viṭa-noʔo, suri koʔ-unoʔo], **ĩʔĩ** akho kaj kamo-o naje.
      liquor drink-GER fight-GER theft do-GER   these all any work-POS NEG
      liquor-drinking, fighting and stealing: none of these is of any use.

When tija and the other third person pronouns are used as adjectives, they function like **articles** and are the default (non-thematic) way of making an anaphoric reference. As in Greek, they precede nouns that refer to a particular entity or concept to tell that the reader to locate the referent in his or her current mental representation. They typically occur early in the sentence in line with the Principle of Natural Information Flow, as in 14: tija mahõ-õ koʔ-mẽ *in that man's house*.

Like ἐκεῖνος in Greek, a **distal** demonstrative like toʔo *that* gives some prominence to its referent, but at the same time indicates that the referent is athematic (other than the current

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[134] **Suggested Answers** for Bariai text:

1. Distal demonstratives do NOT give thematic prominence to their referent, so the author uses kado-nga toa beda-oa *behaviour like that* in 4d and 15a in anticipation of a switch to a description of good behaviour (5-6a, 15b-c).
2. When the first person subject pronoun gau is used in 2a and 9a, the author is (re)introducing himself. In the context of 4a, in contrast, he is already an active participant (see *if anyone doesn't listen to my voice*—3a).

[135] A second set of distal demonstratives is also found in Dungra Bhil. For example, one narrative refers to *that tiger* both as **tõ** vag (for thematic prominence) and as **tõa** vag (in background comments).

theme or centre of attention). In 21, for instance, prominence is given to the referent of tõʔo because of the importance of his or her advice. However, the centre of attention is *you*:

21	ehnoho	**tõʔo**	tumaha	ko-je,	tahã	tumi	tijaa	guʈhi	manu-hũ	dʒuve.
	like this	that	to you	say-FUT	then	you	his	speech	accept-INF	go.?

(If) this is what that person says to you, then you should accept his counsel.

Questions

1. In 18, why are proximal demonstratives (**iʔi** akho *all these* and **ehnoho**-dʒ *just like this*) appropriate?

2. In 13, why is a distal demonstrative (toʔo *that*) appropriate?[136]

A comparison of the determiners in Dungra Bhil and Koiné Greek suggests that the proximal and distal demonstratives are used in fairly similar ways. However, the article is much less frequent in Dungra Bhil than in Greek. In the texts examined, it was only attached to points of departure or propositional topics. If this restriction holds for other texts, then the article would only be used in translation into Dungra Bhil when the constituent concerned was a pre-verbal subject in Greek or had been preposed to establish a point of departure (see secs. 4.3.1-2).

Application to the language you are analysing

In section 9.2 of Levinsohn 2011, the Application read as follows: "Describe the system of determiners used, together with the deictic-exophoric and text-related functions of each. Which set of determiners or pronouns, if any, is used for thematic references? For athematic references?"

Analyse the determiners used in your non-narrative texts. Then correct or amplify the conclusions you reached after analysing your narrative texts.

Application to translation

Because of the potential mismatches between the use of determiners in Greek and in the receptor languages, it is essential that you determine how the different determiners are used in natural texts in the receptor language, then compare their functions with those of the Greek determiners. This is because, when there is a mismatch between the languages, there is no guarantee that a mother tongue translator will automatically make the correct substitution.

We saw this clearly when translating into Inga (Quechuan OV, Colombia). When the Spanish text had a proximal demonstrative (e.g. murieron todos **éstos** *these all died*—Heb. 11:13), our co-translator invariably used a proximal demonstrative in his draft translation. Yet proximal demonstratives in Inga never refer to an activated participant, so an Inga listener would expect the demonstrative to be **followed** by a list of those who died! Our solution was to replace the proximal demonstrative with a distal one in the Spanish text (e.g. murieron todos **aquéllos** *those all died*)!!!

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[136] **Suggested Answers** for Dungra Bhil text:

1. In 18, proximal demonstratives are appropriate because the referents of iʔi akho *all these* and ehnoho-dʒ *just like this* relate closely to the current theme (the results of becoming addicted to liquor).

2. In 13, a distal demonstrative is appropriate because it gives prominence to the referent of toʔo *that* (*any food that is in the house*) and because the referent is other than the current theme (the results of becoming addicted to liquor).

6.5   Relative clauses in non-narrative material in African languages and Hebrew[137]

Section 10.3 of Levinsohn 2011 noted that most relative clauses in African languages are **restrictive**. This means that they restrict and identify the referent of the head noun. For example, in the NP *the ways the disease spreads* (Kambaata [Cushitic OV, Ethiopia]—cited below), the relative clause *the disease spreads* identifies *the ways* the speaker is referring to. In other words, the relative clause restricts the referent of *the ways* to those by which *the disease spreads*.[138]

> … [**moosu-s**   **tar-ano**   woqqaakka-ta] da-ggeenanta-ga   amma`n-aammi.
> disease-ANA   contaminate-PRE.3sm   ways-ACC   know-PRE.2p-like   believe-PRE.1
> *I believe you know [the ways **the disease spreads**]...*

Relative clauses and prominence

The same section also noted that relative clauses in many African languages are typically used for **thematic** prominence and to **intensify** a quantifier such as *all* or *none*. If such is the case for narrative in a particular language, then it will also be the case for other genres.

Thus, in a hortatory text about the ancestors in Yemba (Grassfields SVO, Cameroon), relative clauses often refer to the items that the addressees should or should not be offering to their ancestors, and which therefore are highly thematic. *This wine that we will be drinking* is one such item:

> [Melu'   **mïði**   **môpá eà   gó eönuà   laö**]
> wine REL   1in   CLASS2 go IRR-drink   ANA
> *[this wine **that we will be drinking**...],will we first take a drop of the wine and throw it to them, for them to then drink?*

When a head noun is modified by *all* or *none*, a relative clause may be used to **intensify** the inclusiveness of the referent. In the following example from Konzime (Bantu A, SVO, Cameroon), the relative clauses *that are in the forest* and *that are in this world* do not restrict *all the animals* in any way. Instead, they intensify the inclusiveness of *all*:

> Call [all the animals **that are in the forest**]! Call [all the animals **that are in this world**]!

Relative clauses and non-established information

Restrictions on the use of relative clauses vary from language to language. Wiesmann (2000:72) finds that non-established information is never given in a restrictive relative clause in Toussian (Gur SOV, Burkina Faso), and the relative clause is never part of a focal constituent. In contrast, relative clauses in Yemba may convey non-established information, and the relative clause may be part of the focal constituent. In sentence 7 of the text about the ancestors, for instance, the head noun (*message*) is established information (see 6), but the relative clause itself contains new information:

> 6   *We have just heard that message.*

> 7   EÀ gó [ñke   **yïði Ndeàm a   le   kóöñ aà   yïùmpá tá ntseàkne...**]
> it be message   REL God   LOC   PAST4 love   LOC   1in   until   finish
> *It is [the message **that God loved us extraordinarily**...]*

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[138] Some African languages also use non-restrictive relative clauses (*ibid.* secs. 10.3.2-4).

In the examples of this section, the NP that includes the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets. The relative clause itself is bolded.

In some languages, relative clauses are also used in cleft constructions (sec. 5.4; e.g., *It's you **who put the milk in***). The comments of this section do not necessarily apply to such relative clauses, as they do not modify the head noun, but rather occur in a different part of the construction.

Mona Perrin points out that, when a NP that contains a relative clause conveys **completely new** information in an African language (in other words, neither the head noun nor the relative clause conveys established information), then the head noun will be very **generic**. Often, the head noun can only be *thing(s), person/people, time* or *place*, with the relative clause identifying which thing, person, time or place is referred to. Such is the case throughout a text that gives advice in Bafut (Grassfields SVO, Cameroon), as in:

>   oè   ñwaè'aènéè [tsi'iì *ìinnuè*   **jìiì mé oè zi aaè**];
>   2swrite   only   things RELthat 2s know
>   *... write [only the things **that you know**];*

Relative clauses in Hebrew

The above comments about the use of relative clauses to convey prominence apply also to many Hebrew clauses that begin with the relative pronoun ʾašer (see sec. 10.3.7 of Levinsohn 2011).

For instance, in Genesis 3:11 (*From [the tree* **ʾašer *I commanded you not to eat***]), *the tree* is highly **thematic**.

Similarly, the three relative clauses of Exodus 20:4 (below) are not there to identify what the referent is like, but to **intensify** the inclusiveness of kol *all, any* and, thence, the prohibition against making graven images:

> 4 *You shall not make for yourself a graven image & [any* (kol) *likeness* ʾašer *[is] in the heavens above &* ʾašer *[is] in the earth beneath &* ʾašer *[is] in the waters under the earth].*

Relative clauses in Greek

Many relative clauses in Greek cannot be translated into African languages with a relative clause because they are NOT restrictive. Non-restrictive relative clauses may be:

- **descriptive**, serving "merely to give the hearer an added piece of information about an already identified entity, but not to identify that entity" (Comrie 1989:138).
- **continuative**. Such clauses typically describe the next event (in narrative) or point (of an argument) "that involves the referent of the relative pronoun" (Levinsohn 2011 sec. 10.3.4).

Even when a relative clause in Greek is restrictive, it may be presenting non-established information, yet NOT have a generic noun as its head.

Furthermore, it may be inappropriate to give prominence to the noun which the relative clause is modifying because it is NOT thematic.

Questions

1. Why should Luke 15:16a (*He longed to fill his stomach with* [*the pods **that the pigs were eating**]*) NOT be translated into most African languages with a relative clause?
2. Why should Acts 1:11 ([*This Jesus, **who has been taken from you into heaven**], will come back...*) NOT be translated into most African languages with a relative clause?[139]

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[139] **Suggested Answers**:
1. Luke 15:16a should not be translated into most African languages with a relative clause because *the pods* are a minor prop in the parable, so are not thematic. Also, *the pods* are not a generic noun, even though the whole NP conveys non-established information. To avoid the problem, one could say: "The pigs were eating pods. He longed to fill his stomach with them."
2. Acts 1:11 should not be translated into most African languages with a relative clause because it is non-restrictive. Although Jesus is thematic in this verse (the two men are talking about him), the relative clause is not used to identify which Jesus they were talking about (how many Jesuses were present?). To avoid the problem, one could say, "Jesus, *the one* who has been taken from you into heaven..." (See sec. 6.1.2 on the function of οὗτος *this*.)

Application to the letter to Philemon

Four relative clauses are used in this letter to modify noun heads: 5b, 10b, 12a and 13a.

1. Is the relative clause of 5b restrictive or non-restrictive? Is its referent thematic or not?

5a	σου	τὴν ἀγάπην	καὶ	τὴν	πίστιν						
	your	the love	and	the	faith						

5b	ἣν	ἔχεις	πρὸς	τὸν κύριον	Ἰησοῦν	καὶ	εἰς πάντας	τοὺς	ἁγίους,
	which	you.have	for	the Lord	Jesus	and	for all	the	saints

your love that you have for all the saints and your faith toward the Lord Jesus.

2. Is the relative clause of 10b restrictive or non-restrictive? Is its referent thematic or not?[140]

10a	περὶ	τοῦ ἐμοῦ	τέκνου
	concerning	the my	child

10b	ὃν	ἐγέννησα	ἐν	τοῖς	δεσμοῖς,
	whom	I.gave.birth	in	the	bonds

concerning my child to whom I became a father during my imprisonment;

3. Are the relative clauses of 12a and 13a restrictive or non-restrictive?[141]

11	τόν	ποτέ	σοι	ἄχρηστον	νυνὶ	δὲ	[καὶ]	σοὶ	καὶ ἐμοὶ	εὔχρηστον,
	the.one	once	to.you	useless	now	DM	ADD	to.you	and to.me	useful

the one formerly useless to you, but now indeed useful both to you and to me;

12a	ὃν	ἀνέπεμψά σοι,	αὐτόν,	(12b)	τοῦτ᾽	ἔστιν	τὰ	ἐμὰ	σπλάγχνα·
	whom	I.sent.back to.you	him		this	is	the	my	inward.parts

whom I am sending back to you   him, that is, my own heart;

13a	ὃν	ἐγὼ	ἐβουλόμην	πρὸς	ἐμαυτὸν	κατέχειν,
	whom	I	I.was.desiring	with	myself	to.keep

whom I was wanting to keep with me

Application to the language you are analysing

In sections 10.3.4 and 10.3.6 of Levinsohn 2011, the Applications read as follows:

1. Indicate whether relative clauses can be used in a non-restrictive sense. If they can, describe their function(s) (descriptive or continuative).

2. If the language uses more than one type of restrictive relative clause, distinguish their functions.

3. When relative clauses are used in a restrictive (identifying) sense, describe where they occur and what their function(s) are. (For example, they may usually not be found in clauses that describe theme-line events; they may always relate to thematic prominence.)

4. When relative clauses only recapitulate established information, what is their function? (For example, they may slow down the story and thus highlight the next event to be described.)

Analyse the relative clauses used in your non-narrative texts. Then correct or amplify the conclusions you reached after analysing your narrative texts.

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[140] **Suggested Answers:**

1. Philemon 5b is probably a restrictive relative clause, as it identifies the objects of *your love* and *your faith*. Its referent is thematic, as Paul's appeal to Philemon is *on the basis of love* (9a).

2. Philemon 10b is a restrictive relative clause, as it identifies the child that Paul is talking about. Its referent is thematic, as the theme of Paul's letter is *my child, Onesimus*.

[141] **Suggested Answer**:

3. The relative clauses of 12a and 13a are non-restrictive. To avoid this problem, one could say, "I am sending him back to you" and "I was wanting to keep him with me".

7. Backgrounding and Highlighting Devices, including The Relative Potency of Different Forms of Exhortation

This chapter begins by considering the relative potency of different forms of exhortation and when each form is appropriate (sec. 7.1). The following four sections discuss different forms of exhortation in the languages we have been considering (secs. 7.2-5). Section 7.6 reviews and illustrates the backgrounding devices that were presented in chapter 5 of Levinsohn 2011. The final section concerns devices that commonly highlight propositions or groups of propositions in non-narrative material.

7.1 The relative potency of different forms of exhortation

Speakers may express exhortations in a variety of ways. Consider the following ways that Paul might have expressed his first exhortation to Philemon (17b):

1. *Welcome him as you would me.*
2. *I appeal to you to welcome him as you would me.*
3. *I would like you to welcome him as you would me.*
4. *You should welcome him as you would me.*
5. *Please welcome him as you would me.*
6. *You will welcome him as you would me.*
7. *You must welcome him as you would me.*

One way to distinguish different forms of exhortation is on the basis of their relative **potency**. Wendland (2000:58) defines the potency of an exhortation as "its relative directness, urgency, or degree of mitigation". "Mitigate" means "make less severe" (*OED*).

Exercise

Order the above forms of exhortation from the most potent (in your opinion) to the least potent.[142]

7.1.1 What makes an exhortation potent?

The potency of a form of exhortation depends on a number of factors, including the following:

- **mood**. Imperatives (e.g. 1 above) are typically more potent than exhortations expressed with indicatives or other moods (e.g. 4). However, certain mood markers (e.g. English *will*) may be judged to be more potent than the imperative.
- **person**. An exhortation in second person is typically more potent than one in first person, which in turn is typically more potent than one in third person. Compare *You must work…* (Dungra Bhil 29), *We must work…* (27) and *People must work...*
- **dependence**. Exhortations expressed with independent verbs are typically more potent than those expressed with nominalised verbs or in dependent clauses (with certain exceptions). Compare *Do not smoke!* and *No smoking!*
- **mitigating expressions**. Expressions like *please* (5) make an exhortation less potent. Certain **orienters** (e.g. *I would like you to*—4) also make an exhortation less potent.

7.1.2 Factors influencing the form of exhortation chosen

I now discuss five factors that influence the form of exhortation chosen: the social relationship between the exhorter and the exhortee(s), the type of discourse in which it appears, its position in the text, the degree of prominence each exhortation is to receive, and its scope (whether or not it is to be acted on just once and/or immediately).

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[142] **Suggested Answer**. Twelve native English speakers who are not linguists ordered the first six of these exhortations from most potent to least potent. Most of them considered 6 to be most potent, followed by 1, then 2, then 4, then 5, then 3. I placed 5 before 4!

Social relationship

One factor that influences the potency of the forms of exhortation used is the social relationship of the exhorter to the exhortee(s): his or her "power, authority, eldership, knowledge and wisdom superiority" (Kompaoré 2004:24).[143] Consequently, when Dungra Bhil villagers exhort a government officer, they employ terms of respect and mitigation such as *Tahasil officer* and *please* (see sec. 2.3), to reflect the officer's superior status in society. Such terms do not appear in the Dungra Bhil father's exhortation to his children not to drink liquor.

The type of hortatory discourse

The type ("volitive weight"—Kompaoré 2004:40) of hortatory discourse (sec. 2.4) also influences the potency of the forms of exhortation selected. In particular:

- **Instruction** tends to be more potent than **persuasion**.
- **Rebukes** tend to be more potent than **counsels**.

One problem for the translator arises when a particular form of exhortation is more potent in one language than in another. For example, Koiné Greek instruction uses imperatives not only to counsel, but also to rebuke. In some African languages, however, imperatives tend to be interpreted only as rebukes. Consequently, if imperatives are used in such languages to translate Paul's imperatives in 1 Thessalonians 5:14-22, he will be understood to be rebuking his readers, rather than counselling them!

The position of the exhortation in the text

When more than one form of exhortation is employed in a text that gives **counsel**, the exhorter usually **begins** with **less potent** exhortations and **concludes** with **more potent** ones.

This is seen in the Greek of 1 Thessalonians. The first imperative of the letter does not occur till 4:18 and its content is affirming (*Therefore encourage one another with these words*—also in 5:11).[144] The next exhortations (5:6, 8) are first person (*So then let us not sleep…*). The following ones are introduced with the orienter ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς *we ask you* and are expressed in infinitival clauses (5:12-13). Further ones are introduced with a more demanding orienter, παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς *we urge/appeal to you* (5:14) and are encoded as imperatives. To cap it all, an even more demanding orienter, Ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον *I adjure you by the Lord* introduces the final exhortation of the book: *this letter to be read to all the brothers* (5:27).

When a text is given in order to **rebuke**, in contrast, it may well **begin** with a **potent** exhortation. Such is the case in the Dungra Bhil text. The first sentence (*you shouldn't be drinking* (ma piha) *liquor*) is probably the most potent in the text (20a-b, which are comparable, occur in reported speech). Later exhortations become less potent (see discussion in sec. 7.5).

The first exhortation of 1 Corinthians (1:10) is similar: *Now I appeal to you* (Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς)*, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that* (ἵνα) *all of you be in agreement and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same purpose*. Prominence is given to this exhortation to be united by the positive – negative – positive paraphrase and by giving the exhortation *by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

The relative prominence of different exhortations

When a text contains a number of exhortations, some of them are likely to be more important than others, as far as the exhorter is concerned (see sec. 6.2 on the use of the proximal demonstrative sana *this* to give prominence to one of the themes in the Kalinga text). One way to give more prominence to one exhortation over against another is to increase its potency (see below).

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[143] Hélène Dallaire (*Social Dynamics and the Biblical Hebrew Volitives* [paper read at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting in 2004]) claims that the use of different forms of exhortation in Hebrew "is connected to one of the following contexts: 1. Where one of higher social status addresses one of lower social status. 2. Where one of lower social status addresses one of higher social status."

[144] In 1 Thess. 2:9, *you remember* (μνημονεύετε)*, brothers, our toil and hardship* is taken to be indicative, rather than imperative, as the connective used is γὰρ *for*.

Conversely, one way to background one exhortation over against another is to decrease its potency (see secs. 7.2.1 and 7.2.3 for examples in Greek).

The following passage (1 Corinthians 10:6-11) uses a switch from first to second person in order to make the following exhortations **more potent** (see discussion below):

> 6   *Now these things occurred as examples for us, so that we might not desire evil as they did.*
>
>   7   *Do not become idolaters* (μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε) *as some of them did; as it is written, "The people sat down to eat and drink, and they rose up to play".*
>
>   8   *We must not indulge in sexual immorality* (μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν) *as some of them did, and twenty-three thousand fell in a single day.*
>
>   9   *We must not test* (μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν) *Christ, as some of them did, and were destroyed by serpents.*
>
>   10   *And do not complain* (μηδὲ γογγύζετε) *as some of them did, and were destroyed by the destroyer.*
>
> 11   *These things happened to them to serve as an example, and they were written down to instruct us…*

The above passage is arranged chiastically (see sec. 8.6) and the direct exhortations (7-10) are surrounded by an *inclusio* (6, 11) which is directed to *us* (*examples for us… to instruct us*). One would therefore expect the exhortations to also be in first person. Consequently, when Paul switches from first to second person in 7 (and again in 10), the effect is to make the exhortation more potent than would otherwise be the case.

The motivation for the first of these switches is found in 14: *Therefore, my dear friends, flee from the worship of idols*, which returns to a theme that Paul has been considering since chapter 8 (Fee 1987). (See sec. 7.5 for a similar switch in Dungra Bhil.)

The scope of the exhortation

Exhortations that are to be acted on **just once** and/or **immediately** (e.g. *Welcome him as you would me*—Philemon 17b) are often encoded differently from those that are **more general** (e.g. *Honour widows who are really widows*—1 Timothy 5:3). Here are some examples.

- In Inga (Quechuan, Colombia), imperatives are used only for exhortations that call for an immediate response. Exhortations that are to be acted on later or are of a more general nature are encoded with an indicative verb that lacks a marker of tense.
- Hebrew imperatives are also used for exhortations that call for an immediate response. Those that apply all the time are expressed in other ways (e.g. with an infinitival clause).
- In the Greek of Philemon and other Pauline letters, forms with perfective aspect ("aorists") are used for exhortations that call for a single, usually immediate response. Forms with imperfective aspect ("presents") are used for those of a more general or indefinite nature.[145]

We now consider different forms of exhortation in the four languages we have been considering.

Review Questions

1. Name four factors that influence the potency of an exhortation.
2. Name five factors that influence the selection of one form of exhortation over against another.
3. If a commentator writes that a Greek imperative, subjunctive or infinitive is in the "present", what does this mean?
4. When do we have to be particularly careful when translating Greek imperatives into another language?[146]

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[145] Greek imperatives are usually described as "present" or "aorist", which may give the impression that they are marked for tense. In fact, the distinction is between imperfective and perfective aspect. This is reflected in the way Wallace (1996:485) explains their function: "With the *aorist*, the force generally is to *command the action as a whole*, without focussing on duration, repetition, etc... With the *present*, the force generally is to *command the action as an ongoing process*." In the Greek of 1 Peter, the distribution of the two aspectual forms is different.

    Tense-type labels for Greek infinitives, subjunctives and participles should also be reinterpreted as aspects.

7.2 Different forms of exhortation in Koiné Greek

All the direct exhortations in the letter to Philemon are imperatives (see sec. 7.2.4), so I have turned to other New Testament letters, especially 1 Timothy, 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians, to illustrate further forms of exhortation.

The following sub-sections discuss some of the ways that exhortations are encoded in these letters. They are presented in three sets:

- those that are directed to the exhortee(s) themselves (sec. 7.2.1), such as *welcome him as you would welcome me* (Philemon 17b)
- those that the exhortee is to pass on to others (sec. 7.2.2), such as *If any believing woman has relatives who are really widows, she must assist them* (1 Tim. 5:16)
- participial forms (sec. 7.2.3), such as *doing nothing on the basis of partiality* (1 Tim. 5:21), since their potency is often determined by the clause to which they are subordinated.

7.2.1 Exhortations that are directed to the exhortee(s)

We have seen that the potency of an exhortation is influenced by its mood, its person, its encoding in an independent or dependent clause, and the presence of otherwise of a mitigating expression (sec. 7.1). The following details apply to Koiné Greek:

- **mood**. Imperatives are more potent than exhortations expressed as subjunctives or indicatives.
- **person**. Exhortations in second person are more potent than those in first person, which in turn are more potent than those in third person.
- **dependence**. Exhortations expressed in independent clauses are more potent than those expressed in subordinate clauses.
- **mitigating expressions**. Some of the **orienters** that introduce exhortations act as mitigating expressions. Others provide motivation for obeying the exhortations and may even give them prominence.

I consider these factors in turn.

<u>Mood</u>

Exhortations in Greek may be expressed in independent clauses with imperatives (most potent), subjunctives (less potent) or indicatives (least potent).

Imperatives. The second person imperative is the default way of expressing an instruction-type exhortation in Greek. In 1 Timothy, for example, although the first imperative does not occur until 4:7, it is then the preferred way of encoding both positive and negative exhortations.[147]

Imperatives encode both theme line exhortations and supportive ones used as attention getters (sec. 2.2.4). Examples of attention getters include Ἀκούετε *Listen!* (Mark 4:3) and Μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατάτω *No-one should deceive himself!* (1 Cor. 3:18a).

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[146] **Suggested Answers**:

1. Four factors that influence the potency of an exhortation are its mood, its person, its encoding in an independent or dependent clause, and the presence or otherwise of a mitigating expression.

2. Five factors that influence the selection of one form of exhortation over against another are the social relationship between the exhorter and exhortee(s), the type of hortatory discourse, the position of the exhortation in the text, its relative prominence and its scope.

3. If a commentator writes that a Greek imperative, subjunctive or infinitive is in the "present", this means that it has imperfective aspect.

4. Particular care has to be taken in translation when a Greek imperative has been used to counsel, rather than rebuke.

[147] In some languages, the default for a particular type may be different for positive and negative exhortations. In the Hebrew of the Ten Commandments, for instance, the negative exhortations are expressed with an imperfective declarative, whereas the positive ones use an infinitive.

Subjunctives. 1 Timothy 5:1a uses a second person subjunctive instead of a negative imperative. This more mitigated form of expression backgrounds the negative exhortation with respect to the positive one that follows (1b), which is in the imperative:

- 1a *You should not rebuke* (μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς) *an older man;*
- 1b *rather, exhort* (παρακάλει) *him as if he were your father.*

1 Corinthians 16:11 is similar, except that the subjunctive is third person: *No one should despise* (μή … ἐξουθενήσῃ) *him, then; rather, send him on his way* (προπέμψατε) *in peace…*

Although imperatives are the default way of giving instruction in Greek, more mitigated forms of exhortation are used in **persuasion**. In Acts 23:21, for example, the theme-line exhortation of Paul's nephew to the Roman tribune is in the subjunctive:

- 21 *You, then, should not be persuaded* (μὴ πεισθῇς) *by them.*

Indicatives. Many commentators (e.g. Kelly 1963:137) take the first person future indicative in 1 Timothy 6:8 to be hortatory. This form of exhortation is very mitigated:[148]

- 8 *but if we have food and clothing, with these we will be content* (ἀρκεσθησόμεθα).

Person

Exhortations in Greek may be in second person (most potent), first person (less potent) or third person (least potent). See section 7.1.2 on the gradual build-up of potency in the hortatory material of 1 Thessalonians 5, with **first** person used in 6 and 8, and **second** person in 14-22.

I stated above that a second person imperative is the default way of expressing an instruction-type exhortation in Greek. However, the context for the exhortations of 1 Corinthians 10:7-10 (cited in sec. 4.1.2) is first person (see 6 and 11). Consequently, the use of second person imperatives in 7 and 10 gives prominence to these exhortations.

See 1 Corinthians 16:11 (above) for the use of a **third** person subjunctive to background *No one should despise him* with respect to *send him on his way in peace*.

We have already noted that **persuasion** tends to use more mitigated forms of exhortation than instruction. This explains why the main exhortations of a persuasive text are often in third person. Acts 2:36, for instance, uses a third person imperative:[149]

- 36 *Let the entire house of Israel know with certainty* (ἀσφαλῶς γινωσκέτω), *then, that God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified.*

Dependence[150]

Exhortations sometimes occur in infinitival clauses or in final clauses subordinated by ἵνα followed by the subjunctive. Exhortations in subordinate clauses are inherently more indirect and less potent than those in independent clauses.

Infinitival clauses. Romans 12:15 uses infinitival clauses to encode exhortations (*Rejoice* (χαίρειν) *with those who rejoice, weep* (κλαίειν) *with those who weep*). Miller (1992:174-75) suggests that infinitival exhortations "encode *moral duty*". Wendland (2000:61) considers infinitives to be a very mitigated way of expressing exhortations:[151]

Final clauses. The exhortation of 1 Timothy 3:15 occurs in a final clause subordinated by ἵνα, and is introduced with the modal verb δεῖ *ought*, which Wendland considers not to be potent,

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[148] The second person future indicative in 1 Timothy 5:18 is a quotation from Deut. 25:4 (*for the scripture says, "You shall not muzzle* (οὐ φιμώσεις) *an ox while it is treading out the grain"*). This translates the imperfective *yqtl* form of Hebrew, which is used to express exhortations that apply all the time (sec. 7.1.2). The equivalent in Greek would be an imperfective imperative.

[149] See also Acts 17:30, cited below.

[150] Exhortations expressed in participial clauses are discussed in sec. 7.2.3.

[151] Contrast Hebrew, in which infinitival clauses (infinitives absolute) are "emphatic imperatives ... a kind of fixed, invariable word of command" (Cowley *et al* 1909 §113*bb*(a)). Exodus 20:8 (*To remember the Sabbath day...*) is an example.

even when in an independent clause (see sec. 7.2.2). Here, because of the subordination, the exhortation is very indirect indeed:

> 14 *I am writing these things to you although I hope to come to you soon, (15) if I am delayed, so that* (ἵνα) *you may know how one ought* (δεῖ) *to conduct oneself in the household of God...*

Orienters

Orienters often introduce exhortations in Greek. The exhortations themselves are most often expressed in infinitival clauses, though they may be encoded as imperatives (see below) or final clauses[152]. Some orienters act as mitigating expressions. Others provide motivation for obeying the exhortations and may even highlight them.

In 1 Thessalonians 4:13, which begins a new hortatory section, the orienter Οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς *we do not want you* acts as a mitigating expression for the exhortation that it introduces. The exhortation itself (not *to be ignorant… that you do not grieve...*) is expressed in the infinitival clause and the following final clause:

> 13 *Brothers, we do not want you* (οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς) *to be ignorant about those who fall asleep, so that* (ἵνα) *you do not grieve like the rest of men who have no hope.*

Reporting an exhortation may mitigate it. Acts 17:22-31 is a persuasion-type speech by Paul to philosophers in Athens. Paul mitigates his main exhortation (*to repent*) by presenting it as a report of what God commands (the orienter is παραγγέλλει *commands*):[153]

> 30 *Whereas God has overlooked the times of human ignorance, now he commands (παραγγέλλει) all people everywhere to repent.*

Other orienters provide **motivation** for obeying the exhortations. In 1 Timothy 6:13-14, for instance, the exhortation that is introduced with the orienter παραγγέλλω [σοι] *I charge you* is reinforced by giving it *in the presence of God … and of Christ Jesus*:

> 13 *I charge you* (παραγγέλλω [σοι]), *in the presence of God, who gives life to all things, and of Christ Jesus, who in his testimony before Pontius Pilate made the good confession, (14) to keep the commandment without spot or blame until the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ*

Finally, in 1 Thessalonians 5:14, the orienter παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς *we urge/appeal to you* introduces exhortations that are encoded as **imperatives** (*warn those who are idle, encourage the timid, help the weak, be patient with everyone*). The presence of the orienter presumably highlights exhortations that are already potent.

When an exhortation is introduced with an orienter, the degree of potency depends on a number of factors, including:[154]

- the orienter(s) chosen. Contrast the potency associated with παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς *we urge/ appeal to you* (1 Thess. 5:14) and Οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς *we do not want you* (1 Thess. 4:13).
- how many orienters are used. The amount of prominence given to what follows probably increases with the number used (1 Thess. 4:1 uses two: ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν *we ask and urge/appeal to you*).
- whether the exhortation is reinforced (see 1 Tim. 6:13, discussed above).

The way the actual exhortations are encoded (infinitive, subjunctive or imperative) should also affect their potency, with the imperative being most potent.

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[152] For examples in which an orienter is followed by exhortations encoded as final clauses, see 1 Cor. 1:10 (cited in sec. 7.1.2) and 1 Tim. 5:21a (cited in sec. 7.2.3).

[153] See sec. 7.5 for a similar example in Dungra Bhil. Note, however, that if the reported speaker is an authority figure, this will increase the potency of the exhortation (e.g. 'Thus saith the Lord').

[154] Wendland (2000:58) makes a two-fold distinction for 1 Peter between "a direct appeal 'I beseech' (παρακαλῶ) by the author to his addressees" (more potent) and "the performative mention of an order or prohibition followed by indirect speech" (less potent).

7.2.2 Exhortations that the exhortee is to pass on to others

The **default** way to express an exhortation that is to be passed on to others is with a third person imperative. See, for example, 1 Timothy 3:12a:

    12a *Deacons are to be* (διάκονοι ἔστωσαν) *the husband of one wife*.

One way to **mitigate** an exhortation that the exhortee is to pass on to others is with the impersonal modal verb δεῖ *it is necessary* plus an infinitival clause. Wendland (2000:58) considers this form of expressing an exhortation to be of little potency. 1 Timothy 3:2 provides an example:

    2   *Now it is necessary* (δεῖ) *for an overseer to be above reproach...*

Exhortations to be passed on to others may also be encoded in a final or infinitival clause, following an **orienter**. The degree of potency associated with the orienter varies considerably, as the following three examples indicate.

In 1 Timothy 5:14, the orienter is βούλομαι *I want*:

    14 *So I want* (βούλομαι) *younger widows to marry, to have children, and to manage their households...*

A very indirect form of exhortation is found in 1 Timothy 2:12. By using the orienter οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω *I do not allow*, Paul is indirectly exhorting Timothy to follow his example:

    12 *I do not allow* (οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω) *a woman to teach or to have authority over a man...*

Finally, the imperative form of the orienter ὁρᾶτε *see* ensures that the exhortation of 1 Thessalonians 5:15 (encoded in a final clause) is very potent:

    15 *Make sure* (ὁρᾶτε) *that nobody pays back wrong for wrong...*

7.2.3 Exhortations expressed or implied in an anarthrous[155] participial clause

This section concerns participial clauses that are dependent on a nuclear clause that expresses an exhortation. If the participial clause follows the nuclear clause, it usually takes on the potency of the nuclear exhortation. If the participial clause precedes the nuclear clause, it is usually backgrounded with respect to the nuclear exhortation.

Participial clauses that follow an exhortation

Participial clauses that are dependent on and follow a clause that expresses an exhortation usually take on the potency of the preceding exhortation (see below for an exception). Most often, the participial clause has imperfective ("present") aspect.

Thus, a participial clause that depends on and follows a second person **imperative** is as potent as the imperative. This is seen in 1 Timothy 6:20; Timothy is exhorted both to guard what has been entrusted to him and, equally, to turn *away from the profane chatter and contradictions of what is falsely called knowledge* (expressed in a participial clause with imperfective aspect):

    20a *Timothy, guard* (φύλαξον) *what has been entrusted to you,*
    20b *turning away from* (ἐκτρεπόμενος) *the profane chatter and contradictions of what is falsely called knowledge;*

Similarly, in 1 Thessalonians 5:8, the participial clause that depends on and follows the **first person** plural subjunctive is probably as potent as that exhortation. *We* are exhorted both to *be sober* and, equally, to *put on faith and love as a breastplate, and the hope of salvation as a helmet*. Unlike 8b, though, the participle has perfective ("aorist") aspect. "This implies an action antecedent to the action of the main verb" (Martin 2001:166):

    8a-b *We, in contrast, being* (ὄντες) *of the day, let us be sober* (νήφωμεν),
    8c   *having put on* (ἐνδυσάμενοι) *faith and love as a breastplate, and the hope of salvation as a helmet.*

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[155] An anarthrous participle in Greek is one that is not preceded by the article.

A participial clause that depends on and follows an exhortation introduced with an **orienter** is also as potent as its nuclear verb. The combination of the orienter Διαμαρτύρομαι *I earnestly testify* and the call on God to be a witness ensure that the exhortations of 1 Timothy 5:21 are very potent. Timothy is both *to keep these instructions without prejudice* and, equally, to *do nothing on the basis of partiality* (a participial clause with imperfective aspect):

> 21a *I earnestly testify* (Διαμαρτύρομαι) *in the presence of God ... that* (ἵνα) *you keep these instructions without prejudice*,
> 21b *doing* (ποιῶν) *nothing on the basis of partiality*.

The participial clauses discussed above have imperfective or perfective aspect. If a participial clause has **perfect** aspect and follows an exhortation, its status may be different.

   For instance, Hebrews 10:22 features two participial clauses with perfect aspect (22b-c) that depend on the nuclear exhortation of 22a. Although they can be interpreted as exhortations, commentators tend to view them as expressing "accompanying circumstances" or "a reason" (see Greenlee 1998:392 for a useful summary):

> 22a *let us draw near* (προσερχώμεθα) *with a sincere heart in full assurance of faith,*
> 22b *our hearts having been sprinkled* (ῥεραντισμένοι) *from a guilty conscience*
> 22c *and our bodies having been washed* (λελουσμένοι) *with pure water.*

Anarthrous participial clauses that precede an exhortation

Anarthrous participial clauses that **precede** a nuclear exhortation typically describe a situation or "attendant circumstance" (Wallace 1996:642) that must hold but is less important than the exhortation itself. 1 Thessalonians 5:8 (above) provides an example. Verse 5 has already indicated that *you* are all *sons of the day*; ἡμέρας ὄντες (*being of the day*) is therefore backgrounded to and provides the reason for the following exhortation, *let us be self-controlled*.

In Matthew 28:19, the pre-nuclear participial clause expresses an attendant circumstance that can also be taken as an exhortation. "The disciples have to go before they can make disciples. At the same time, the act of going is of secondary importance with respect to the act of making disciples" (Levinsohn 2000:183 fn. 5):

> 19 *Having gone* (πορευθέντες), *then, disciple* (μαθητεύσατε) *all nations,*

7.2.4 Application to the letter to Philemon

Section 2.4 noted that the use of inductive style in 4-18 suggests that Paul is seeking to persuade Philemon to do as he asks. "The shift into deductive style in 19-22, however, suggests a move from persuasion to instruction (note the word *obedience* in 21a)."

   This mixture of persuasion and instruction is reflected in the forms of exhortation used. The exhortations are introduced with an orienter παρακαλῶ σε *I urge/appeal to you* (10a, also in 9a), which could perhaps be viewed as a mitigating device, reflecting the persuasive nature of this section. However, the exhortations themselves, which are separated from the orienter by other supportive material, are all encoded as imperatives, reflecting instruction.

Two of the imperatives are perfective (17, 20); the other two are imperfective (18, 22). Both of the **perfective** imperatives are exhortations that Philemon is to act on immediately:

17 (*So, if you consider me your partner, welcome him as you would welcome me*). Paul is calling on Philemon to act as soon as he receives the letter by welcoming Onesimus.

20 (*Yes, brother, let me benefit from you in the Lord. Refresh my heart in Christ*). The same response is desired: *Refresh my heart in Christ* by welcoming Onesimus *as you would welcome me*.

Both of the **imperfective** imperatives are tentative in nature and neither encodes an exhortation that Philemon is to act on immediately:

18 (*If he wronged you in any way or owes you anything, charge that to my account*). 19 (*I say nothing about you owing me even your own self*) suggests that Paul does not in fact expect Philemon to act on this command (Alford 1863, Dibelius & Conzelmann 1966). He is certainly not

calling on him to act immediately.

22 (*Prepare a guest room for me, for I am hoping through your prayers to be restored to you*). Paul does not expect Philemon to prepare the guest room as soon as he receives the letter. Rather, he is to be ready to fulfil the command whenever he hears that Paul has been released from his prison and is on his way.

Review Questions

1. What is the default way of expressing exhortations in Greek instruction?
2. Exhortations are mitigated in various ways in persuasion-type material Name three of the ways.
3. In instruction, do exhortations tend to be more mitigated at the beginning or at the end?
4. Which anarthrous participial clauses in Greek take on the potency of the exhortation on which they depend?[156]

7.3 Different forms of exhortation in the Kalinga Text

According to section 2.2, the following sentences contain exhortations: 2, 5-8, 10-11, 13, 16-18, 20, 22, together with 1 (pointing forward to later exhortations). Of these, 1 and 22 are supportive.

Questions

1. Which of these exhortations appear to be imperatives?
2. Which exhortations use the modal verb ma-sapul̲' *it is necessary*?
3. Which exhortations use okyan *should*?
4. Which exhortations are introduced with an orienter? (i-baga-k os kan dikayu *I'm also telling you* [7] is an example).
5. Which exhortations are given indirectly?[157]

The suggested answers to the above questions indicate that, of the 14 exhortations found in this text, only the two or three imperatives have been encoded in a potent way. The others appear to be more mitigated. This suggests that the exhortations not to *be fond of roaming and (going out) with your peers* (8), to *Be careful (and) watch how you spend your money* (10) and to *be careful of your body* (13) are more important to the exhorter than the other exhortations. (See below on devices used to give prominence to the exhortation of 13.)

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[156] **Suggested Answers**:

1. The default way of expressing exhortations in Greek instruction is with second person imperatives.
2. Ways that exhortations are mitigated in persuasion-type material include the use of subjunctives, third person forms and appropriate orienters.
3. In instruction, exhortations tend to be more mitigated at the **beginning** than at the end of it (compare the exhortations of 1 Thess. 4:13 and 18).
4. The anarthrous participial clauses in Greek that take on the potency of the exhortation on which they depend **follow** the imperative. They usually have imperfective aspect.

[157] **Suggested Answers** for the Kalinga text:

1. The following exhortations appear to be imperatives: 8, 13 and, probably, 10 (though umma-nya *be careful* could be an imperative orienter). In addition, ila-nyu *see* is an imperative orienter in 20, with the exhortation expressed in a final clause subordinated with the purpose marker ta.
2. The following exhortations use the modal verb ma-sapul̲' *it is necessary*: 6, 7, 11, 16 and 18, plus 1-2 (*To think hard…* is the complement of *The first thing* (2), with *you need to do* implied from 1).
3. The following exhortations uses okyan *should*: 5, 11, 17, 18 and 22.
4. The following exhortations are introduced with an orienter: 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 18 and 20 (there may be others).
5. The following exhortation is given indirectly: 22 (am-balu nu *it's good if...*). In 20, the post-nuclear conditional clause translated *provided you find your work/job* could also be taken as an indirect exhortation (a number of languages of the Philippines use post-nuclear conditional clauses to encode indirect exhortations).

The limited use of imperatives, together with the frequent use of orienters, may also reflect the **social relationship** between the exhorter and the exhortees (sec. 7.1.2). A Kalinga mother may have little authority over her grown-up children. In contrast, a text entitled "Advice to My Son Dong" in the Sarangani Bilaan language of the Philippines (McLachlin & Blackburn 1971:67-78) contains a number of imperatives that are not mitigated with orienters (e.g. Taman, Dong, fala ge fatlagad dmawat i Dwata *So, Dong, first you get ready and receive God*). This use of imperatives is consistent with the social relationship of a Sarangani father to his son being more one of authority.

Among the orienters used in the Kalinga text, that of 13 (sa importante pagay e mi-baga *The really important thing I'm saying*) gives particular prominence to the exhortation that follows (see sec. 5.5 on the prominence given to *important*). Further prominence is given to the exhortation by the proximal demonstrative sana *this* (sec. 6.2).

Other forms of exhortation found in texts in Philippine languages include:
- The verb for *do/make* used as an auxiliary (e.g. *Let us do/make read…*), probably meaning "Let us always read", according to Obo Manobo speakers.
- Reduplication of the verb root to intensify the action being called for.
- More potent and less potent forms of negative exhortation. In Kalagan, the prohibitive ayaw is used for main exhortations, whereas the negative particle di is used for those that complement a main exhortations (e.g. *Be at peace with each other and do not* (di) *quarrel!*).
- In a Kalinga text entitled "Advice to a newly married couple", some exhortations were particularly mitigated by being given in third person, perhaps to avoid suggesting that the addressees would ever behave in the way described.

7.4 Different forms of exhortation in Bariai

Only one sentence of the text we have been using is an actual exhortation: *You must* (manta) *leave behaviour like that, and so follow good behaviour as God likes* (15). According to Steve Gallagher (p.c.), second person exhortations with manta *must* are potent and reflect the fact that the exhortation is made **in the light of** previously stated supportive material.

In addition to 15, the expository THESIS *Banana [beer] and marijuana, this is a bad thing* (1) implies an exhortation not to *drink banana [beer] or consume marijuana* (10). This THESIS is highlighted by repeating it in 2. The highlighting is increased by introducing 2 with a vocative (*Elders and young people*) and the orienter *I speak truly to you*:
1   *Banana [beer] and marijuana, this is a bad thing.*
2   *Elders and young people, I speak truly to you, the behaviour with regard to drinking banana [beer] and consuming marijuana tobacco, this is a bad thing, because it destroys our living in the village.*

Exhortations in Bariai may be **mitigated** by orienters such as gau tinig *I don't want* and the polite prohibitive padam *please don't*, which contrasts with the default prohibitive nao *don't*. First person forms (e.g. *If we want good lives, we must* (manta) *follow God's Word*) were used to present the main exhortations of a speech by an adult to the rest of his community.

7.5 Different forms of exhortation in the Dungra Bhil Text

According to section 2.2, the following sentences contain exhortations: 1, 3a, 4, 21, 23-24, 27-29, 34-38 and, possibly, the rhetorical question of 30 (plus, in reported speeches, 19b-20). Of these, 3a and 4 are attention getters.

Questions

1. Which of these exhortations contain the prohibitive (PRO) marker -ma?
2. Which other exhortations are imperative (marked with –a/ja/va -IMP or –ha be.P)?
3. Which exhortations are first or second person future indicatives (marked with -dʒi)?
4. Which exhortations are gerunds (marked with -unoʔo)?[158]

As noted in section 7.1.2, the Dungra Bhil text is a **rebuke** of existing behaviour and begins with a potent exhortation: *you shouldn't be drinking* (ma piha) *liquor* (1). Overall, the exhortations in the second half of the text (21b-39) gradually become **less potent** (see below on the reported exhortations of 19b-20b). The first exhortation has the obligation marker -dʒuve (21b—see further in sec. 7.7.1) and is followed by some imperative forms with –**ha** *be* (23-24—see below). The next set of exhortations are first and second person future indicatives (27-29), while the final set are first person gerunds (34-38), the negative forms of which take the negative particle naj(e), rather than the potent prohibitive -ma.

One exception to the above movement from more to less potent forms of exhortation occurs in 29, where the speaker switches from first to second person. The presence of the vocative maa pujra *my children* may also highlight the following exhortation (see also sec. 8.9):

> 28 *If not,   then we must* (-dʒi) *buy cattle and make a business in the fields.*
> 29 *My children, you must* (-dʒi) *work in the fields.*

We noted for Greek that participial clauses that follow an exhortation usually take on its potency. When exhortations with –**ha** *be* immediately follow an exhortation in Dungra Bhil, a similar effect is achieved.

For example, the presence of –**ha** seems to associate the exhortations of 20 with 19 (23-24 are similar). This is reflected in the following free translation by translating 20 with participles:

> 19 *and all live* (dʒi-va) *happily with love, not fighting* (viḍa-ha ma) *with one another and not falling* (ma poḍ-ha) *in with other people's evil counsel.*

I suggested above that the **rhetorical question** in 30 (*Why, in these days for working, are you roaming about without working?*) could be viewed as an indirect exhortation. In fact, rhetorical questions of the *why* type appear to be used in the same way in Dungra Bhil and in Greek. Both use such rhetorical questions to rebuke exhortee(s) for inappropriate behaviour. Typically, the question is followed, sooner or later, by an explicit exhortation.

Thus, in Matthew 7:3-5, the rhetorical question, *Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother's eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye...?* is followed by the exhortation, *You hypocrite, first take the plank out of your own eye...*

Similarly, the rhetorical question of 30 in Dungra Bhil is followed, eventually, by a series of exhortations (e.g. *We need to work hard*—34).[159]

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[158] **Suggested Answers** for the Dungra Bhil text:
1. The following exhortations contain the prohibitive marker –ma: 1, 20a-b.
2. The following additional exhortations are imperative: 19b-d, 23, 24a-c; plus the attention getters 3b, 4.
3. The following exhortations are future indicatives (marked with -dʒi): 27-28 (first person inclusive) and 29 (second person).
4. The following exhortations are gerunds (marked with -unoʔo): 34-38.

[159] Sec. 7.7.4 discusses rhetorical questions that are answered immediately by the person who posed them.

Application to the language you are analysing

1. List the different forms of exhortation found in your texts.
2. Begin to determine their relative potency by considering their mood, person and dependence, together with the presence of any mitigating expressions and orienters (see sec. 7.1.1).
3. Identify the default form of exhortation for each instruction and persuasion-type text, in the light of the social relationship between the exhorter and exhortee(s) (sec. 7.1.2).
4. If any of the texts contain more than one form of exhortation, then determine the factors that may have led the exhorter to use more or less potent forms (see sec. 7.1.2).

7.6 Devices used to background propositions in non-narrative texts

This section reviews the backgrounding devices that were presented in chapter 5 of Levinsohn 2011 and exemplifies them for non-narrative texts.

Background material in narrative texts consists of all the material that concerns non-events, together with those events that are background**ed** in some way (*ibid.* sec. 5.2). Background material in **hortatory** texts is defined in a similar way:

- all the material that does not present exhortations, together with
- any exhortations that are backgrounded in some way.

Review question

Name two mitigated forms that are used in Greek to background one exhortation over against another. (If necessary, review sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.3.)[160]

The following are among the devices used in languages to background propositions:

1. **subordination**, especially of **pre-nuclear** clauses. In hortatory material, see section 7.2.3 for examples of backgrounding involving a Greek pre-nuclear participial clause.
2. **specific verb forms**. In hortatory material, such forms make an exhortation less potent. See section 7.2.1 for the use of the subjunctive in Greek to background a negative exhortation with respect to the positive one that follows.
3. **connectives** and **spacers**. For example, direct exhortations in Greek are never introduced with γάρ *for*, which is reserved for supportive material. In many Indo-Aryan languages, a spacer is used to mark the counterpoint for the main point (sec. 3.3).

I now exemplify the backgrounding of propositions from the Kalinga and Dungra Bhil texts.

7.6.1 Application to the text in Kalinga

The following devices background propositions in the Kalinga text.

1. Subordination

No exhortations are expressed in pre-nuclear clauses. On numerous occasions, though, a pre-nuclear clause (often establishing a point of departure) forms the background for the following exhortations. The conditional clause of 8b (underlined) provides an example:

> 8 *What I'm also saying is, <u>if you stay far (away)</u>, don't be fond of roaming and (going out) with your peers.*

Contrast 20, in which an exhortation is encoded indirectly in a post-nuclear conditional clause (*provided you find your work/job*—discussed in sec. 7.3).

2. Specific verb forms

A number of the forms of exhortation discussed in section 7.3 are mitigated and, therefore, potentially backgrounded with respect to those that are encoded with imperatives.

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[160] **Suggested Answer**: Two mitigated forms that are used in Greek to background one exhortation over against another are subjunctives and pre-nuclear participial clauses.

   Clear evidence of backgrounding was found in a hortatory text given by a church elder to fellow elders in another Philippine language, Palanan Agta. The main exhortations of this text were encoded with first person plural imperatives. However, a more mitigated form, involving dapat *it is necessary that*, was used for the introductory and closing exhortations. The effect was to background them with respect to the main exhortations. The same phenomenon has been observed in other Philippine languages.

   In other hortatory texts in Philippine languages, switches between second and first person plural (inclusive) forms have been noted. The two forms of exhortation may well differ in importance.[161]

3. Connectives and spacers

In the Kalinga text, the connective te *for*, which introduces supportive information, never introduces an exhortation.

   In Palanan Agta, the linker-spacer ay, which follows points of departure when there is continuity in the theme line, occasionally occurs elsewhere in a sentence to separate information of unequal importance. The following sentence illustrates this. Although the first clause is in the form of an exhortation, the presence of ay backgrounds it with respect to the consequence:

exhortation	*you still continue in your work*
CONSEQUENCE	ay *that also (is) what your members will do*.

7.6.2 Application to the text in Dungra Bhil

Specific verb forms are used to background propositions in the Dungra Bhil text.

Because this text is a rebuke, the exhortations in the second half become less potent (sec. 7.5). Such forms are, therefore, potentially backgrounded with respect to those that are encoded with imperatives.

   A further way to background propositions in hortatory material in Dungra Bhil may be with **third person subjects**. For example, all the supportive material of 2-19 is in third person.

On one occasion, an independent clause in the **future** is immediately followed by the exhortation (*Like this is what that person says* (ko-je say-FUT) *to you, then you should accept his counsel*—21).[162]

Application to the language you are analysing

Describe the devices used in your non-narrative texts to background propositions or groups of propositions. Distinguish their functions.

7.7 Highlighting propositions in non-narrative texts

This section concerns devices that highlight propositions or groups of propositions in non-narrative texts. We have already mentioned six devices that may highlight the material that immediately follows them:

- imperatives used as **attention getters** (sec. 2.2.4); e.g. Ἀκούετε *Listen* (Mark 4:3); horu pinara mahõ-õ ḍua tumi pala *Look at the eyes of a liquor-drinking person* (Dungra Bhil 3a).
- **counterpoints** (sec. 3.3); e.g., *For **physical training is of some value*** (COUNTERPOINT*), the* δέ *godliness is of value in every way* (1 Timothy 4:8).
- **cataphoric** expressions (sec. 5.2.1); e.g., ***this*** (annaya) *is what you need to do when you go to school in a far place* (Kalinga 1).

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[161] The switches may be a form of "detachment" (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 5.2.3, end of point 1).
[162] This suggests that a future might appropriately translate the Greek pre-nuclear participial clause in 1 Thess. 5:8 into Dungra Bhil.

- **vocatives**. Some languages move the vocative from its default position and use it as a spacer to give prominence to what follows (sec. 5.4). Just using a vocative may also highlight what follows (sec. 7.4; e.g. kapeipei ga kakau *Elders and youth*—Bariai 2).
- **switches from less potent to more potent** forms of exhortation, such as the switch from first to second person in 1 Corinthians 10:6-10 (sec. 7.1.2) and between sentences 28 and 29 of the Dungra Bhil text (sec. 7.5).
- certain **orienters**, such as sa importante pagay e mi-baga *The really important thing I'm saying* (Kalinga 13—sec. 7.3) and gau na-keo tautaunga pa-gimi *I speak truly to you* (Bariai 2—sec. 7.7.3). Using more than one orienter, as in 1 Thessalonians 4:1 (sec. 7.2.1), probably increases the prominence given to what follows, as does the presence of reinforcing material such as *in the presence of God … and of Christ Jesus* (1 Tim. 6:13-14—sec. 7.2.1).

Other devices that commonly highlight propositions or groups of propositions in non-narrative material include:[163]

- slowing-down devices, such as the presentation of redundant information (including straight repetition) immediately prior to an important THESIS (sec. 7.7.1)
- repetitions or paraphrases of important THESES (sec. 7.7.2)
- presentative particles (sec. 7.7.3)
- rhetorical questions that are answered immediately by the exhorter (sec. 7.7.4)
- other marked patterns or structures (sec. 7.7.5).

7.7.1 The presentation of established information immediately prior to an important THESIS

A common rhetorical device for highlighting a THESIS is to repeat information that has already been stated before the THESIS is presented. This has the effect of slowing down the discourse and thus drawing the hearer's attention to what follows. For example, in the Hebrew of Genesis 4:13-14, Cain repeats what the LORD has said in 12, as he builds up to his concluding THESIS *whoever finds me will kill me* (see sec. 7.7.3 on hen *behold*, and sec. 7.7.5 on wəhayâ *& it will happen*):

12   *"... You will be a restless wanderer on the earth."*
13   *Cain said to the LORD, "My punishment is more than I can bear.* (14) **Hen** *today you are driving me from the land, & I will be hidden from your presence;* ***I will be a restless wanderer on the earth*** wəhayâ *whoever finds me will kill me."*

In 1 Thessalonians 5, the assertion *you are not in darkness* (4) is repeated in 5b immediately before the exhortations of 6. This has the effect of highlighting the exhortations. Similarly, the assertion *you are all sons of the light and sons of the day* (5a) is repeated in participial form in 8, immediately before the repetition of the hortatory THESIS *let us be self-controlled* (see sec. 7.7.2):

4   *But you, brothers, are not in darkness so that this day should surprise you like a thief.*
5a   *For you are all sons of the light and sons of the day.*
5b   ***We do not belong to the night or to the darkness.***
6   *So then, let us not be like others, who are asleep, but let us be alert and self-controlled...*
8   *But* ***since we belong to the day***, *let us be self-controlled,*

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[163] Nida *et al* (1983:36-37) and Wendland (2000:42-45) cite the preposing of focal constituents and "disjunction" (split constituents) as instances of highlighting in Greek. Since both involve highlighting WITHIN a proposition, they are not discussed here, but in secs. 5.2 and 5.5.

Supporting material in hortatory texts is background by its very nature, but it can be highlighted. In the following extract from a text in Soumraye (Chadic, Chad), the exhortation of 1 is paraphrased in 2 to highlight the following reason (supporting material). This is because the reason becomes an expository THESIS which is developed in 3-4:

1   *Occupy yourself with your work*.
2   *Do your work* because everything calls for money.
3   *For clothing, and also for medicines, one needs money.*
4   *If your wife is ill/pregnant, one also needs money.*

Application to the Kalinga text

What is the effect of paraphrasing nu an-singit-kayu... *when you are looking for...* (6a) in 6b?[164]

Application to the Bariai text

What is the effect of repeating kado-nga toa bedane *behaviour like this* (4b) in 4c?[165]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

What is the effect of paraphrasing ekhũhũ mahũʔũ tuma-ha koj *someone may say to you* (19a) in 21?[166]

7.7.2 Repetitions or paraphrases of important THESES

Repeating or paraphrasing a THESIS typically highlights it. In section 7.7.1 we noted that the repetition of established information immediately prior to the hortatory THESIS *let us be self-controlled* (1 Thess. 5:8) highlighted it. The fact that this exhortation is a repetition of one given in 6 also shows how important it is.

Application to the Bariai text

Which expository THESIS is repeated and paraphrased most frequently in this text?[167]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

1.   Which exhortation is repeated most frequently in the text? Which device listed at the beginning of sec. 7.7 may have been used to further highlight some of the repetitions?
2.   Which consequences of not obeying the exhortations are repeated?[168]

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[164] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: The effect of paraphrasing nu an-singit-kayu... *when you are looking for...* (6a) in 6b is to slow down the discourse and thus highlight the following details about a suitable boarding house (*one where we pay a little, where the character of the house owner is good, where boys are not included and where it is near the school*—6c-e).

[165] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: The effect of repeating kado-nga toa bedane *behaviour like this* (4b) in 4c is to slow down the discourse and thus highlight the reason stated in 4d (*many people will be dying from such behaviour*).

[166] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The effect of paraphrasing ekhũhũ mahũʔũ tuma-ha koj *someone may say to you* (19a) in 21a is to slow down the discourse and thus highlight the exhortation of 21b and the important consequence described in 22 (*then you should accept his counsel. Then there will be peace in your house*).

[167] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: The expository THESIS that is repeated and paraphrased most frequently in this text is *Banana [beer] and marijuana is a bad thing* (1), which is repeated as a THESIS in 4b and 9b, as well as 2b.

[168] **Suggested Answers** for Dungra Bhil text:

1.   The exhortation that is repeated most frequently in the text is the one to work (hard) (19b, 27a, 28b, 29, 34, 36; see also the exhortations not to roam around without working—30, 35). The highlighting device that may have been used to further highlight some of these repetitions is the vocative maa pujira *my children* (e.g. in 29—sec. 7.5).
2.   One consequence of not obeying the exhortations which is repeated is that dependants will die of hunger (8, 32-33a). The lack of clothing to wear is also repeated (15-16, 33b).

7.7.3 Presentative particles

Both Hebrew and Greek use a presentative particle traditionally translated *lo, behold* to highlight a following THESIS. In Acts 13:11, for instance, Greek ἰδοὺ highlights the pronouncement that follows the supportive material of 10:

10 *You are a child of the devil and an enemy of everything that is right! You are full of all kinds of deceit and trickery. Will you never stop perverting the right ways of the Lord?*

11 *And now* ἰδοὺ *the hand of the Lord is against you. You are going to be blind, and for a time you will be unable to see the light of the sun.*

See sec. 7.7.1 for Hebrew **hen** used in Genesis 4:14 to highlight a following pronouncement.[169]

7.7.4 Rhetorical questions that are answered immediately by the exhorter

Rhetorical questions are used for a variety of purposes (see Beekman 1972 on five functions of rhetorical questions in the New Testament; see sec. 7.5 on *why* questions that rebuke exhortee(s) for inappropriate behaviour). This section concerns questions that the exhorter immediately answers. Such questions are a slowing down device that highlights the answer.

In 1 Corinthians 11:22, for instance, the last of a series of rhetorical questions asks, ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς; *Should I commend you?* Its presence highlights the answer that immediately follows, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ *In this matter I do not commend you*, which forms an *inclusio* with Τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ *Now in the following instructions I do not commend you* (17).

Although no rhetorical questions are found in the **Bariai** text, they are commonly used in the language. The following example from the beginning of another text is used to highlight the fact that our lives and those of our ancestors are not the same:

1.   *I want to talk about our ancestors' lives and also ours today.*
2a   *Are these two lifestyles the same?*
2b   *No, not the same.*

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Why, in 7 and 31, does the author ask a question that he answers immediately?[170]

7.7.5 Other marked patterns or structures

I conclude this chapter with a couple of additional devices that highlight the material that follows them.

The **Hebrew** verb wəhayâ *& it will happen* may be used to point forward to "significant background or important events to follow" (Longacre 1994:84). For example, Cain uses wəhayâ to highlight the concluding THESIS of his speech of Genesis 4:13-14 (cited in sec. 7.7.1).[171]

Theresa Heath (ms 2000) finds that, in an expository text in Makaa (Bantu A, Cameroon), **cleft sentences** are "used to highlight a following conclusion". In the following extract, for instance, the reference in the first part of the cleft sentence to established information (*that wisdom*) has the effect of highlighting the second part (*we have today*) and, thereby, the whole proposition:

> *After that, when we used to walk together with our fathers, we were taking in the wisdom of our fathers.*
> *It is that wisdom that we have today.*

Application to the language you are analysing

Describe the devices used in your non-narrative texts to highlight propositions or groups of propositions. Distinguish their functions.

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[169] Sim (2010) considers *hen* to be an interpretive use marker, used in Genesis 4:14 to mark what follows as an echo of what the LORD had just said.

[170] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: In 7 and 31, the author asks a question that he answers immediately in order to highlight a consequence of not behaving in the way he wants.

[171] See Levinsohn 2006b sec. 3 for discussion of *wayhî it happened* in Hebrew narrative.

8. Boundary Features

This chapter concerns criteria that enable a reader or hearer to recognise boundaries between paragraphs and larger units such as episodes of a narrative or sections of a book (secs. 8.2-12). These criteria are then applied to the four texts that we have been using (secs. 8.13-16).

8.1 Problems in identifying boundaries

Two problems arise when seeking to identify the boundaries of units:

(i)   The paragraph or section is a semantic unit characterised by having a single theme, not by the presence of certain surface features.[172]

(ii) The presence of any specific surface feature is seldom a sufficient criterion on which to identify a paragraph or section boundary.

8.1.1 The paragraph or section is a semantic unit

Tomlin (1987:458) claims that "episodes are defined ultimately by the sustaining of attention on a particular paragraph level theme..." Beekman and Callow (1974:279) make a similar point:

> The basic criterion [for delineating a unit] is that a section or a paragraph deals with one theme. If the theme changes, then a new unit has started ... what gives a section or paragraph its overall coherence as a semantic unit is the fact that one subject matter is being dealt with.

As a semantic unit, then, the boundaries of a paragraph or section are defined on semantic grounds ("If the theme changes, then a new unit has started"—loc. cit.), not with reference to surface features such as connectives and constituent order.

Although segmentation into paragraphs and sections is not determined by reference to surface features, there are many such features that occur at boundaries and can be taken as **supporting** evidence for the boundaries. These features are discussed in sections 8.2-8.12.

8.1.2 Surface features do not exclusively indicate boundaries

Although the presence of a surface feature can be taken as supporting evidence for a unit boundary, the presence of that feature is seldom a sufficient criterion on which to base a boundary. Rather, if one of the reasons for the presence of a certain feature is because of a boundary between units, there will almost invariably be other reasons why the feature might be present.

The use of a seemingly redundant noun phrase to identify an active referent is a case in point. The default encoding of a subject is minimal when it is the same as in the previous clause, whereas a noun phrase is often used following a unit boundary. However, a noun phrase is employed also when the sentence concerned is highlighted (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 8.2.3). Thus, though the presence of a seemingly redundant noun phrase may provide supporting evidence for the existence of a boundary, it is not by itself sufficient evidence on which to posit the boundary.

Now, suppose we discover a feature that does seem to occur systematically at boundaries in some particular text. It would be wrong to assume on that basis that the same feature will always mark boundaries since different texts are arranged in different ways.

For example, Schooling (1985:21) observed that, in the Greek of Matthew, ἀπὸ τότε *from that time* "appears to occur very near those points where the book can be divided into four major units". However, to argue from this observation that the presence of ἀπὸ τότε will always indicate a major boundary in Greek would be very foolish.

Another danger is to look for boundaries where they do not exist. For example, Luke has so designed the book of Acts that the major sections of the book are linked by **transitional** material.

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[172] Randall Buth (p.c.) prefers to refer to the paragraph as a "pragmatic" unit.

Commentators do not agree on where the sections begin and end, because the transitional material does not belong to one or the other; it bridges the gap.

As an example, consider Acts 8:25-26 (you will find the context in a Bible):

25 *They, then* (Οἱ μὲν οὖν), *having testified and proclaimed the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, preaching the gospel in many Samaritan villages.*

26 *Now* (δὲ) *an angel of the Lord spoke to Philip...*

Commentators invariably recognise a boundary in this passage between 25 and 26. This is consistent with the use of the articular pronoun οἱ *they* in 25 (implying that 25 belongs with the preceding material) and the change in the cast of participants in 26 (implying a boundary before 26). However, one of the connectives used in 25 is μέν, which may be glossed "On the one hand" (Arndt & Gingrich 1957:503). The English connective *On the one hand* anticipates a corresponding *On the other hand*, and has the effect of associating together the material that they introduce. Greek μέν is similar. It anticipates a corresponding δέ, and constrains the material concerned to be associated together.

In the case of Acts 8, μέν and its corresponding δέ occur on opposite sides of the proposed boundary. The effect is to constrain the reader to associate the material together. This is understandable, as both sets of events involve the same Christian leader (Philip). Consequently, 25 is to be interpreted not so much as the conclusion of an episode, but rather as transitional material uniting two related episodes.

Review Questions

1. On what grounds are the boundaries of paragraphs or sections defined?
2. Is the presence of a particular surface feature usually a sufficient criterion on which to base a paragraph or section boundary?
3. When a pair of related connectives such as *On the one hand ... On the other hand* occurs on opposite sides of a proposed boundary, what does this indicate? What implications might this have for the use of a title at such a point?[173]

The following subsections comment on surface features cited by Beekman and Callow (*ibid.*), Neeley (1987) and Guthrie (1998).

Application to the language you are analysing

Divide your texts into larger and smaller units on semantic grounds ("a section or a paragraph deals with one theme"). (Bear in mind, though, that, if you find no supportive features, then the author may not have intended a boundary to be perceived at that particular place.)

8.2 The presence of a point of departure

One useful piece of supportive evidence for a unit boundary is the presence of a point of departure, as it not only signals some sort of discontinuity, but also indicates the **primary basis** for relating what follows to the context. It thus gives some indication as to which of the potential supporting evidence is or is not valid.

In verse 22 of the letter to Philemon, for example, if the analyst perceives a change of theme between 8-21 and 22, then the temporal point of departure ἅμα *at the same time, together* is

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[173] **Suggested Answers:**

The boundaries of paragraphs or sections are defined on semantic grounds ("If the theme changes, then a new unit has started"—Beekman & Callow 1974:279), not with reference to surface features such as connectives and constituent order.

No, the presence of a particular surface feature is seldom a sufficient criterion on which to base a paragraph or section boundary. Typically, there will be other reasons why the feature might be present.

When a pair of related connectives such as *On the one hand ... On the other hand* occurs on opposite sides of a proposed boundary, this constrains the material concerned to be associated together. This, in turn, may imply that it would be inappropriate to introduce a title between the two parts.

appropriate support for that boundary, as situational points of departure involving renewal may be used to introduce different exhortations applicable to the same general setting (sec. 4.3.1).[174]

The same is true of 1 Thessalonians 4:9. If the analyst perceives a change of theme from sexual matters (3-8) to brotherly love (9-12), then the initial constituent Περὶ τῆς φιλαδελφίας *Concerning [the] brotherly love* provides appropriate support for that boundary, as such points of departure are an appropriate way of signalling a change of theme (sec. 4.3.1).

However, the mere presence of a point of departure does not support the recognition of a boundary between units. This is illustrated by Philemon 11, where νυνὶ *now* signals a switch of time from ποτέ *once* in the middle of a sentence!

Similarly, 1 Thessalonians 4:14 begins with the conditional point of departure εἰ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη *since we believe that Jesus died and rose again*. The connective γὰρ *for* indicates that the function of this sentence is to strengthen the previous one (13) and no commentator introduces a paragraph break at this point (see further in sec. 8.3).

Furthermore, points of departure often indicate parallel or sequential progression **within** a paragraph (see sec. 4.1).

Concerning boundaries in **narrative**, Beekman and Callow state that indications of change of time or location provide supporting evidence for boundaries. However, for a **temporal** change to be supporting evidence for a boundary, reference to it must be initial; i.e. it must be a point of departure. When a temporal expression is not initial, this consistently indicates that the basis for relating to the context is not temporal (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.3).

Spatial changes are most frequent in connection with travel. In the Greek of Acts, there is no evidence that such changes of location *per se* ever constitute grounds for an episode break. Rather, events at one location are usually separated from those at a second location because the two sets of events involve different casts of participants (see Levinsohn 2000:278-79). In fact, travel from the scene of one incident to the scene of the next is usually appended to the description of events at the one location or the other (compare Acts 13:51 and 18:1). In other words, whereas changes of location may coincide with the presence of a boundary, such changes should not normally be cited as supporting evidence independent of changes of cast or time.

Review Question

Why are points of departure useful supportive evidence for a unit boundary?[175]

Application to the Kalinga text

Section 4.3.3 suggested that the following sentences begin with a NP or nominalised clause to signal a switch of theme: 2, 5, 6, 8, 13, 16 and 18.

Question

Which other sentences begin with a point of departure? Which of these do NOT occur where you perceive a change of theme and, therefore, a paragraph boundary?[176]

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[174] Philemon 17 and 18 begin with conditional points of departure (see sec. 8.13).

[175] **Suggested Answer**: Points of departure are useful supportive evidence for a unit boundary because they signal some sort of discontinuity. In particular, they indicate the primary basis for relating what follows to the context. They thus give some indication as to which of the potential supporting evidence is or is not valid.

[176] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: The other sentences that begin with a point of departure are 12, 14, 17 (following *Also, you children*—see secs. 8.3 and 8.9) and 21; plus 20 (discussed in sec. 8.11). Of these, the ones at 12, 14 and 21 do NOT occur where I perceive a change of theme and, therefore, a paragraph boundary.

Application to the Bariai text

Section 4.3.4 recognised the following points of departure:

- left-dislocated constituents at 1, 2b and, following orienters (sec. 8.10), 4b and 9b
- conditional clauses at 3, 4c and 8.

Questions

1. What additional point of departure occurs in this text?

2. Which of the above points of departure occur where you would insert a paragraph break because you perceive a change of theme?[177]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Section 4.3.5 recognised points of departure at 2, 10-12 and 19 (there may be others). Which of these occur where you would insert a paragraph break because you perceive a change of theme?[178]

Application to the language you are analysing

Check whether an appropriate point of departure has been used that would provide supporting evidence for boundaries that you have proposed.

8.3 Connectives and juxtaposition

Section 6.1 of Levinsohn 2011 differentiated made between connectives that associate and those that introduce distinctive information, including development markers (often translated *then*, *so* or *but*). Markers of **distinctive** information are more likely to occur at perceived unit boundaries than those that **associate** information together (often translated *and* or *also*). Thus, in **Greek**, developmental connectives such as δέ, οὖν *then* and τότε *then* are often found at perceived unit boundaries. In contrast, the associative and additive connectives, καί *and* and τέ *also*, are less likely to occur at boundaries.

In **narrative**, for example, if καί is used to associate information at the beginning or end of an episode in which each new development in the story is marked by δέ, then new paragraphs will tend not to begin with such a καί.

Nevertheless, if introductory material united by καί extends over several sentences and the events described by them occur at different times, then they will naturally fall into distinct paragraphs. Such is the case even when the absence of δέ may imply that they only form the setting for what is to follow.

Furthermore, it is common in the Synoptic Gospels for καί to introduce episodes that do not build directly on the last episode, so the presence of καί in no way excludes a paragraph break.

Some connectives follow a THESIS and introduce material that **supports** it. Such material naturally belongs with the THESIS to which it relates. However, if the strengthening material extends over several sentences, it may well merit its own paragraph.

Thus, material in **Greek** that is introduced with γάρ *for, after all* will tend not to occur at unit boundaries (see Philemon 7, 15 and 22b). The exception is when such material extends over several sentences. Under such circumstances, the material may well merit its own paragraph (as is the case in Titus 1:10, where the supportive material continues to the end of the chapter).

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[177] **Suggested Answers** for Bariai text:

A conditional point of departure begins 10.

The only paragraph break that *I* would insert is at 9, which begins with an orienter and a left-dislocated constituent.

[178] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: I would insert a paragraph break because of a change of theme at 2 (from the exhortation not to drink liquor to an exposition of the THESIS that liquor is like a poison) and 19 (from the liquor drinking person to *you*). A minor paragraph break is also possible at 10, because of a shift of theme from hunger to irrational behaviour; however, both themes are consequences of liquor addiction and the associative connective ono is used (sec. 8.3). There is no shift of theme within 10-12, which are united by parallel progression (sec. 4.1).

We noted in sec. 3.6 that inferential connectives such as Greek οὖν *then* are used to mark the **resumption** of a theme line following supportive material (the same is true of Greek διὰ τοῦτο *because of this*). When used in this way, they often occur at perceived unit boundaries (Neeley 1987:18).

   1 Timothy 2:8 (discussed in sec. 3.6) provides an example. This verse resumes the hortatory theme line that was left six verses before (after 2), so οὖν provides good supportive evidence for a paragraph break proposed on the ground of a change of theme.

   The longer the amount of material that separates the two parts of the theme line, the more major is the boundary likely to be. See, for example, the use of οὖν at Hebrews 4:14 to mark the resumption of the theme of Jesus as our high priest, which was last mentioned in 3:1 (see further in sec. 8.12). If the digression is only one sentence long, in contrast, it will not lead to the introduction of a paragraph break unless a change of theme is perceived (see John 11:5).

Watch out for **reorientation** particles like *Now* or *Well* which imply a discontinuity with the immediate context. They may well provide supportive evidence for a unit boundary proposed on the ground of a change of theme.

Juxtaposition is commonly found at the beginning of a new paragraph or section in Greek if that unit has its own nucleus (THESIS).[179] This is seen in the letter to Philemon. In section 2.2.2 we divided the letter into three major sections: the introduction (1-3), the main body (4-22) and the closure (23-25). Each of these sections begins without a conjunction, as does the benediction itself (25).

   However, juxtaposition is often found also in connection with restatements and other relations that would suggest an association of the proposition concerned with its nucleus. Therefore, the absence of a conjunction provides unambiguous support for a unit boundary only in connection with other of the potentially supportive features that we are discussing in these sections. In Philemon 4, 23 and 25, for example, juxtaposition is accompanied by shifts of mood and person (sec. 8.11).

The value of taking the connectives into account when deciding where a boundary occurs is illustrated in Luke 6:35-37 (below). Verses 27-35 concern the theme "Love your enemies" (NIV), and parallel progression in 37-38 associates these two verses together. Marshall (1978) considers 36 to be a "bridging passage" between the two sets of verses. Editors therefore have to decide whether to attach 36 to 27-35 or to 37-38. The connectives help. Verse 36 has juxtaposition (Ø), whereas 37 begins with καί. As Creed (1930) observes, "These words in Lk. [36] introduce the subsequent teaching which forbids judgement upon others; note the conjunction kai ['and'] at the beginning of v. 37".

   35 *But love your enemies and do good and lend, expecting nothing in return. And your reward will be great, and you will be children of the Most High, for he is kind to the ungrateful and the wicked.*
   36 *Ø Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful.*
   37 **Καί** *do not judge, and you will not be judged; and do not condemn, and you will not be condemned. (38) Give and it will be given to you…*

Review Question

Which connectives are most likely to occur at unit boundaries: those that signal new developments or those that associate information together?[180]

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[179] Greek grammarians use the term **asyndeton** to refer to "the omission of a conjunction" (OED).
[180] **Suggested Answer**: The connectives that are most likely to occur at unit boundaries are those that signal new developments. Connectives that associate information together are only likely to occur at unit boundaries if the material concerned extends over several sentences.

Application to the letter to Philemon

In the body of the letter (4-22), the NRSV has paragraph breaks at 8, 17 and 22. Do the connectives used provide supporting evidence for boundaries at these places?[181]

Application to the Kalinga text

Does the strengthening connective te *for* (3, 9, 15, 19, 21) provide supporting evidence for boundaries?

Does the developmental connective kad *then* (4, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20) ever occur where you perceive a change of theme?

Does any other connective ever occur where you perceive a change of theme?[182]

Application to the Bariai text

Is the additive be (3) or the combination ga pade *and also* (11) likely to provide supporting evidence for boundaries?[183]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

1. Does the associative connective ono *and* (4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 23) provide supporting evidence for boundaries?
2. Does the developmental connective tahã *then* (7, 14, 22, 25) ever occur where you perceive a change of theme?
3. Is the countering connective gaʔṭhehe *in contrast* (19) likely to provide supporting evidence for boundaries?[184]

Note. The additive ihĩkojite *likewise* is used at 17 to add a further consequence of liquor addiction.

Application to the language you are analysing

Check whether an appropriate connective (including juxtaposition) has been used that would provide supporting evidence for boundaries that you have proposed.

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[181] **Suggested Answer** for Philemon: Yes, the connectives used at 8 (διό), 17 (οὖν) and 22 (δέ) are all developmental, so provide supporting evidence for boundaries at these places.

    Russell (1998:22-23) divides Philemon 8-22 at 14, 18 and 21. Each of these paragraphs also begins with an appropriate connective (δέ at 14 and 18, and juxtaposition at 21—see also sec. 8.13).

[182] **Suggested Answers** for Kalinga text:

No, te *for* does not provide supporting evidence for boundaries, as it introduces material that supports a THESIS that was presented in the immediate context.

Although kad *then* is a developmental connective, the only time it occurs where I perceive a change of theme is at 20, where it marks the resumption of the hortatory theme line (sec. 3.6).

The additive (b)os *also* occurs in 7, 8 and 17 to add further hortatory units. Otherwise, no connective is used where I perceive a change of theme (2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18 & 22).

[183] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: No, the additive be and the combination ga pade *and also* are unlikely to provide supporting evidence for boundaries, as they appear to associate information together.

[184] **Suggested Answers** for Dungra Bhil text:

1. The connective ono *and* does not provide supporting evidence for boundaries as it is associative.
2. Although tahã *then* is a developmental connective, the only times it occurs where I perceive even a partial change of theme are at 7 and 14, where it introduces consequences of what has been stated in the immediate context.
3. Yes, the countering connective gaʔṭhehe *in contrast* is likely to provide supporting evidence for boundaries, as it appears to signal a new development in the argument at 19.

8.4 Summarising expressions and cataphoric demonstratives

By their nature, summarising expressions unite together the information to which they allude and thereby imply that the preceding material is to be treated as a block, over against what is to follow. Summarising expressions thus provide good supporting evidence for boundaries (Larsen 1991:51). In 1 Thessalonians 4:18, for example, ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις *with these words* functions as a summarising expression, since it refers back to the teachings of 14-17.

Summarising expressions may occur, not at the end of the unit, but at the beginning of the next one. For example, the episode following the 'Sermon on the Plain' (Luke 6:20-49) is introduced by a point of departure which includes a summarising expression: *After he had finished all his sayings in the hearing of the people* (7:1).

Similarly, 1 Corinthians 10:6 and 11 (discussed in sec. 7.1.2 and repeated below) begin with the summarising expression ταῦτα *these things*, the effect of which is to treat the preceding material (1-5, 7-10) as a block. Reflecting this fact, the NIV begins new paragraphs at 6 and 11.

6   *Now these things (ταῦτα) occurred as examples for us, so that we might not desire evil as they did.*
7   *Do not become idolaters as some of them did; as it is written, "The people sat down to eat and drink, and they rose up to play".*
8   *We must not indulge in sexual immorality as some of them did, and twenty-three thousand fell in a single day.*
9   *We must not test Christ, as some of them did, and were destroyed by serpents.*
10 *And do not complain as some of them did, and were destroyed by the destroyer.*
11 *These things (ταῦτα) happened to them to serve as an example, and they were written down to instruct us…*

When a demonstrative such as Greek τοῦτο *this* is used **cataphorically** (sec. 5.2.1), the information to which it alludes will belong together if that information extends over more than one sentence. In this instance, it is the FOLLOWING material that should be treated as a block, over against what has preceded.

In 1 Thessalonians 4:15a, for instance, the referent of τοῦτο extends over more than one sentence (15b-17). Verses 15-17 therefore should be treated as a block. The presence of τοῦτο then provides support for the paragraph break inserted by some versions.[185]

Application to the letter to Philemon

Which expression in 21 implies that the preceding material should be treated as a block?[186]

Application to the Kalinga text

1. Which expression in 22 implies that the preceding material should be treated as a block?
2. Which expression in 1 implies that the following material should be treated as a block?[187]

Application to the Bariai text

Which expression in 15 implies that the preceding material should be treated as a block?[188]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Which expression in 18 implies that the preceding material should be treated as a block?[189]

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[185] In Philemon 15, the referent of διὰ τοῦτο *because of this* is only one sentence (15-16).

[186] **Suggested Answer** for Philemon: In 21, ἃ λέγω *what I say* implies that the preceding material (17-20) should be treated as a block. This does not tell us, though, whether a boundary should be placed at 21 or at 22 (see sec. 8.13).

[187] **Suggested Answers** for Kalinga text:

In 22, da sana' e mi-tuttudu *these teachings* implies that the preceding material (2-21) should be treated as a block.

In 1, Annaya *this* implies that the following material (2-21) should be treated as a block.

[188] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: In 15, gid kado-nga toa bedaoa *behaviour like that* implies that the preceding material (10-14) should be treated as a block.

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for summarising expressions and cataphoric expressions in your texts. Do any of them provide supporting evidence for boundaries that you have proposed?

8.5 Inclusio structures

We saw in section 4.1 that *inclusio* structures involve the bracketing of a section by making a statement at the beginning, an approximation of which is repeated at the end (see Guthrie 1998:14). *Inclusios* may thus imply that the enclosed material should be treated as a block.

The following extract from a Toussian (Gur OV, Burkina Faso) text by Pierre Ouattara[190] illustrates an *inclusio* structure in which the THESIS is followed by supportive material and the reiteration of the THESIS. Such a structure suggests that the material should be treated as a block:

THESIS

> *Since you are already old, you should think of the future and leave things in order for your children. It must not be that you give birth to a feud that will last for ever between you and your children. That could become in the future—in your absence—that could become a feud that lasts for ever.*

> **Supportive Material: Counterpoint to Main Point**

>> *Because I have said to you today that you are already old and approaching death, that could seem as though it isn't the truth that I am saying. I myself could die and leave you, even though you are old. The elders say, "The hide of the calf is in the market, while the old cow is still walking around". That could happen.*

> **Supportive Material: Main Point**

>> *Nevertheless, if I ask you, you who are seated here, if I ask you, "Which is closer: the place from which you come and the place to which you are going?": you will say to me, "Yes, the place to which I am going is closer now, I have already travelled a long way, I have already covered the longest part of the journey".*

Reiteration of THESIS

> *That is why I said that, if you are already old, you must think of the future. Don't do anything that will give birth to an eternal feud among you. People would say, "Seeds of weeds have been put in a field". That would be a bad thing.*

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Look for an *inclusio* in the second half of the body of the text (19-38) that might be cited as supporting evidence for a section boundary.[191]

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for *inclusio* structures in your texts. Do any of them provide supporting evidence for boundaries that you have proposed?

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[189] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: In 18, ehnoho *like this* implies that the preceding material (5-17) is to be treated as a block.

[190] Hannes Wiesmann kindly provided the two examples from Toussian.

[191] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: An *inclusio* is formed by the repetition of varuhu mer thi dʒi-va *live happily with love* (19d) in 38 and of ek bidʒa ari viḍa- *not fighting with one another* (20a) in 37. This *inclusio* may be cited as supporting evidence for a section extending from 19 to 38. (Some of the information in 19-20 is also repeated in 23-24, but 24 does not seem to end a unit—see sec. 8.6.)

8.6 Chiastic and parallel structures

A **chiastic** structure has two defining features:

It involves two or more pairs of parallel elements.

The second elements of the pairs occur in the inverse order to the ones they correspond to.

For example, if the order of elements in the first part of a structure with two pairs of parallel elements is AB, then the second part will be ordered B'A', where A' corresponds to A, etc. The following is an extract from a Chadian Arabic text:

A (POSITIVE)	*Do good things.*
B (NEGATIVE)	*Don't do bad things, because they [the recipients] will do the same.*
B' (NEGATIVE)	*Stop doing bad things*
A' (POSITIVE)	*and do good deeds, so that...* [consequences]

Like *inclusios*, chiastic structures may imply that the material concerned forms a unit (Neeley 1987:13-18). Neeley cites Hebrews 5:1-10 as an example in Greek of a chiastic structure. Superscript numbers and bolding mark the corresponding elements in each part.

A *For every **high priest**[1] taken from among men **is appointed**[2] on behalf of men in relation to things of God, that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins,*

B *being able to deal gently with the ignorant and deceived, since he himself also is surrounded with weakness, and for this reason he ought, just as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins.*

C *And no one **takes this honour to himself**,[3] but **he who is called by God**,[4] just as Aaron was.*

C' *So also Christ **did not glorify himself to become a high priest**,[3] but the one who said to him, You are my son, today I have begotten you. Just as also in another place **he says, You are a priest forever** after the order of Melchizedek.[4]*

B' *who in the days of his flesh having offered up prayers and petitions with strong cries and tears to him who was able to save him from death and having been heard because of his fear of God, although he was a Son, learned obedience through what he suffered*

A' *and having been perfected, he became the source of eternal salvation to those who obey him, **being designated by God**[2] **a high priest**[1] after the order of Melchizedek.*

Question

How might 1 Corinthians 10:6-11 (cited in sec. 8.4) be said to have a chiastic structure? Does this mean that the material concerned forms a unit?[192]

Parallel structures may also imply that the material concerned forms a unit. The following example is from a Toussian text given by Daniel I. Baro:

A *One day, you are angry.*
B *And your neighbour is happy.*
C *(If) he asks you for pardon, you should then let the matter rest.*
D *You let it lie, that day you (pl.) continue (with what you were doing).*

A' *Another day**,** then, your heart is light;*
B' *his stomach is hot (i.e. he is angry).*
C' *I again tell you to let the matter rest.*
D' *You let it lie, and you (pl.) continue again.*

CONCLUSION *It is that which enables people to live peacefully together.*

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[192] **Suggested Answer**: 1 Corinthians 10:6-11 might be said to have a chiastic structure because 6 corresponds to 11 (A & A'), 7 corresponds to 10 in being in second person (B & B'), and 8 corresponds to 9 in being in first person (C & C'). However, as noted in sections 8.4 and 8.5, 11 (A') begins a new unit.

The following parallel structure in Marba (Chadic VO, Chad) also forms a unit:

EXHORTATIONS

1 (A)   *I don't want you to keep company with thieves, lazy people, etc.*

    2 (reason) *Such people don't respect their parents.*

  3 (B)   *Abandon them.*

negative consequences

4 (A') *If you keep company with them, like them you will become the lowest of the people.*

   5 (B') *If you don't abandon them, you will not have my ear.*[193]

Application to the Bariai text

Sentences 1-4 appear to form a thematic unit. Which type of structure discussed in this section might support this analysis?[194]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

The consequences described in 14-18 and in 22, 25-26 have a chiastic arrangement. 14-18 concern the consequences of drinking liquor: having no food (15), having no clothing (16) and enjoying no peace (17-18). The consequences of heeding good advice are described in the inverse order: enjoying peace (22), having food (26a) and having clothing (26b). However, the boundary at 19 is so heavily supported that this chiastic structure is spread over two units (see sec. 8.16).

Note. Certain languages prefer parallel structures to chiastic structures. Isaiah 6:10 (cited in Acts 28:27 *et al*) has a chiastic structure in Hebrew and Greek. In other languages, a parallel structure would be more natural when translating this passage. The following table compares the chiastic structure of Acts 28:27 in Greek with two possible parallel structures.[195]

Chiastic structure	Parallel structure 1	Parallel structure 2
A *For this people's heart has become calloused;*	A *For this people's heart has become calloused;*	A *For this people's heart has become calloused.*
B *they hardly hear with their ears,*	B *they hardly hear with their ears,*	A' *Otherwise, they might understand with their hearts,*
C *and they have closed their eyes.*	C *and they have closed their eyes.*	
		B *They hardly hear with their ears,*
C' *Otherwise, they might see with their eyes,*	A' *Otherwise, they might understand with their hearts,*	B' *Otherwise, they might hear with their ears.*
B' *hear with their ears,*	B' *hear with their ears,*	
A' *understand with their hearts*	C' *see with their eyes*	C *And they have closed their eyes.*
		C' *Otherwise, they might see with their eyes*
and turn, and I would heal them.	*and turn, and I would heal them.*	*and turn, and I would heal them.*

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for chiastic and parallel structures in your texts. Do any of them provide supporting evidence for boundaries that you have proposed?

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[193] The motivational section of a text in Bhatri (Indo-Aryan, India) in which the writer rebukes the addressee for not following his advice and getting into trouble consists of two parallel sections, both ending with the rhetorical question, *How will you pay the fine?* The hortatory section, in contrast, has an *inclusio* structure.

[194] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: Parallel structures would provide support for the treatment of 1-4 as a thematic unit. Sentences 1, 2 and 4 each assert that *the behaviour with regard to drinking banana [beer] and consuming marijuana tobacco, this is bad*. Sentences 2, 3 and 4 each state consequences of such behaviour.

[195] John 12:40 uses a parallel structure (C A C' A') when citing this passage!

8.7 Rhetorical questions

Previous sections have already discussed rhetorical questions that are used to rebuke inappropriate behaviour (sec. 7.5—e.g. Dungra Bhil 30) and those that are posed by an exhorter in order to highlight the answer that he or she will immediately give (sec. 7.7.4—e.g. Dungra Bhil 31). Rhetorical questions are also used in connection with the introduction of a new theme or some new aspect of the same theme (Beekman & Callow 1974:243). The following is an example from Romans 7:7:

> 7   *What shall we say, then* (οὖν)? *Is the law sin?*

An examination of the examples cited by Beekman and Callow and by Neeley (1987:10-11) suggests that those rhetorical questions that occur at generally recognised boundaries are usually accompanied by other supporting evidence (e.g. δέ or οὖν, in the case of Greek—sec. 8.3). The question and connective **together** provide the supporting evidence for a boundary. See, for example, Luke 6:46:

> 46   *Why* **δέ** *do you call me "Lord, Lord", and do not do what I tell you?*

Application to the Kalinga text

Rhetorical questions occur in 3 and 9. What indicates that they do NOT provide supporting evidence for a boundary?[196]

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for rhetorical questions in your texts and determine their function (e.g. to rebuke, to highlight what follows, to introduce a new theme).

8.8 Referent identification by means of a seemingly redundant NP

If an active referent seems to be identified 'redundantly' with a noun phrase (NP), the context should be examined to see why the NP is present. It may be there to highlight what follows. Alternatively (and, sometimes, in addition), it may mark the beginning of a unit.

The following passage from Psalm 103 illustrates the use of seemingly redundant NPs in **Hebrew** to refer to the LORD both for highlighting and at unit boundaries. In 2, the reference to the LORD is repeated in the structure that parallels 1, to highlight the exhortation to praise him. In 6 and 8, in contrast, the references to the LORD appear to signal the beginning of new units.

1   *Praise the LORD, O my soul; all my inmost being, praise his holy name.*

2-5 *Praise the LORD, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits—who forgives all your sins, who heals all your diseases, who redeems your life from the pit, who crowns you with love and compassion, who satisfies your desires with good things so that your youth is renewed like the eagle's.*

6   *The LORD works righteousness and justice for all the oppressed.*
7   *He made known his ways to Moses, his deeds to the people of Israel.*

8   *The LORD is compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in love.*
9   *He will not always accuse, and he will not harbour his anger for ever.*

The **absence** of a seemingly redundant NP at what may otherwise seem to be a boundary may be useful counter-evidence for one. In Psalm 103 (above), the LORD is not referred to by a NP in 7. This suggests that the NIV is wrong to introduce a paragraph break at 7, rather than at 8.

Application to the letter to Philemon

Verses 19 and 20 contain seemingly redundant references to *I Paul* (ἐγὼ Παῦλος) and *I* (ἐγὼ). Are these references due to highlighting or do they mark the beginning of a new unit?[197]

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[196] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: Sentences 3 and 9 do not provide supporting evidence for a boundary because the connective used is te *for*, which introduces supportive material.

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Sentences 14 and 17 begin with seemingly redundant references to *that man's house* and *the house of a liquor-drinking person* (contrast *in his house*—13b). Are these references due to highlighting or do they mark the beginning of a new unit?[198]

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for seemingly redundant noun phrases in your texts and determine their function (e.g. to highlight what follows, to mark the beginning of a new unit).

8.9 Vocatives

Like seemingly redundant NPs, some vocatives are found at the beginning of units, others highlight what follows (secs. 5.4 & 7.7) and others seem to do both. Consequently, vocatives may provide supporting evidence for a boundary, but their presence does NOT automatically indicate a boundary.

Thus, Banker's (1984) treatment of the **Greek** vocative ἀδελφοί *brothers* concludes that it acts with other features to signal the beginning of new units on various levels. It also reinforces conjunctions such as ὥστε *so then* (as in 1 Cor. 15:58) and ἄρα οὖν *so then* (as in 2 Thess. 2:15) when they highlight important exhortations. (See also Longacre 1992 on vocatives in 1 John.)

Application to the letter to Philemon

1. The vocative ἀδελφέ *brother* occurs at beginning of 20 (following the interjection ναὶ *yes*). Does it provide supporting evidence for a boundary or highlight what follows?
2. Unusually, the vocative ἀδελφέ *brother* occurs at the **end** of 7. Does it seem to provide supporting evidence for a following boundary or highlight what follows?[199]

Application to the Kalinga text

1. Vocatives occur at the beginning of 1 and 17. Vocative-like expressions such as kan dikayu, e abeng' e um-adayu *to you children that go far* also occur in the points of departure for 5 and 18. Do they provide supporting evidence for a boundary or highlight what follows?
2. Do the vocative-like expressions that occur non-initially in 13 and 21 (see sec. 5.5) and at the end of 22 provide supporting evidence for a boundary?[200]

Application to the Bariai text

Does the vocative kapeipei ga kakau *Elders and young people* (2) provide supporting evidence for a boundary or highlight what follows?[201]

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[197] **Suggested Answer** for Philemon: The seemingly redundant references in 19 and 20 to *I Paul* (ἐγὼ Παῦλος) and *I* (ἐγὼ) switch attention to or maintain attention on other than the default centre of attention (sec. 4.3.2) and are for highlighting.

[198] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The seemingly redundant references to *that man's house* (14) and *the house of a liquor-drinking person* (17) mark the beginning of sub-units in the list of consequences of liquor-addiction. These particular consequences contrast chiastically with the consequences of following good advice (sec. 8.6), so they may also be highlighted by the seemingly redundant references.

[199] **Suggested Answers** for Philemon:
The vocative in 20 highlights the following exhortation.
The vocative at the **end** of 7 may well provide supporting evidence for a following boundary.

[200] **Suggested Answers** for Kalinga text:
The vocatives or vocative-like expressions in 1, 5, 17 and 18 provide supporting evidence for a boundary.
The vocative-like expressions that occur non-initially in 13 and 21 do not provide supporting evidence for a boundary. However, the expression at the end of 22 may well provide supporting evidence for a following boundary (compare Philemon 7).

[201] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: The vocative in 2 highlights the following expository THESIS (sec. 7.4).

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Vocatives such as maa pujra *oh my children* occur in 1, 27, 29 and 39. Which ones provide supporting evidence for a boundary? Which ones highlight what follows?[202]

Application to the language you are analysing

Look for vocatives in your texts and determine their function (e.g. to highlight what follows, to provide supporting evidence for a boundary). In what ways is their function affected by their position in the sentence?

8.10 Orienters

Like seemingly redundant NPs and vocatives, some orienters such as *we ask you* or *we urge/ appeal to you* are found at the beginning of units, others highlight what follows. In Greek, for example, *Now* (δέ) *we ask you, brothers* (1 Thess. 5:12) occurs at the beginning of a unit, whereas *But* (δέ) *we urge/appeal to you, brothers* (1 Thess. 4:10b) introduces and highlights an important exhortation (sec. 7.2.1).

Application to the Kalinga text

1. In section 7.3 we noted that the following exhortations are introduced with an orienter: 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 18 and 20. Which of these appear to occur at the beginning of a unit?
2. The rhetorical question orienter `igammu-yu kamman` *Don't you know...?* does not occur at the beginning of a unit in 3 or 9 (see sec. 8.7). What is its function?[203]

Application to the Bariai text

Orienters such as gau na-keo tautaunga pa-gimi *I speak truly to you* occur in 2, 4 and 9. Which of these appear to occur at the beginning of a unit?[204]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

Sentence 19 contains the speech orienter ekhũhũ mahũʔũ tuma-ha koj *someone may tell you*. Does it occur at the beginning of a unit?[205]

Application to the language you are analysing

Distinguish the orienters in your texts that occur at the beginning of units from those that highlight what follows.

Review Questions

1. Under what circumstances does a **rhetorical question** provide supporting evidence for a boundary?
2. What other factor must be considered before it is judged that the presence of a seemingly **redundant NP** provides supporting evidence for a unit boundary?
3. Name two other features that tend to have the same distribution as seemingly redundant NPs.

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[202] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The vocatives in 1, 27 and 39 provide supporting evidence for a boundary. The vocative in 29 may also provide supporting evidence for a boundary. However, it may well be highlighting the following exhortation (sec. 7.5).

[203] **Suggested Answers** for Kalinga text:

All the orienters appear to occur at the beginning of a unit.

In 3 and 8, the rhetorical question orienter `igammu-yu kamman` *Don't you know...?* highlights the supportive information that follows.

[204] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: The only orienter that appears to occur at the beginning of a unit is in 9. The others highlight what follows.

[205] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: Yes, the speech orienter of 19 occurs at the beginning of a unit.

4.   What three features discussed in sections 8.2-8.10 confirm that 2 Timothy 2:1 begins a new unit? (The immediately preceding sentence read, *And you know very well how much service he rendered in Ephesus*.)

    2:1 Σὺ οὖν,   τέκνον μου, ἐνδυναμοῦ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,

           you then   child my   be empowered in the grace the in Christ   Jesus

         You, then, my child, be empowered in the grace that is in Christ Jesus[206]

8.11 Shifts of verb tense-aspect, mood and person

Shifts of tense-aspect and mood may provide supporting evidence for a unit boundary (Porter 1992:301). Hebrews 3:12-18 (below) illustrates this for Greek; "at the break [between 15 and 16], the verbs change in person, tense and mood" (Neeley 1987:19).[207] First and second person change to third, while the mood changes from imperative to rhetorical questions.

12-15 *See to it, brothers, that none of you has a sinful, unbelieving heart that turns away from the living God. But encourage one another daily, as long as it is called Today, so that none of you may be hardened by sin's deceitfulness. For we have come to share in Christ if we hold firmly till the end the confidence we had at first; as has been said: "Today, if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts as you did in the rebellion".*

16-18 *For who were they who heard and rebelled? Were they not all those Moses led out of Egypt? And with whom was he angry for forty years? Was it not with those who sinned, whose bodies fell in the desert? And to whom did God swear that they would never enter his rest if not to those who disobeyed?*

However, Nida *et al* (1983:38*f*) point out that, in Acts 1:4-5, there is a shift from indirect reporting of speech (with infinitives) to first and second person direct reporting: *He ordered them not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait there for the promise of the Father which **you** heard from **me**...* This shift does not occur at a unit boundary, but has the effect of highlighting what follows. So, once again, the same device may be used at unit boundaries and for highlighting.

Application to the letter to Philemon

The NRSV has paragraph breaks at 4, 8, 17, 22, 23 and 25. For which of these would a shift of mood and person provide supporting evidence?[208]

Application to the Kalinga text

When hortatory material is followed by supportive material, at which places in the text is the beginning of the next hortatory unit accompanied by a shift of mood and person?[209]

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[206] **Suggested Answers**

1.   A rhetorical question provides supporting evidence for a boundary when accompanied by other supporting evidence such as a developmental connective.

2.   Before it is judged that the presence of a seemingly redundant NP provides supporting evidence for a boundary, the possibility that it is present to highlight an important THESIS must be considered.

3.   Other features that tend to have the same distribution as seemingly redundant NPs are vocatives and orienters. Both tend to be found both at the beginning of units and in connection with important THESES.

4.   Three features that confirm that 2 Timothy 2:1 begins a new unit are: the seemingly redundant pre-verbal pronoun Σὺ *you* (secs. 8.8 & 8.2), the developmental connective οὖν (sec. 8.3), and the vocative τέκνον μου *my child* (sec. 8.9).

[207] Campbell (2008:36-38, 41-44) considers the Greek aorist, imperfect and present verb forms not to indicate tense.

[208] **Suggested Answer** for Philemon: Shifts of mood and person occur at 4, 17, 23 and 25. At 4, the shift is from an implied third person optative ("May God our Father..."—*Translator's Notes*) to a first person indicative (*I give thanks...*). At 17, the shift between independent clauses is from third person indicative (*he was separated*—15) to second person imperative (*receive...*). At 23, the shift is from second person singular imperative (*prepare...*) to third person indicative (*Epaphras greets you*). At 25, a change of third person subject is accompanied by a shift to an implied optative ("May our (incl) Lord Jesus Christ...."—*Translator's Notes*).

[209] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: The beginning of the next hortatory unit is accompanied by a shift from declarative to some sort of hortatory mood and from third to second person at 5 and 10.

Application to the Bariai text

Previous sections have proposed that 1-4 be treated as a unit, over against what follows, and that 9 begins a new unit. Are there any shifts of tense-aspect, mood or person at 5 and 9?[210]

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

In which sentences is a vocative (sec. 8.9) accompanied by a shift of tense-aspect, mood or person?[211]

Note. A shift of mood from future to jussive/gerund occurs at 34. In the absence of other confirming features, this suggests a minor boundary.

Application to the language you are analysing

Check whether shifts of tense-aspect, mood or person ever provide supporting evidence for boundaries in your texts.

8.12 Back-reference

> "Back-reference involves reference to the preceding paragraph or paragraphs or to a point or points within preceding paragraphs. Back-reference often occurs at the beginning of a new paragraph." (Neeley 1987:19)

In Koiné Greek, for example, the participial clauses of Hebrews 4:14 refer back to the theme of Jesus as our high priest, which was last mentioned in 3:1. This, together with the presence of the inferential connective οὖν *then* (sec. 8.3), provides good evidence that a new unit is beginning.

3:1   *Therefore, holy brothers, who share in the heavenly calling, fix your thoughts on Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession...*
   [3:2 -4:13: expository material]
4:14 *Having, then* (οὖν)*, a great high priest who has gone through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold firmly to our confession. (15) For* (γάρ)*...*

Note. Languages that frequently use independent clauses to express time (e.g. *It became day*) are likely to use independent clauses for back-reference where Greek uses a participle.

One type of back-reference is **tail-head linkage**. Matthew 6:14 (below) provides an example. The 'tail' of 12 (*as we also have forgiven our debtors*) is repeated at the 'head' on 14 (*if you forgive men when they sin against you*):

   12 *And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.*
   13 *And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one.*
   14 *For if you forgive men when they sin against you, your heavenly Father will also forgive you;*

However, as with the devices discussed in sections 8.8-8.10, tail-head linkage may also be used to highlight what follows (see Levinsohn 2011 sec. 3.2.3).

Like οὖν when used as a resumptive (sec. 8.3), the greater the distance between the back-reference and the material to which it refers, the more major is the boundary likely to be. Compare, for example, the degree of discontinuity implied by the references back to Acts 8:1 in 8:4 and in 11:19 (*those who had been scattered...*).

Application to the Kalinga text

What type of back reference occurs in 20? How major is the boundary likely to be?[212]

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[210] **Suggested Answer** for Bariai text: At both 5 and 9, there is a shift of mood (irrealis to realis) and of person. The shifts of person are from *I, you* and *many people* in 4 to *God* and first person inclusive in 5; and from first person inclusive in 8 to third person in 9.

[211] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: A vocative is accompanied by a shift of person at 27 (second to first person), 29 (first to second person) and 39 (first to third person). There is also a shift of tense or mood at 27 (the future marker -dʒi is translated *must*).

Application to the Dungra Bhil text

What type of back reference occurs in 10? What surface feature indicates that any boundary is not a major one?

[213]**Application to the language you are analysing**

Look for instances of back reference in your texts. Identify the sentence to which each instance relates.

8.13 Application to the letter to Philemon

In earlier sections, we noted several features that could be confirming a segmentation of the letter into larger and smaller units on semantic grounds. They are as follows:

- a point of departure at 17, 22 (sec. 8.2)
- connectives at 8, 17 and 22; juxtaposition at 4, 23 and 25 (sec. 8.3)
- a summarising expression at the end of 21, relating back to 17-20 (sec. 8.4)
- a vocative at the end of 7 (sec. 8.9)
- shifts of mood and person at 4, 17, 23 and 25 (sec. 8.11).

We also noted in section 8.3 that the material introduced with the strengthening connective γάρ *for, after all* in 7, 15 and 22b naturally belongs with the material it supports.

The following table shows how the above features support the paragraph breaks in the NRSV at 4, 8, 17, 22, 23 and 25 (the section titles in quotation marks are from Translator's Notes):[214]

Proposed section	Supportive features
Introduction: "Paul and Timothy greet Philemon" (1-3)	
Body of text (4-22)	Juxtaposition, shift of mood & person
"Paul thanks God for Philemon and prays for him" (4-7)	
"Paul asks Philemon to accept back Onesimus" (8-21)	
Supportive material (8-16)	vocative (end of 7), connective διό
The actual appeal (17-21)	PoD, connective οὖν, shift of mood & person
Additional request for guest room (22)	summary (end of 21), PoD by renewal, connective δέ
Closure (23-25)	Juxtaposition, shift of mood & person
(23-24) "Fellow believers greet Philemon"	
(25) "Good bye"	Juxtaposition, shift of mood & person

In the above table, 8-16 and 17-21 are grouped together into a single section because both sub-sections concern Paul's appeal to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus. In contrast, there is no particular reason why 23-24 and 25 should be grouped together, as there is good supportive evidence for a break at 25.

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[212] **Suggested Answer** for Kalinga text: The type of back reference that occurs at 20 is tail-head linkage. *When you've finished* refers back to the exhortation *to finish your studies* (18). The boundary is likely to be minor, as only one sentence separates 20 from 18.

[213] **Suggested Answer** for Dungra Bhil text: The type of back reference that occurs at 10 is tail-head linkage. *After drinking liquor* refers back to *he will drink liquor* (6). The surface feature that indicates that the boundary is not a major one is the associative connective ono (sec. 8.3).

[214] I do not discuss the NIV paragraph break at 12, as it falls in the middle of a Greek sentence. Russell (1998:12-13) divides 8-22 at 14, 18 and 21, each of which begins with an appropriate connective (δέ in 14 and 18, juxtaposition in 21). Of these, 14 could constitute an additional break in the supportive material of 8*ff*. Even though 18 also begins with a conditional point of departure, Russell seems to be alone in proposing a paragraph break at 18 rather than 17. In contrast, several commentators and editors begin a new section at 21, rather than at 22 (the summarising expression in 21 could be cited for either boundary, though the initial participle Πεποιθὼς 'having confidence' suggests continuity with the context—Levinsohn 2000 §11.1.3).

8.14 Application to the Kalinga text

In earlier sections, we noted several features that could be confirming a segmentation of the text into larger and smaller units on semantic grounds. List them, then prepare a table that shows the sections you propose together with the supporting features. The suggested answer is below.

Suggested Answer

The features we noted in earlier sections are as follows:

- points of departure at 2, 5, 6, 8, 13, 16, 17 and 18 (sec. 8.2)
- additives at 7, 8 and 17; juxtaposition at 2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18 and 22 (sec. 8.3)
- a cataphoric demonstrative at 1 and a summarising expression at 22, both relating to 2-21 (sec. 8.4)
- vocatives at 1, 5, 17, 18 and the end of 22 (sec. 8.9)
- orienters at 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 18 and 20 (sec. 8.10)
- shifts of mood and person at 5 and 10 (sec. 8.11)
- back reference with the developmental connective kad at 20 (secs. 8.12 & 8.3).

We also noted in section 8.3 that the material introduced with the strengthening connective te *for* at 3, 9, 19 and 21 naturally belongs with the material it supports.

The following table indicates a way of segmenting and grouping the text, based on the above supportive features (PoD = point of departure).

Proposed section	Supportive features (except for juxtaposition)
Body of text (1-22)	
Opening of Body (1)	Cataphoric demonstrative (introducing 2-21)
Exhortation 1 Enrol in right courses (2-4)	PoD
Exhortation 2 on homesickness (5)	PoD with orienter, vocative, shift of mood/person
Exhortation 3 on boarding house (6)	PoDs with orienter, additional PoDs
Exhortation 4 on hardship (7)	Additive, orienter
Exhortation 5 on friends (8-9)	Additive, PoD with orienter, additional PoD
Exhortations 6 on money (10-12)	Shift of mood/person
Exhortation 7 on sex (13-15)	PoD with orienter
Exhortation 8 if sick (16)	PoD with orienter
Exhortation 9 on working (17)	Vocative with additive, PoD
Exhortations 10-11 on completing studies & finding work (18-21)	
Exhortation 10 (18-19)	PoD with orienter
Exhortation 11 (20-21)	Back-reference and kad, orienter
Conclusion of Body (22)	Summarising expression (relating back to 2-21)
Closure (23)	Vocative (end of 22)

In the above table, 18-19 and 20-21 are grouped together into a single section because the back reference and the developmental connective kad at 20 probably imply that the same theme is being resumed and advanced (see sec. 3.6).

8.15 Application to the Bariai text

In earlier sections, we noted several features that could be confirming a segmentation of the text into larger and smaller units on semantic grounds. List them, then prepare a table that shows the sections you propose together with the supporting features. The suggested answer is below.

Suggested Answer

The features we noted in earlier sections are as follows:
the left-dislocated point of departure at 9 (sec. 8.2)
a summarising expression at 15, relating back to 10-14 (sec. 8.4)

parallel structures in 1-4 (sec. 8.6)
an orienter at 9 (sec. 8.10)
shifts of mood and person at 5 and 9 (sec. 8.11).

We also noted in section 8.3 that the material introduced with the additive be (3) and the combination ga pade *and also* (11) naturally belongs with the material to which it is added.

The following table indicates a way of segmenting and grouping the text, based on the above supportive features (PoD = point of departure).

Proposed section	Supportive features
Reasons for not taking banana beer & marijuana (1-4)	Parallel structures
Consequences of obeying God's talk (5-8)	Shift of mood/person
Consequences of taking banana beer & marijuana plus Exhortation (9-16)	
	PoD, summary (15), orienter, shift of mood/person

8.16 Application to the Dungra Bhil text

In earlier sections, we noted several features that could be confirming a segmentation of the text into larger and smaller units on semantic grounds. List them, then prepare a table that shows the sections you propose together with the supporting features. The suggested answer is below.

Suggested Answer

The features we noted in earlier sections are as follows:

- the points of departure at 2, 19 and, possibly, 10 (sec. 8.2)
- developmental connectives at 7, 14 and 19; plus the additive at 17 (sec. 8.3)
- a summarising expression in 18, referring back to 5-17 (sec. 8.4)
- an *inclusio* between 19-20 and 37-38 (sec. 8.5)
- seemingly redundant noun phrases at 14 and 17 (sec. 8.8)
- vocatives at 1, 27, 39 and, possibly, 29 (sec. 8.9)
- an orienter at 19 (sec. 8.10)
- shifts of person at 27, 29 and 39; plus a shift of mood at 34 (sec. 8.11)
- back-reference at 10 (sec. 8.12).

We also noted in section 8.3 that the material introduced with the associative connective ono *and* (4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16 and 23) naturally belongs with the material with which it is associated. Furthermore, parallel progression unites 10-12 (sec. 4.1).

The following table indicates a way of segmenting and grouping the text, based on the above supportive features (PoD = point of departure).

Proposed section	Supportive features
Introductory exhortation**:** *Don't drink liquor!* (1)	Vocative
Motivational section (2-18)	PoD
Liquor is a poison, with evidence (2-6)	
Consequences of addiction (7-13)	Connective
hunger (7-9)	
irrational behaviour (10-13)	PoD, back reference, but ono
Consequences of 10-13 (14-18)	Connective, NP
A/B: No clothing or food (14-16)	
C: No peace (17-18)	Additive, NP
Hortatory section (19-38)	PoD, connective, summary (18), *inclusio* to 38, orienter
Heed good advice, plus consequences (19-26)	
C′: Peace (19-22)	
B′/A′: Food & clothing (23-26)	(ono)
Work in farming (27-28)	Vocative, shift of person
Consequences of not working (29-33)	Vocative, shift of person
Work, don't drink liquor, live at peace (34-38)	Shift of mood
Conclusion (39)	*Inclusio* ends at 38, vocative, shift of person

In the above table, 7-9 and 10-13 are grouped together into a single section because of the associative connective ono. The same is true of 19-22 and 23-26. 14-16 and 17-18 are grouped together because of the additive ihĩkojite *likewise*.

Application to the language you are analysing

List the features that you identified in earlier sections which could be confirming a segmentation of your texts into larger and smaller units on semantic grounds.

Prepare tables that show the sections you propose together with the supporting features.

Which supporting features occur in more than one text?

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