DISCOURSE GRAMMAR of The GREEK NEW TESTAMENT A PRACTICAL INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHING AND EXEGESIS

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Preface

Linguistics has been touted by some in New Testament studies as the solution to a host of problems left unaddressed by traditional approaches to grammar. Unfortunately, linguistic practitioners often do little more than reshape the problem using complex jargon. Although there have been some breakthroughs, many feel as though linguistics and discourse studies have over-promised and under-delivered. Wallace’s statement is representative of this sentiment.

Contrary to the current trend, this work has no chapter on discourse analysis (DA). The rationale for this lacuna is fourfold: (1) DA is still in its infant stages of development, in which the methods, terminology, and results tend to be unstable and overly subjective. (2) DA’s methods, as shifting as they are, tend not to start from the ground up (i.e., they do not begin with the word, nor even with the sentence). This by no means invalidates DA; but it does make its approach quite different from that of syntactical investigation. (3) Along these lines, since this is explicitly a work on syntax, DA by definition only plays at the perimeter of that topic and hence is not to be included.1

The goal of this project is to break this trend, providing practical solutions to grammatical problems with minimal jargon. I do not seek to reinvent Greek grammar, nor to supplant previous work. I intentionally begin each chapter by reviewing how the particular issue has been treated by NT grammarians. It quickly becomes apparent that there have been many contradictory claims made over the years, without much effort to reconcile them. My approach is to provide a unified description of each of the discourse features treated. The general result is to affirm most of the divergent claims, helping the reader synthesize a holistic understanding of the feature rather than just seeing the discrete parts.

Much of the grammatical discussion can be compared to trying to use one adjective to describe a plastic drinking straw. Some might argue it is long, others might say it is round, while still others might insist it is hollow. Each viewpoint looks at only one aspect, but fails to capture an accurate representation of the whole. In similar ways, this grammar seeks to unify what look like contradictory or divergent claims about a discourse feature.

The linguistic approach used here is cross-linguistic, meaning it looks at how languages tend to operate rather than just focusing on Greek. Failure to look more broadly at language has lead to implausible claims being made about Greek. Languages tend to operate in certain ways, following cross-linguistic patterns. Knowing this can greatly simplify the analytical process, leading to a more accurate description. It also allows for easier reference to other languages such as English or Hebrew.

The approach is also function-based, meaning that primary attention will be given to describing the task that is accomplished by each discourse feature. This function-based approach helps one to conceptualize what is happening in Greek by understanding how the comparable task is accomplished in another language, like English. There are many

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mismatches between Greek and English, where the two languages use different devices to accomplish the same discourse task. Traditional approaches typically do not lend themselves to adequate explanations of such mismatches.

I will not ask you to throw out all that you have known to be true about Koine Greek in favor of a brand new linguistic analysis. On the contrary, I endeavored to clear a pathway from the traditional field of NT studies to the field of functional linguistics for each of the features discussed. The goal is to bridge the chasm that has too long existed between traditional and linguistic approaches.

This work has benefited from the research and interaction with countless individuals over the years, most notably Stephen Levinsohn, Christo Van der Merwe, Randall Buth, Stan Porter, Carl Conrad, Rick Brannan, and many others. It will not be the final word on the matter. It is my hope that students and colleagues will develop an interest in these discourse features, and in turn provide more thorough and complete descriptions than are possible here. This is the intention for including the “for further reading” sections at the end of each chapter. I want to get you interested and then get out of your way. I have painted in very broad strokes, likely too broad at some points. It is my hope that more detail-oriented people would come behind and tidy the messes that I have inevitably left behind. I alone bear responsibility for the shortcomings of this volume.
1. Introduction

The purpose of this book is to introduce a function-based approach to language using discourse grammar. I describe grammatical conventions based upon the discourse functions they accomplish, not based on their translation. Traditional approaches to grammar have focused primarily on word-level or sentence-level phenomenon. This has left a large body of usage ill-explained. Some attribute the remaining usage to ‘stylistic variation’ or simply ‘optional usage’ that has little significance. Although there are stylistic differences among writers, “to cite ‘stylistic variation’ as an explanation for the presence versus the absence of features in texts by a single storyteller is a cop-out”.3

The difficulty that formal, structural approaches have experienced describing the discourse phenomenon has lead to the widespread belief that “discourse is too complex, too messy, too ill defined to be treated in a rigorous manner.”4 Although discourse is indeed messy and complex, one need not give up hope. The problems have more to do with the inadequacies of the descriptive framework used than they do with the incomprehensibility of language. After all, languages form a system, and meaning is tied to the operations within this system. The existence of a system implies that there are indeed describable patterns of usage.

Researchers have found that there is far greater consistency and intentionality in language usage than formal approaches would lead you to believe. What is needed is a descriptive framework functional and adaptable enough to “roll with the punches” of discourse, robust enough to handle the “mess”. The framework also needs to be cross-linguistic in nature, informed by the kinds of tasks that every language needs to accomplish and how languages tend to operate.

Many of the devices described below involve the use of some grammatical feature in a context where it does not formally belong, one that essentially “breaks” the grammatical rules. Using devices in the “wrong” place to accomplish a discourse task contributes to the apparent messiness of the discourse devices: they do not play by the rules. Consider the kinds of descriptions one finds in NT Greek grammars. We traditionally label a present verb used in a context where a past-tense verb is expected in English as an “historical present”. We label an adverbial participle used in a context where we would expect an imperative in English as an “imperatival participle”. Although this does

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2 Dooley, cited by Levinsohn, describes it as “an attempt to discover and describe what linguistic structures are used for: the functions they serve, the factors that condition their use” (Stephen H. Levinsohn, Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek. 2nd edition [Dallas: SIL International], vii.). Levinsohn elsewhere states:

Text-linguistics (discourse analysis) does not draw its explanations from within the sentence or word (in other words, the factors involved are not syntactic or morphological). Rather, its explanations are extra-sentential (from the linguistic and wider context of the utterance). A significant part of text-linguistics involves the study of information structure, which concerns ‘the interaction of sentences and their contexts’ (Lambrecht 1994:9).


3 Levinsohn, Self-instruction Materials on Narrative, p. 3.

describe the usage to some extent, it tells us little about why the Greek writer would use such a form, or about the specific effects it achieves. Traditional descriptive frameworks often tell us more about how Greek and English differ than they do about Greek as Greek. Discourse grammar provides principles for understanding why a writer would use an historical present (see Chapter 6) or an imperatival participle (see Chapter 12). It provides a descriptive framework that is flexible and robust enough to elegantly capture the complexity of discourse phenomenon in a concise and practical description.

As compelling as the insights from discourse grammar might be, Levinsohn outlines two pitfalls that are to be avoided when analyzing texts. The first is “that we can become so enamoured with text-linguistic explanations that we fail to realise that a perfectly good syntactic rule or semantic definition accounts for the feature being analysed.” If there are semantic or grammatical constraints that require a certain usage in a certain context, there is little to be learned from discourse grammar. Although “some linguistic features can only be explained with reference to extra-sentential factors,” others are constrained “from a syntactic rule or semantic definition.”

The second pitfall is “not relating text-linguistic observations to a valid syntactic rule or semantic definition”. For example, it is common in Greek to see demonstrative pronouns discussed under several different sections of a grammar, leading to disparate comments that lack unity. Chapter 18 describes how Greek writers utilize demonstratives to signal or create near/far distinctions. This principle informs the function of demonstratives regardless of whether they function as personal pronouns, as demonstrative pronouns or as modifiers. Discourse grammar can offer a unified explanation.

Discourse grammar does not replace formal approaches: it complements them. The description of optional usage is primarily where discourse grammar can make the greatest contribution. Remembering this avoids pitfall 1. Discourse grammar often provides more of a unified description of usage than is typically found in traditional approaches, and can help to avoid pitfall 2.

There are several core principles that my approach presupposes:

- Choice implies meaning (Section 1.1)
- Differentiating semantic or inherent meaning from pragmatic effect (Section 1.2)
- Distinguishing default patterns of usage from marked ones (Section 1.3).

These principles provide a framework for understanding and interpreting the decisions made regarding language usage. They have less to do with the specifics of a particular language and more to do with how humans are wired to process language. They are part of a cross-linguistic approach to language that applies just as much to Greek or English as to other languages of the world. You will see this claim substantiated as the effects achieved by the discourse features are described. Examples are provided from both English and Greek, but there is no shortage of comparable examples that could be documented from other unrelated languages.

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6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
1.1 **Choice Implies Meaning**

One of the key presuppositions of discourse grammar is that *choice implies meaning*. All of us make choices as we communicate: what to include, how to prioritize and order events, how to represent what we want to say. The choices we make are directed by our goals and objectives of the communication. The implication is that if a choice is made, then there is meaning associated with the choice. Let’s unpack this idea a bit.

If I choose to do X when Y and Z are also available options, this means that I have at the same time chosen *not* to do Y or Z. Most of these decisions are made without conscious thought. As speakers of the language, we just do what fits best in the context based on what we want to communicate. Although we may not think consciously about these decisions, we are nonetheless making them.8

The same principle holds true for the writers of the NT. If a writer chose to use a participle to describe an action, he has at the same time chosen not to use an indicative or other finite verb form. This implies that there is some meaning associated with this decision. Representing the action using a participle communicates something that using a different mood would not have communicated. Defining the meaning associated with the choice is different than assigning a syntactic force, or determining an appropriate translation. It requires understanding what discourse task is performed by the participle that would not have been accomplished by another verb form.

Although there is tremendous diversity among languages, every language has to accomplish certain basic tasks. For instance, if I want to tell you a story about the first time I went rock climbing, I need to accomplish several tasks, like:

- introducing the people that are involved in the story,
- setting the time, place and situation,
- providing background information that I think you might need (e.g. that I have a fear of heights).

Once the scene is set and the story is underway, I need to do other things, like:

- helping you track who is doing what to whom,
- clearly communicating changes in time, place or participants,
- providing some indication of how the events relate to one another,
- deciding what information I want to group together in a single sentence, and what I want to break into separate sentences,
- deciding which part of the story is the climax, and using the appropriate signals to communicate this to you.
- choosing when to attract extra attention to significant details along the way.

Regardless of whether I am speaking or writing, I still need some means of accomplishing these tasks, along with many others. Since there is a common set of tasks that need to be accomplished across languages, the task list can inform our description of what the different grammatical choices accomplish. The tasks provide an organizational structure to the discourse.

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8 This holds true whether we are skilled speakers of the language or not. Even illiterate speakers will vary their usage based on their communication objectives. It is not an issue of competency, but choice.
framework to help us understand the meaningful difference between choosing X versus Y or Z.

This book is organized by task, not by morphology or syntax. Part 1 describes forward-pointing devices, Part 2 covers information structuring devices (emphasis and framing), and Part 3 covers thematic highlighting devices. Though there are several forward-pointing devices, each one accomplishes a slightly different task than other grammatical devices, or they are differentiated by their use in narrative versus non-narrative genres. Some devices use particles, others use pronouns. However, they all accomplish the same basic function. The objective is to provide a unified description of these devices that complements traditional grammatical approaches.

There are a number of ways that Greek and English differ, making it difficult to understand Greek using English as your framework. At times, it can be like putting the proverbial square peg in a round hole. Using a task-based, cross-linguistic framework allows us to make apples-to-apples comparisons between Greek and English, even where they differ significantly. This is accomplished by talking about how the comparable task is accomplished in English, German, Hebrew, etc. It enables us to understand Greek on its own terms as Greek, as well as to understand what the same task looks like in another language.

1.2 Semantic Meaning versus Pragmatic Effect

It is very important to distinguish between the inherent meaning of something (i.e. its semantic meaning), and the effect achieved by using it in a particular context (i.e. its pragmatic effect). For instance, the phrase “your children” is straightforward in its inherent meaning; and is typically used to refer to kids that are not mine, but yours. If used in the right context however, a very different pragmatic effect can be achieved, one that is not part of its inherent meaning.

Imagine that my wife asked me how our kids behaved while she was out. If I began my answer with ‘Your children…’ it would have a specific pragmatic effect, based on the context. This effect is not some hidden semantic meaning underlying the phrase, just an effect of using it in the right way in the right context. The pragmatic effect is achieved by using a more-distant relational expression (your) in a context where a less-distant one holds true (my). The expected norm is that I would use the closest relational expression possible. After all, they are my kids too! Calling them my kids or the kids is the expected norm. When I depart from this norm, a specific pragmatic effect of “distancing” is achieved, even though what I said was completely truthful.

Levinsohn offers another example:

The progressive construction has a semantic meaning of incompleteness, as in ‘It’s raining.’ However, in certain contexts it carries an overtone of insincerity, as in ‘John is being polite,’ in contrast to ‘John is polite’ (see Zegarac 1989). Insincerity is not part of the semantic meaning of the progressive; it is a pragmatic effect that is achieved by the use of the progressive in certain specific contexts.9

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9 Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, ix.
The unstated expectation is that qualities a person possesses should be expressed as a state (i.e. ‘he is polite’), not a as a progressive action (‘he is being polite’). The effect of using the progressive is to imply that the current state of affairs does not always hold true, but is a passing thing.

Many jokes employ this principle of semantic meaning versus pragmatic effect to achieve humor. Often times the joke establishes a state of affairs in preparation for the punch line, whose semantic meaning has a specific pragmatic effect in the context.

This distinction between semantic meaning and pragmatic effect applies to ancient languages as well, like Koine Greek. Present tense verbs are typically used to convey ongoing, continuous action that is occurring. We could call this its semantic meaning. However, present tense verbs are often used in the Gospels of Mark and John to encode past action in the narrative. This usage is traditionally called the ‘historical present,’ but this description provides little insight into why a Greek writer would use it. So what is the pragmatic effect of using a historical present in the gospels?

The historical present (see Chapter 6) ‘stands out’ in the context because the expected pattern of usage is broken. Rather than changing the basic semantic meaning of the verb form or considering it to be incorrect usage, the historical present is a good example of taking an established pattern of usage and breaking it in order to achieve a specific pragmatic effect. Describing the effect of the historical present in Mark and John, Callow states it “does not draw attention to the event which the HP verb itself refers to, as those events, in themselves, are not particularly important—to go, to say, to gather together, to see, etc. ... [I]t has a cataphoric function; that is, it points on beyond itself into the narrative, it draws attention to what is following.”11 The pragmatic effect of the historical present is to attract extra attention to the speech or event that follows, not the historical present itself. The present tense does not have the inherent semantic meaning of “highlighting.” The “historical” usage has the pragmatic effect of drawing extra attention to what follows, since it breaks the expected pattern of usage.

Most languages do not have specialized devices that are singularly devoted to prominence marking. It is far more common to find a non-standard usage achieving specific pragmatic effects. Greek is no exception. The use of the historical present for forward-pointing highlighting exemplifies this. Using a grammatical construction in an ostensibly wrong or unexpected way has the effect of making something stand out. The pragmatic effect achieved is dependent upon the discourse context in which it occurs. The devices described in the chapters that follow exploit some departure from an expected norm to achieve a specific pragmatic effect. Distinguishing semantic meaning from pragmatic effect is critical to providing a coherent and accurate description of the

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10 There is ongoing debate in Greek whether verbs convey tense, aspect or both. Setting the debate aside, the imperfective aspect (imperfect and present) is the most likely candidate for grammaticalizing some kind of tense information, since there are two options for conveying the same aspect. My interest here is not to settle the tense vs. aspect debate, but to illustrate a text-linguistic principle with a well-attested usage.

device and its function within the discourse. Neglecting this distinction leaves you with “messy discourse”!

1.3 Default versus Marked Framework

We have already noted several ways that speakers’ choices inform grammatical usage. Another aspect of discourse grammar is organizing the available choices for a given task into an organized system. It is useful to consider the various options available for a given task as comprising an asymmetrical[12] set. Each member of the set possesses some unique quality that makes it distinct from the other members. This kind of organization is based upon ‘markedness theory’.[13]

Markedness theory presupposes that one member of this asymmetrical set is the most basic or simple member, called the default. All of the other members of the set signal or “mark” the presence of some unique feature, one which would not have been marked if the default option were used. The marked options are described based on how they uniquely differ both from the default, and from one another.

Consider the example above using “my” children compared to “your” children. I could organize the various options for referring to my kids into an asymmetrical set. When I have no special task to accomplish, I most typically use “the kids” as a referring expression. Taking this expression as the default, using expressions like “your kids,” “my kids” or “Ruth and her sister” would be expected to signal the presence of some discourse feature that “the kids” would not have signaled. Using “the kids” does not explicitly signal whether I am distancing myself from them or not, whereas “your kids” does.

The default option is considered to be “unmarked” for the features found in the other members of the set. The feature may or may not be present. The choice to use a marked form represents the choice to explicitly signal the presence of a feature that would only have been implicit if the default were used.

Since the default or unmarked option is the most basic, it is often the one that occurs most frequently. Caution is called for when appealing to statistics, since the objective of markedness is to find the most basic option, the one that carries the least freight with it. It is not simply the most frequently occurring one.[14] The more complex a set of items becomes (i.e. beyond a binary opposition), the more misleading and unrepresentative the

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[12] An asymmetrical approach to markedness views members of a given set as each uniquely marking the presence of some discrete feature. In other words, there is not symmetry among the members, each differs in some way from the other.


[14] Andrews devotes a chapter to the “Myths about Markedness,” debunking some commonly held notions regarding the use of statistics in distinguishing default and marked forms. She states, "The purpose of markedness theory is to explain properties of meaning that are invariant, not to justify a system based upon statistical frequency, which, by definition, is a context-specific phenomenon" (Markedness Theory, 137).
insights from statistics become. Once the default is selected, the marked forms are then described based on the unique feature that each one signals is present. Think of the default as the foil against which the marked forms are contrasted and described.

Chapter 2 describes the unique discourse constraints communicated by each of the most frequently occurring connectives found in the Greek NT. Theoretically, one of them is the most basic or default conjunction, the one the writer uses when there is no particular discourse feature to be signaled. This implies that each of the other connectives brings some specific constraint to bear in the context that the other members do not. Compare this approach to a more traditional description provided by Wallace, summarized below:

- Ascensive (even): καί, δέ, and µηδέ
- Connective (and, also): καί and δέ
- Contrastive (but, rather, however): ἀλλά, πλήν, sometimes καί and δέ
- Correlative: µέν...δέ (on the one hand...on the other hand); καί...καί (both...and)
- Disjunctive (or): ἦ
- Emphatic (certainly, indeed): ἀλλά, οὐ µή, οὖν; γε, δή, µενοῦνγε, µέντοι, ναί, and νή.
- Explanatory (for, you see, or that is, namely): γάρ, δέ, εἰ, καί.
- Inferential (therefore): ἀρα, γάρ, διό, διότι, οὖν, πλήν, τοιγαροῦν, τοινῦν, and ὡστε.
- Transitional (now, then): οὖν and especially δέ.

Of the various logical functions that Wallace recognizes, note how many times καί and δέ are co-listed. There are only two logical functions that δέ does not possess. Although these logical relations may work well for differentiating English conjunctions, the amount of cross-listing suggests that these relations are not well-suited for differentiating Greek connectives. Mapping the connectives to an English counterpart highlights the mismatches in function between the English and Greek conjunctions, but offers little help for differentiating the distinctive functions of καί and δέ.

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15 Ibid., 138-39.
16 Certain discourse contexts may make the occurrence of marked forms inordinately high. Paul’s heated defenses exhibit a very different distribution of discourse devices compared to a narrative. Discontinuity of time, place, action or participants will result in the use of different forms compared to a context of relative continuity.
18 Wallace, Greek Grammar, 761.
19 Wallace is not the only one wrestling with this issue. Dana and Mantey seem to regard English as something of an anomaly in that its conjunctions only have one meaning, whereas this is not the case in other languages. They state “…in Greek, as in Hebrew and Latin, but unlike the English use, a conjunction...
Languages tend to be very efficient, dropping elements that do not serve some unique purpose. Wallace’s description leaves the impression that καί and δέ share significant semantic overlap. Chapter 2 demonstrates that δέ marks a discourse feature that is most often signaled in English using adverbs, not conjunctions. Furthermore, some English conjunctions distinguish semantic continuity versus semantic discontinuity, e.g. ‘and’ versus ‘but’. The conjunctions καί and δέ do not grammaticalize this semantic constraint, leading them to be listed under both connective and contrastive relations. The messiness of this overlap is caused by the mismatch of the feature to the framework used, not by the overlapping features that are marked. Καί and δέ are unmarked for the feature of semantic continuity or discontinuity.

1.4 Prominence and Contrast
It is now time to synthesize the implications of pragmatic choices and their effects. This is where the notion of prominence comes in. The primary objective of using the various discourse devices is to attract extra attention to certain parts or aspects of the discourse, i.e. to mark them as prominent. Callow introduces prominence by stating:

A story in which every character was equally important and every event equally significant can hardly be imagined. Even the simplest story has at least a central character and a plot, and this means one character is more important than the others, and certain events likewise. Human beings cannot observe events simply as happenings; they observe them as related and significant happenings, and they report them as such.20

She later defines prominence as “any device whatsoever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context.”21 Regardless of whether we are looking at a scenic view, a piece of visual art, or even listening to music, we are constantly making judgments about what is ‘normal’ and what is ‘prominent’ based on the devices used to signal prominence.

So what exactly are the signals? What is it that makes some things blend into the scenery, and other things jump out? In visual art, there are all kinds of choices available regarding how to portray a subject.

Mt. Shuksan is one of the most photographed landmarks around the city I live in. A favorite shot is to frame the mountain with tall evergreens on either side, with a small mountain lake in the lower foreground, as in A) and B) below.

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21 Ibid., 50.
The effect of this framing is to provide a sharp contrast of color between the evergreens and the snow and glaciers on the mountain. The artist can manipulate the proportions of the figures to make one appear ‘nearer’ than another in the foreground, as in C) below. Though the pictures are only two-dimensional, changing the proportions can create a sense of depth in the work, as in A) and B).

Notice what a difference that the time of day makes, with B) taken at sunrise/sunset versus midday as in A). Having the lake in the foreground provides a color contrast, but also provides the added bonus of reflecting the object of interest. Finally, the mountain itself is centered in the middle of the frame, adding further evidence that this is the photographer’s primary interest, and not the lake or the trees. In contrast, C) lacks much in the way of framing devices other than the sky. It also lacks the stark color contrasts of the lake and the trees seen in the first two images. In terms of scale, A) seems to be the standard view, the one used most frequently by visitors. Option B) is more specialized, using a wide-angle and choosing a specific time of day to create a contrast. Option C) looks like it was taken with a zoom lens, and represents choices about how to portray the mountain that differ from the norm. The subject is the same, but the decisions about prominence, framing, point of view and contrast make a huge difference in the presentation.

Contrast

The writers of the New Testament used different devices to communicate prominence and to create contrast. Longacre observes that “Discourse without prominence would be like pointing to a piece of black cardboard and insisting that it was a picture of black camels crossing black sands at midnight”.\(^2\)\(^2\) Using the analogy of the picture above, a writer can make something stand out by “pulling” it to the foreground, comparable to taking a close-up photo. The same task can also be accomplished by pushing everything else into the background in order to leave just a few prominent elements by themselves in the foreground. This would be like taking a photo of two people that are fairly close to the camera against the backdrop of distant mountains. The things that appear to be close will attract our attention more than the things in the background. Although both of these methods accomplish the task of directing our attention, each choice brings about a different effect.

Another way of making something stand out exploits patterns and expectations. Humans are wired to recognize patterns. When patterns are broken or expectations are unmet, the standard response is to associate some kind of meaning with the change. Let’s take a look at how breaking an established pattern can make something stand out.

Imagine a co-worker or friend that regularly dresses in jeans and t-shirts, who one day arrives dressed in a suit. The break in the pattern attracts attention, perhaps prompting questions about what it meant. Did he have an interview or a presentation? Was he going out somewhere special after work? What motivated him to wear the suit, what did it mean?

Similarly, musicians and songwriters employ patterns to do all kinds of things. Devices such as refrains or repetition of a theme often function to segment the piece of music into movements or verses, i.e. smaller chunks. The repetition of the same notes (e.g. a refrain, or a theme) can let us know where these transitions are. Increasing or decreasing the volume can also function as an indicator of prominence, such as building to a loud crescendo for a climax.

Since prominence is fundamentally about making something stand out in its context, prominence-marking typically involves creating contrast with other things in the context. Contrast, in turn, presupposes that a person recognizes the underlying pattern. Even if we cannot verbalize the pattern, we can still perceive contrast. I do not need a music theory class to pick out a refrain; I do not need an art class to pick out the center of interest in most paintings.

We constantly make choices about how and what to communicate. Although languages have their differences, they all have a common set of tasks to be accomplished. The choices we make have meaning associated with them. The choice to break the expected pattern implies that there was some reason not to follow the pattern. The choice implies meaning. These same devices also allow us to make some things more prominent, and others less prominent.

1.5 Suggested Reading
Callow, Kathleen, Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God, pp. 9-18; 49-53.


2. Connecting Propositions

This chapter provides a very basic overview of the different sorts of relations that can be communicated by the most commonly used NT Greek connectives. Understanding the discourse function of connectives is foundational for properly understanding the devices that follow. Greek has a much more diverse set of connectives than we have in English, resulting in some significant mismatches between the languages. In English, most of our clauses are joined without using an explicit connector, i.e. asyndeton. In contrast, Greek has a much more sophisticated system, which Robertson describes,

The Greeks, especially in the literary style, felt the propriety of indicating the inner relation of the various independent sentences that composed a paragraph. This was not merely an artistic device, but a logical expression of coherence of thought. Particles like καί, δέ, ἀλλά, γάρ, οὖν, δή, etc., were very common in this connection. Demonstrative pronouns, adverbs, and even relative pronouns were also used for this purpose.

The Greek connectives play a functional role by indicating how the writers intended one clause to relate to another, based on the connective used.

Although the diversity of connectives provides valuable exegetical information about the writer’s intentions, it has often caused a good deal of confusion regarding exactly how each one differs from the other. Conjunctions have traditionally been defined based upon their translation, mapping them to an English counterpart. Consider the following summary from Wallace, with particular attention to how many times καί and δέ are listed together, and how many different ways they can be translated into English.

Logical Functions:
A. Ascensive: even… καί, δέ, and μηδέ
B. Connective (continuative, coordinate): and, also… καί and δέ
C. Contrastive (adversative): but, rather, however… ἀλλά, πλὴν, sometimes καί and δέ
D. Correlative: e.g., μέν… δέ (on the one hand… on the other hand); καί… καί (both… and)
E. Disjunctive (Alternative): or… ἢ

23 The term 'connective' is used here in place of the more specific 'conjunction' since languages commonly use forms other than conjunctions to perform the task of connecting clause elements. Adverbs often serve as connectives.
24 I would encourage you to read this chapter closely, and then to reread it after you have finished the rest of the book along with the introduction. When you assemble a bicycle or lawnmower, the instructions advocate using it for a bit after the initial assembly, but then to go back and retighten what may have loosened up. I expect that some items will not be completely secure after a first read through this chapter, as is to be expected. Much of what follows will be brand new to some readers. Do your best to assimilate it with what you have previously learned, but would strongly urge you to read this chapter and the introduction after completing the rest of the book.
DISCOURSE GRAMMAR of the GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

F. Emphatic: certainly, indeed… ἀλλά (certainly), οὐ μὴ (certainly not or by no means), οὖν (certainly); true emphatic conjunctions include γε, δή, μενοῦνγε, μέντοι, ναί, and νή

G. Explanatory: for, you see, or that is, namely… γάρ, δέ, εἰ (after verbs of emotion), and καί

H. Inferential: therefore… ὅρα, γάρ, διό, διότι, οὖν, πλήν, τοιαροῦν, τοινῦν, and ὡστε

I. Transitional: now, then… οὖν and especially δέ

Wallace’s approach helps us understand how each Greek conjunctions maps to an English counterpart, but there are some drawbacks.

Listing καί and δέ together as ascensive, connective, contrastive and correlative raises a couple questions. What exactly do these conjunctions do in Greek? Does each do a bunch of different things, or is there one unifying function that it performs? What is the meaningful difference between them if they can be translated by the same English conjunctions in so many instances? Problems like these illustrate the need for finding a different way of understanding Greek that is not so dependent upon English.

Each of the most common Greek connectives will be described based on the discourse task that it accomplishes. Each connective brings to bear a unique constraint upon the connected elements. This is true even where there is a series of connectives in a row, as in Philippians 3:8 (ἀλλὰ μενοῦνγε καὶ). Each connective plays a specific role, bringing its unique constraint to bear in the context.

The objective is not to know how to translate the connective, but to understand how each one uniquely differs from another based on the function that it accomplishes in Greek. Exegesis and exposition are all about understanding the original and drawing out the meaning. Translation is often an ill-suited medium for this, even though it is the one most commonly used. One may have a very clear understanding of something and still find it troublesome to capture all of the information in a translation. Don’t worry, exposition gives you the opportunity to elaborate on aspects of a passage that cannot be well-captured in translation.

Dooley and Levinsohn provide a key principle that forms a basis for the following discussion.

A general principle in human language is Behaghel’s Law, which states that “items that belong together mentally are grouped together syntactically” (MacWhinney 1991:276). One application of Behaghel’s Law is that, when two sentences are adjacent, or two clauses are adjacent within a sentence, then, other things being equal, the propositions they embody should be interpreted as being in a close conceptual relation. 27

This principle helps us understand the default expectation of a reader when he or she sees adjacent elements, viz. that they share a conceptual relationship of some kind. Blakemore

26 Wallace, Greek Grammar, 761.
27 Dooley and Levinsohn, Analyzing Discourse, 15.
describes the role of a connective saying “it encodes information about the inferential process that the hearer should use” in connecting what follows the connective to what precedes. Connectives play the role of specifying what kind of relationship the writer intended. Each provides a unique constraint on how to process the discourse that follows.

2.1 Asyndeton (Ø)

Asyndeton refers to the linking of clauses or clause components without the use of a conjunction. This concept will be abbreviated using the Ø symbol. If you look at what I have written, you will note that most of the main clauses are not linked with any conjunction. Asyndeton is the default connective in English, the option that one chooses when there is no specific relationship that the writer wants to explicitly signal. It is the option used when the writer judges that the implicit relation between the clauses is sufficiently clear.

Example 1 Asyndeton in English

a) “I went to the store. Ø I bought some milk.”

b) “I went to the store and bought some milk.”

c) “I went to the store, but only bought some milk.”

d) “I went to the store in order to buy some milk.”

Each of these options constrains the two clauses to be related to one another in different ways. In a), the use of asyndeton does not bring any particular constraint upon how these clauses are to be related to one another. Since each clause describes an action, the default expectation is that one action followed the other. There may be other specific relations, but they are not made explicit.

In b), the two actions are explicitly connected using and. It makes explicit a closer connection between the actions that may or may not be present using Ø. The use of but only in option c) implies that there was an unmet expectation of some kind, as though something more than ‘just milk’ was to be purchased. Finally, option d) specifies a cause-effect relationship between the two actions. This same purpose of buying milk may have been the cause of going to the store in a), but the use of Ø leaves this unspecified.

To summarize, the use of asyndeton indicates that the writer did not feel the need to specify any kind of relationship between the clauses. The relation might be ‘causative’, it might be ‘contrary to expectation’, it might simply be ‘continuity’. Asyndeton means that the writer did not feel compelled to specify a relation. If they had wanted to constrain a specific relation, there are plenty of conjunctions to make the intended relation explicit.

The choice to use asyndeton represents the choice not to specify a relation.

In Koine Greek, asyndeton is the default means of connecting clauses in the Epistles and in speeches reported within narrative. It is also used in the narrative of the gospel of John. Recall that default does not mean that it is the most commonly occurring option, but that it is the most basic (i.e. unmarked) option. It is the option chosen when there is no particular reason to signal that some feature is present. Here are some examples.

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Example 2  John 1:1-8

Ø ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος,
καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.
Ø οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.
Ø πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,
καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν. ὁ γέγονεν
Ø ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν ζωὴ,
καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων·
καὶ ὁ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει,
καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.
Ø ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ,
Ø ὁ οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν,
Ø οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς,
ἀλλ’ ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός. (ESV)

Most of the conjunctions from this passage translate quite naturally in the ESV. Asyndeton is used at the beginning of a new thought, or simply where the relation between clauses is clear. And is used to create a tighter connection between clauses that only would have been implicit using Ø. There is only one change in the translation at v. 5, indicated by the underlining. The Greek version links τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει more closely to what precedes using καί, whereas the ESV translates it as though it were a new or less-connected thought than those linked using Ø.

There is a similar use of Ø in the speeches reported within narratives, as in the gospel of Matthew.

Example 3  Matthew 6:24-26

Ø οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἤ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἀγαπήσει,
Ø ὁ ἕνος ἀνθέξεται καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καταφρονήσει.
Ø οὐδεὶς δύναται ἢγιοις δουλεύειν καὶ οἰκονομῆν.
Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν,
Ø μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε [ή τί πίετε],
μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἔνδυσησθε. (29)
Ø οὐχὶ ἢ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ

24 “Ø No one can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other,
or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other.
Ø You cannot serve God and money.
25 “Therefore I tell you, Ø do not be anxious about your life, what you will eat or what you will drink,
nor about your body, what you will put on.
Ø Is not life more than food, and the body

29 Cf. Section 2.6 for a description of the discourse function of διὰ τοῦτο.
τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; Οὐ ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας,
καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐρανιός τρέφει αὐτάν;
Οὐ ύμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν;

Many of the clauses above are joined using Ø. Those using conjunctions provide an explicit relation. The use of asyndeton indicates that the writer chose not to make a relation explicit. The relation must be gleaned from the context. Note that Ø is used at the beginning of a new thought (e.g. ’no one can serve two masters’, ‘Look at the birds of the air’).

Asyndeton can be used at points of discontinuity, as at the beginning of a new thought or topic. Levinsohn summarizes the use of asyndeton in non-narrative by stating that since explicit connectives are used to indicate clause relationships like strengthening, developmental, associative or inferential, “the use of asyndeton tends to imply ‘not strengthening, not developmental, not associative, not inferential, etc’.” It is not only used in contexts where there is a change in topic (e.g. at the beginning of a new paragraph). Levinsohn notes it may also be used in contexts of close connection, such as moving from generic to specific.

2.2 Καί

One of the significant mismatches between English and Greek conjunctions is clearly seen in the different senses that are ascribed to καί. The primary senses are ‘connective’ and ‘adversative’, matching with the connective and and the adversative but. These two English conjunctions, however, mark an inherent semantic quality that is not marked by either καί or δέ. This quality is captured in the labels connective and adversative, and can be described more generally as ‘semantic continuity’ versus ‘semantic discontinuity’. This semantic quality that distinguishes and from but is not marked by καί. It may or may not be present. The same is true with δέ. To ascribe this semantic quality to these Greek connectives is to force them into the descriptive box of English, whether it fits well or not. The labels ‘adversative’ and ‘connective’ may be helpful in determining an English translation, but they cause confusion when it comes to understanding the function of καί in Greek.

Καί is a coordinating conjunction that may join individual words, phrases, clauses or paragraphs.

Example 4 James 1:21-24

21 διὸ ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ περισσείαν κακίας ἐν πραΰτητι, Ø δέξασθε τὸν ἐμφύτου λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον σώσαι
24 Therefore put away all filthiness and rampant wickedness and receive with meekness the implanted word, which

30 Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 119.
In verse 21 above two noun phrases are linked, describing the two things that are to be put away. In vv. 22 and 23, two more objects are linked using καί even though they are opposites. The conjunction does not mark the presence or absence of semantic continuity; it simply “is used to link items of equal status.” 31 Verse 24 illustrates the joining of three main clauses closely together instead of using asyndeton. Adding one to another to another creates the impression that these actions take place in close succession, or that one leads to the next. This close connection is expressed in the ESV through the omission of the subject ‘he’ in the second and third clauses, making the latter two dependent on the first for a subject.

Καί does not mark a distinction of semantic continuity or discontinuity, it merely indicates that the connected elements are to be closely related to one another. Stated another way, καί links two items of equal status. Consider the ‘adversative’ usage in 1 Thessalonians 2:18.

**Example 5** 1 Thessalonians 2:18

| διὸτι ἠθελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δίς, καί ἐνέκοψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς. | because we wanted to come to you—I, Paul, again and again—but Satan hindered us. |

The use of καί here simply links two items of equal status, without any judgment regarding semantic continuity or discontinuity. This semantic distinction is not marked by καί. Even though the associated clauses are clearly contrastive, καί simply signals that they are to be added together. Contrast is a quality that is dependent upon the semantics of the context. It is either there or it is not, depending upon the discourse content. 32 Connectives and various syntactic devices can make the contrast more pronounced.

In contexts where asyndeton is the default means of coordination, Levinsohn claims that καί “constrains the material it introduces to be processed as being added to and associated with previous material.” 33 In comparison to asyndeton, coordination with καί signals to

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33 Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 125.
the reader to more closely associate the connected elements. The use of the connective represents the writer’s choice to ‘add’ the one element to the other.³⁴ Let’s revisit Example 2, repeated below for convenience.

Example 6  John 1:1-8

| Ø ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, | Ø In the beginning was the Word, |
| καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, | and the Word was with God, |
| καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. | and the Word was God. |
| Ø οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. | Ø He was in the beginning with God. |
| Ø πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, | Ø All things were made through him, |
| καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν. θέω... | and without him was not any thing made that was made. |
| Ø ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, | Ø In him was life, |
| καὶ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἁνθρώπων. | and the life was the light of men. |
| καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, | Ø The light shines in the darkness, |
| καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ ὑπεκτέλησεν. | and the darkness has not overcome it. |
| Ø ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, | Ø There was a man sent from God... (ESV). |

Look at the clauses that are joined by καί, compared to those joined by Ø. The use of καί constrains these elements to be more closely related to one another than those joined by Ø. Beginning new thoughts with Ø makes good sense, in that using καί would constrain the elements to be processed as though they were part of the same thought or topic. Using καί to associate clauses within the same main thought also makes sense, since it helps the reader to understand the flow of the discourse.

In most narrative contexts, καί functions as the default means of coordination. Levinsohn describes the situation like this:

> It is possible to relate a whole episode of a narrative in New Testament Greek using a single sentence conjunction, viz., καί. Such passages are comparable to narratives in Hebrew in which the single conjunction waw is used. You can think of such passages as “straight narrative.”³⁵

Based on the definition that καί links items of equal status, the implication is that the narrative events that are added one to another are judged by the writer to be of equal status. This means that narrative events are linked using καί unless there is some break or discontinuity in the discourse. The most common reasons for switching from the default καί in narrative are to mark a new development or to mark the transition to or from background information (cf. Section 2.3).

To summarize, the use of καί constrains the connected element to be closely associated with what comes before, regardless of whether there is semantic continuity or not. The

³⁴ Cf. Chapter 16 on thematic addition, where clausal elements are 'added' to one another. In many cases the added elements are from different clauses, i.e. not simple coordination. Though the proximity of the added elements is different in thematic addition compared to simple coordination, καί still brings to bear the same constraint on the elements, i.e. constraining "the material it introduces to be processed as being added to and associated with previous material" (Ibid.)

³⁵ Ibid., 71.
implication is that the elements joined by καί are of equal status. In contexts where asyndeton is the default means of coordination, as in most epistles and reported speeches, the use of καί signals a closer connection of the elements than using Ø. In most narrative contexts (except John’s gospel), the narrative events that are connected by καί are judged by the writer to be of equal status, and portrayed as ‘straight narrative.’ Consider the use of καί in the healing of the Geresene demoniac in Mark 5:14-19.

Example 7  Mark 5:14-19

καὶ οἱ βοσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄγροις
καὶ ἠλθον ἵδειν τί ἔστιν τὸ γεγονός
καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν
καὶ θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον ἰματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα, τὸ ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα,
καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.  
καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱδόντες πῶς ἐγένετο τὸ δαιμονιζόμενω καὶ περὶ τῶν χοίρων.
καὶ ἦλθον ἵδειν τί ἔστιν τὸ γεγονός
καὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄγροις
καὶ ἠλθον ἵδειν τί ἔστιν τὸ γεγονός
καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λέγει αὐτῷ, "Ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου..."

The ESV translators rendered most of the connections established by καί using ‘and’ in English. The two exceptions to this are the transitions where the herdsmen flee and where Jesus is getting into the boat. These are translated using asyndeton. Markers other than connectives are used to indicate a minor break in the development of the discourse.36

Development markers

BDAG say that δέ is “used to connect one clause to another, either to express contrast or simple continuation. When it is felt that there is some contrast between clauses—though the contrast is oft. scarcely discernible—the most common translation is ‘but’. When a simple connective is desired, without contrast being clearly implied, ‘and’ will suffice, and in certain occurrences the marker may be left untranslated”.37

36 Verse 14a uses a topical frame to signal the minor discontinuity as the story shifts from the interaction between the demons and Jesus to the response of the herdsmen (cf. Chapters 9-11). In v. 18, a genitive absolute may signal the same kind of low-level break in the discourse (cf. Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 84 for its use with asyndeton at breaks in the discourse).

37 BDAG, 213.
above regarding English *and* and *but* marking the distinction of semantic continuity versus discontinuity, respectively. On the other hand, καί does not encode this feature. It may or may not be present. The presence of this feature in the English conjunctions has lead to the assumption that it is present in their Greek counterparts.

As with καί, the connective δέ does not mark the presence of semantic discontinuity, as BDAG claim. This is not to say that contrast is not present in many contexts where δέ occurs, I only claim that the presence of the connective is not what brings it about. Contrast has everything to do with the semantics of the elements present in the context. This explains why δέ is sometimes said to be contrastive and sometimes not. Grammarians have worked diligently to make καί correspond to *and*, and δέ to *but*, which has lead to great confusion regarding the unique grammatical role that each plays.

One very important discourse task that every language needs to accomplish is for speakers or writers to mark where to break the discourse into smaller chunks. There is a limit to how much information we can take in without breaking it down into smaller pieces. Think about trying to listen to a run-on sentence, or trying to memorize a long list of items. You would probably have difficulty taking it all in. But if the run-on were properly formed into smaller clauses, and if the list of items were broken down into several smaller lists of several items each, the task of processing and retaining the information would become much easier.

Languages use various devices for this task of ‘chunking’ or segmenting the discourse into smaller bits for easier processing. The most obvious one is thematic breaks or discontinuities in the discourse. Typically such breaks entail a change of time, location, participant/topic or kind of action. Such changes represent natural discontinuities based on the discourse content. We are most likely to segment texts at junctures like these. But what happens in contexts of relative continuity, where there are no natural breaks? How are decisions made about chunking there?

The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines continuity as “a connection or line of development with no sharp breaks”.38 Think about what is meant by ‘line of development’. If you are explaining a process to someone or formulating an argument of some kind, there will most likely be steps or stages in that ‘line of development.’ So too in stories, which are made up of a series of events or scenes. The events themselves are often composed of distinct actions or reactions. Linguists refer to these distinct stages or steps as developments. Languages use various markers to signal new developments, particularly in contexts of relative continuity. Development markers guide the reader in breaking the discourse into meaningful chunks, based upon how the writer conceived of the action or argument.

Returning to the other part of the BDAG definition, they note that δέ expresses “simple continuation.” Some of the English glosses they provide for this sense are ‘now’, ‘then’, and ‘so’. All three of these words are English *adverbs*, but at times they are used to accomplish the same kinds of discourse tasks as Greek conjunctions, marking a new development in the discourse. Here is how Dooley and Levinsohn describe it:

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Whereas connectives like and and some additives instruct the hearer to associate information together, some conjunctions convey the opposite and constrain the reader to move on to the next point. We will call these connectives “DEVELOPMENTAL MARKERS” because they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned.

We frequently use temporal expressions like then or now to mark developments in English. Consider the following example, and the difference that development markers can play in how you process and structure what you are reading.

Example 8  Marking Development in English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text without Developments</th>
<th>Text with Developments-I</th>
<th>Text with Developments-II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I woke up early this morning.</td>
<td>I woke up early this morning and read for a while.</td>
<td>I woke up early this morning, read for a while, and ate breakfast. I showered, got dressed, and went to the office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I read for a while.</td>
<td>Then I ate breakfast, showered and got dressed.</td>
<td>At the office, I checked email and began working on the next chapter of my project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I ate breakfast.</td>
<td>After that, I went to the office and checked email.</td>
<td>After that, I ate lunch with a friend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I showered and got dressed.</td>
<td>Then I began working on the next chapter of my project. I ate lunch with a friend.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I went to the office.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I checked email.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I began working on the next chapter of my project.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I ate lunch with a friend.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice the difference that adding temporal (e.g. ‘then’ or ‘after that’) or spatial markers (e.g. ‘at the office’) makes in how you process the discourse. The first column lacks any specific markers about where to segment the text. It is left to the reader to make these decisions based on the content. For instance, one might chose to break the text at the change in location from home to the office. Dropping some of the ‘I’ subject pronouns and joining the sentences with and would also give some indication, as seen in the examples with καί in Section 2.2.

Look at the difference that the location of the development markers makes in the second and third columns. The second column portrays the events as four distinct developments: getting up, getting ready, getting settled at work, doing work. The third column uses two developments to express the same information, but both of them are in different places than in the second column.

This example illustrates the latitude available to writers in how they organize a discourse. To be sure, there are natural places in a discourse for beginning new developments, such as changes of time, place, participants, or kind of action. Even with these constraints, there is still great flexibility available to the writer as to where to segment the discourse, and how frequently to segment it. Dooley and Levinsohn capture the authorial decision regarding where to mark developments in their definition above by stating “the material

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39 Dooley and Levinsohn, Analyzing Discourse, 93.
so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned.40

So far we have talked about how English uses adverbials like then and now to mark developments. Greek uses its rich set of connectives to mark development, resulting in a mismatch between the function of some conjunctions in Greek compared to their English counterparts. The most commonly used development markers in the Greek NT are δέ and οὖν.

Not only do these particles serve as conjunctions, they also serve as development markers in the discourse in ways comparable to temporal adverbs in English. This raises the question of how best to translate οὖν? Should I translate it as ‘therefore’, or as ‘then’ or ‘now’? This quandary illustrates the problem of needing to express all grammatical information in translation. There may not be an easy translation solution. But even if you cannot capture everything in a single English word, you can still understand the function of the Greek word, understanding what it signals in the discourse.

2.3 δέ

Now we can come back to our consideration of δέ and provide a more complete description of its function in the Greek NT. δέ is a coordinating conjunction like καί, but includes the added constraint of signaling a new development (i.e., + development). Καί on the other hand, is unmarked for development (i.e., - development). There may or may not be one present with καί. The writer has chosen not to indicate one way or the other if καί is used. In contrast, the use of δέ represents the writer’s choice to explicitly signal that what follows is a new, distinct development in the story or argument, based on how the writer conceived of it.41 If the exegete is seeking to understand the author’s intent, devices such as development markers are worthy of our attention.

Below is a passage that illustrates the meaningful difference that attention to development markers can make in understanding how the writer conceived of the discourse. The reported speeches have been abbreviated.

Example 9  Matthew 2:1-10

2 Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεέμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ιδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα λέγοντες, Ποῦ ἐστίν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς…
3 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης

2 Now after Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold, wise men from the east came to Jerusalem, 2 saying, “Where is he who has been born king…”

3 When Herod the king heard this, he was

40 Ibid., italics added.
41 When I talk about a writer’s “choice,” I am not conceiving of stopping and laboring over whether to signal a development or not. Rather, I have in mind the kinds of intentional yet unconscious decisions that speakers of a language are constantly making, choosing what “fits best” or is most appropriate, based on their communication objectives. In English, we do not stop to consider the placement of “then” to segment a story. We simply do it without conscious thought. The grammatical marker is telltale evidence of how the writer or speaker conceived of the action, how it broke down in their mental picture of it.
ἐταράχθη καὶ πᾶσα ἱεροσόλυμα μετ’ αὐτοῦ, 4 καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντές καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιστᾶνετο παρ’ αὐτῶν ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται.

5 οἱ δὲ ἐίπαν αὐτῷ, Ἐν Βηθλεέμ...

7 Τότε Ἡρῴδης λάθρᾳ καλέσας καὶ ἔφυγεν, ἐπεί οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπυνθάνετο παρ’ αὐτῶν ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται.

5 They told him, “In Bethlehem…”

7 Then Herod summoned the wise men secretly and ascertained from them what time the star had appeared. 8 And he sent them to Bethlehem, saying, “Go and search diligently for the child, and when you have found him, bring me word, that I too may come and worship him.”

9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπερεύθησαν καὶ ἤκριβωσαν παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸν χρόνον τοῦ φαίνομένου ἀστέρος, 8 καὶ πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἰς Βηθλεέμ εἶπεν, Πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς περὶ τοῦ παιδίου· ἐπὰν δὲ ἐξακρίβωσατε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον.

9 After listening to the king, they went on their way. And behold, the star that they had seen when it rose went before them until it came to rest over the place where the child was.

10 When they saw the star, they rejoiced exceedingly with great joy (ESV).

According to the use of development markers, this excerpt is organized into six developments. The first development unit (vv. 1-2) sets the stage for the story that follows, introducing the complicating incident around which the story unfolds: Herod learning from the wise men that there is a newborn king. The next development recounts Herod’s response to the situation (vv. 3-4), He becomes troubled and seeks to find where the new king was born. The answer of vv. 5-6 is framed as the next development, followed by Herod’s summoning of the wise men to search for the king. The response of the wise men is segmented as the next development (v. 9), followed by their response to seeing the star (v. 10 ff).

Notice that there are only two explicit development markers in the ESV, ‘now’ in v. 2 that has been supplied by the translators, and ‘then’ that translates the ‘narrative τότε’ in v. 7. In the original formatting of the ESV text, it would appear that they only recognize the two developments in the story based on the paragraphing: at vv. 1 and 7. The preferred length of development units seems to vary from language to language. Even within Greek, it seems that Mark has a much higher threshold for what he considers to warrant a development marker compared to Matthew or Luke. This is illustrated in the next example. DM in the ESV represents the presence of a development marker in the Greek text.

**Example 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew 14:22-27</th>
<th>Mark 6:45-50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 Καὶ εὐθέως ἤναγκασεν τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ προάγειν αὐτὸν</td>
<td>45 Καὶ εὐθὺς ἤναγκασεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ προάγειν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
εἰς τὸ πέραν, ἕως οὗ ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς ὄχλους. 23 καὶ ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ἄνεβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος κατ’ ἵδιαν προσεύχασθαι.

οὐφαί δὲ γενομένης μόνος ἦν ἕκει.

24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἦν ηδὲ σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν βασανιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, ἣν γὰρ ἐναντίος ὁ ἄνεμος.

25 τετάρτῃ δὲ φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

26 οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν λέγοντες ὅτι Φάντασμά ἐστιν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν.

27 εὐθὺς δὲ ἔλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς λέγων, Θαρσεῖτε, ἐγώ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε.

22 Immediately he made the disciples get into the boat and go before him to the other side, while he dismissed the crowds. 23 And after he had dismissed the crowds, he went up on the mountain by himself to pray.

DM When evening came, he was there alone,

24 DM but the boat by this time was a long way from the land, beaten by the waves, for the wind was against them.

25 DM And in the fourth watch of the night he came to them, walking on the sea.

26 DM But when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were terrified, and said, “It is a ghost!” and they cried out in fear.

27 DM But immediately Jesus spoke to them, saying, “Take heart; it is I. Do not be afraid” (ESV).

23 Immediately he made his disciples get into the boat and go before him to the other side, to Bethsaida, while he dismissed the crowd.

46 And after he had taken leave of them, he went up on the mountain to pray.

47 And when evening came, the boat was out on the sea, and he was alone on the land. 48 And he saw that they were making headway painfully, for the wind was against them. And about the fourth watch of the night he came to them, walking on the sea. He meant to pass by them,

49 DM but when they saw him walking on the sea they thought it was a ghost, and cried out, 50 for they all saw him and were terrified.

DM But immediately he spoke to them and said, “Take heart; it is I. Do not be afraid” (ESV).

The two accounts begin similarly regarding the grouping of the background information in the first few verses. Matthew segments the statements about Jesus being alone, the boat already being a long way from shore, and Jesus coming to the boat during the fourth watch, as distinct developments. This has the effect of making each of these elements
stand out more than in Mark’s version, since each is portrayed as a distinct development or change.

For Mark, vv. 45-48 lead up to two significant events: the disciples seeing Jesus (v. 49) and his encouragement to them to take heart (v. 50c). Both versions convey virtually the same content. They differ in the amount of attention that they draw to various events. By virtue of the fact that Mark signals fewer developments, those that he does signal are likely to receive more attention than those in Matthew. On the other hand, segmenting the text into more distinct developments can also have the effect of ‘picking up the pace’ of the narrative. In Matthew’s account, the text is segmented into smaller and smaller chunks the closer one gets to the climax of the story. This is true of Mark’s account as well, in that he only marks developments near the climax. Shortening the length of the developments has the effect of making them “pass by” more quickly, in a sense picking up the pace of the story.

One final example of the difference between καί and δέ is taken from 1 Corinthians.

**Example 11**

1 Corinthians 12:4-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>καὶ οὔδεὶς δύναται εἶπεῖν, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ.</th>
<th>and no one can say “Jesus is Lord” except in the Holy Spirit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Τίμια καὶ διαφόρα διακονιῶν εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα·</td>
<td>4 Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσίν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος</td>
<td>5 and there are varieties of service, but the same Lord;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.</td>
<td>6 and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who empowers them all in everyone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ἑκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.</td>
<td>7 To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same way that καί can join words, phrases, clauses or paragraphs, the same holds true for δέ. The first δέ in v. 4 (translated as ‘now’) signals that the clause that follows represents the next distinct step in the argument. Paul returns to the initial proposition from verse 1 regarding spiritual gifts following his comment in v. 3 about evidence of the Spirit’s work in a believer’s life.

Within v. 4 itself, there is a development from v. 4a to 4b, signaled by the second δέ. His goal is not simply to lay out two things side by side (e.g. ‘there are varieties of gifts and the same Spirit’). This would have indicated that there is one, two-part thought. The use of the development marker signals that one thing builds on top of another, constraining the reader to process the two things as distinct elements that move toward the same goal. Since they are semantically different (many-one) and yet related (gifts of the Spirit—the Spirit himself), the natural contrast that was already present in the context is drawn out by the ‘development’ constraint of δέ.

Note that verse 5 is added to v. 4 using καί. This indicates that it is part of the same step of Paul’s argument. He establishes a similar contrast to the one found in v. 4 (variety-
same), but the two elements are linked here using καί instead of δέ. There is not a different spirit behind each of the gifts, but the *same* one.

The development in v. 6 reiterates what we probably expected to be a development in v. 5. By simply joining the elements in v. 5 using καί and moving on to the next comparison Paul is able to build suspense about the primary point he is making. He is not just arguing for a unified view of the Spirit or God, but for a unified understanding of the diverse manifestations of the Spirit. Regardless of appearances, God is using the varied elements to accomplish a single, unified result for the common good. The development of v. 7 builds on this idea of singularity, switching to the *individual* who receives one of the diverse gifts.

Development is a very difficult concept to wrap our heads around as English-speakers. It is natural to conceive of temporal development as in a sequence of events, but challenging to conceptualize logical development when it does not involve sequence. It can sometimes be helpful to think about what was not used when trying to understand the significance of a development marker in a particular context.

### 2.4 Narrative *Τότε*

In the introduction to development markers, I made the point that temporal adverbs are often used in English to mark new developments, segmenting the text into smaller chunks in contexts of relative continuity. Temporal adverbs are used as development markers in the Greek NT as well, particularly in Matthew and Acts. The adverb *τότε* “then” can fulfill the same role as a connective in contexts where none are present. This usage has been referred to as ‘narrative *τότε*’ based on its distribution.

It is important to keep in mind some qualities of narrative. First, Longacre has observed that it possesses two significant parameters: + contingent temporal succession and + agent orientation. In other words, narratives are typically composed of sequentially ordered events, and focus primarily upon the agents performing the action. This means that the default expectation of the reader is that:

- one event or action follows the next sequentially, and that
- there is a consistent passage of time as these events unfold.

These are the expectations *unless the writer indicates otherwise* (e.g. “…before these things…” or “…three years later…”). Consider the use of *then* in the following example.

**Example 12** I got up, *then* I got dressed, *then* I ate breakfast.

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42 Similarly, one finds וְעַתָּה “and now” frequently used in biblical Hebrew reported speeches or exhortations to signal the transition from some state of affairs to what it to be done in response. It serves as a development marker.

43 Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 95, states "It is often used, especially in Matthew and Acts, as 'a connective particle' (BDF §459(2)), perhaps because of Semitic influence (Turner 1963:341)". BDF's description is consistent with the definition of 'development' I use above.

Based on the assumption of sequential ordering of events, using then tells me nothing specific about how much time passed. I could have used asyndeton to link these clauses, and relied upon the assumption that one thing followed the next.

The use of then in this context is unnecessary, yet it still serves a discourse function, segmenting the text into developments. The same holds true in the Greek NT. Τότε conveys the same sequential constraint as then. Since it is assumed that one event follows the next in a sequence, the pragmatic effect of using it in a context of relative continuity is to instruct the reader to segment the text into a new chunk. Τότε indicates that the primary basis for relating what follows to what precedes is as the next discrete step or development in the discourse, based on how the writer conceived of the action.

Since both δέ and τότε mark new developments, the question arises of how they differ from one another. Based on the idea of default versus marked, δέ should be viewed as the default development marker, that one that is used when there is no desire to specify the exact nature of the development. Due to the semantic nature of τότε, it makes explicit that the development that follows is temporal in nature. At times this may end up being a generic transition in time, but it is still temporal in nature.

Narrative τότε is often found at the margins of paragraphs created in the critical Greek texts by modern editors. In Matthew 18, Jesus provides instruction about what to do if someone sins against you in vv. 15-20. Peter then asks a question that is related to Jesus’ teaching. The use of τότε here has the effect of segmenting Peter’s question off as a distinct yet related part of the discourse.

**Example 13** Matthew 18:21

```
Τότε προσελθὼν ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Κύριε, ποσάκις ἁμαρτήσει εἰς ἐμὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτῷ; ἕως ἑπτάκις;

Then Peter came up and said to him, “Lord, how often will my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? As many as seven times?” (ESV)
```

Then simply signals a low-level break in the text, yet not so great as to make the reader think that a whole new topic follows. Both NA27 and UBS⁴ make v. 21 the beginning of a new paragraph. Other paragraph-initial instances of τότε are Matthew 2:7, 16; 4:1, 5; 15:12; and 16:24.

There are also a number of instances where τότε is not paragraph-initial, but is found in the middle of a paragraph. In all but two of these instances (Mat 13:43; 24:40), τότε is found at natural transition points, just before a speech, in response to a speech, or both. Here too τότε indicates that what follows is the next development of the discourse. It can operate at various levels of the discourse.

In the following example τότε occurs twice in the middle of what NA2⁷ and UBS⁴ consider to be a single paragraph. Each occurrence is found at a potential transition in the story.

**Example 14** Matthew 12:43-45

```
43 Ὄταν δὲ τὸ ἄκαθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον, διέρχεται δὲ ἄνυδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκει.

43 “When the unclean spirit has gone out of a person, it passes through waterless places seeking rest, but finds none.
```
Then it says, ‘I will return to my house from which I came.’ And when it comes, it finds the house empty, swept, and put in order.

Then it goes and brings with it seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they enter and dwell there, and the last state of that person is worse than the first. So also will it be with this evil generation” (ESV).

One could have potentially made what happens upon the spirit’s return into a distinct development; so too with the different clauses of v. 45. The use of τότε gives insight into how the writer/speaker construed the structure of the discourse, based on the connectives used.

There are two instances of δέ in the next example. The first introduces Jesus’ speech, the second marks the development from the affirmation that Elijah will come first to the declaration that he already has come. Τότε is used to mark the development that resulted from Jesus’ speech.

Example 15  Matthew 17:13

καὶ ἔπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ λέγοντες, Τί οὖν οἱ γραμματεῖς λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἡλίαν δεῖ ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον; 
ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Ἡλίας μὲν ἔρχεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα. 
λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἡλίας ἤδη ἦλθεν, καὶ οὐκ επέγνωσαν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὅσα θέλησαν, ὅτι οὐς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλει πάσχειν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. 
τότε συνῆκαν οἱ μαθηταὶ ὅτι περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.

And the disciples asked him, “Then why do the scribes say that first Elijah must come?”
He answered, “Elijah does come, and he will restore all things.
But I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they did not recognize him, but did to him whatever they pleased. So also the Son of Man will certainly suffer at their hands.”
Then the disciples understood that he was speaking to them of John the Baptist (ESV).

Whereas the disciples did not understand whom Jesus was talking about in the beginning, they understood as a result of the speech that he was talking about John the Baptist.
Generally speaking, segmenting something off as a distinct development has the effect of attracting more attention to it than if it were just another part of the preceding unit. Using τότε here has the effect of making v. 13 a distinct step, thereby making it stand out.
This last example is not found at the transition to or from a speech. It simply marks the result that follows from a preceding action as the next development in the story. In this case, τότε introduces the conclusion of the parable.45

Example 16  Matthew 4:10

| 9 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Γεννάτα σοι πάντα δόσω, ἐὰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσης μοι. | 9 And he said to him, “All these I will give you, if you will fall down and worship me.”
| 10 τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Σατανᾶς, “Ὑπαγε, Σατανᾶ· γέγραπται γάρ… | 10 Then Jesus said to him, “Be gone, Satan! For it is written…”
| 11 Τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι προσῆλθον καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ. | 11 Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and were ministering to him. (ESV) |

In this example, τότε in v. 10 is used at the transition in a speech where Jesus responds to a statement from the devil. It is used again at v. 11 to introduce the devil’s response to Jesus’ statement. Sequentiality would have been assumed even without the use of τότε. The use of the development marker τότε indicates that they were viewed by the writer as distinct steps. The use of then in translation captures this segmentation very naturally in English. NA27, UBS4 and the ESV all render v. 11 as a new paragraph despite its connection to what precedes.

In this final example, τότε segments the part of the discourse that returns to describe what happens to the righteous, those signified by the ‘good seed’ in the parable. This development also represents the goal that is sought in the parable.

Example 17  Matthew 13:43

| 41 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς ἁγιάζων αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλέξουσιν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν καὶ βαλοῦσί τοὺς ὡς κλαυθμὸν τοῦ πυρὸς. Ὁ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός. Θησαυρός οὗτος ἔσται ἡ κρίσις ἡ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν. | 41 The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all law-breakers, and throw them into the fiery furnace. In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. |
| 43 Τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἡλίος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν. ὁ ἔχων ζωὴν ἔχει ἀκούετω. | 43 Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father. He who has ears, let him hear (ESV). |

The enemy is seeking to prevent the good seed from being safely harvested. Segmenting v. 43 off has the effect of attracting more attention to this conclusion, compared to simply linking it to the preceding one using καί.

Τότε serves the same basic function as δέ in that both signal that what follows is the next development in the story or discourse. Τότε is used as a connective primarily in Matthew and Acts in contexts where there is no switch in time from some other point to then. Such

45 Levinsohn states, “Typically, conclusions introduced with τότε attain the goal sought or predicted in earlier events” (Discourse Features, 98).
a switch would be construed as a temporal frame of reference.\textsuperscript{46} The primary basis for relating it to what precedes is as a passage of time. However, since the default expectation in narrative is that the events are sequentially ordered and temporally related, τότε indicates that the writer chose to mark what follows as a distinct development that is temporal in nature.

**Summary Chart**

The chart below summarizes what has been claimed so far about Greek connectives, focusing on how they differ from one another rather than how they should be translated. Development markers serve to attract attention to a transition or discontinuity in the context for the sake of breaking it into smaller chunks for easier processing. Developments reflect the writer’s conception of the action or argument, so there are no hard and fast rules about when and where these markers must be used. I have shown how they are found at thematic transitions, such as changes in time, location, participants/action and kind of action. I have also shown that different writers can have different conceptions of the same action, based on their use of development markers.

Whereas καί signals a close continuity, development markers highlight some level of discontinuity, in particular the segmentation of discourse in contexts of relative continuity. Narrative τότε is the first connective covered that carries a specific semantic constraint, based on its temporal meaning. It indicates that the change or development is portrayed as temporal in nature. In contrast, δέ is the default development marker and unmarked for such semantic constraints.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Semantic constraint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καί</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δέ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τότε</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far we have looked at two kinds of connective relationships: indicating the continuity of two joined elements (i.e. Ø vs. καί), and signaling whether what follows represents the next step or development of what precedes (e.g. δέ and τότε). Section 2.4 introduced the idea of a connective conveying a semantic constraint besides continuity and development, with narrative τότε marking an explicitly temporal development, something that is unmarked by δέ. The connectives that follow all carry some additional semantic

\textsuperscript{46} Cf. Section 10.2.
constraint that differentiates them from the connectives already discussed, beginning with οὖν.

2.5 οὖν

Οὖν is attributed with two primary functions by BDAG. The first function is as an inferential connective, which they describe as, “denoting that what it introduces is the result of or an inference fr. what precedes.”47 In this sense, οὖν is backward-pointing like καί and δέ, but it carries additional constraints. Viewing οὖν as simply a logical, inferential particle fails to capture its broader function outside the epistles. This is where the second sense from BDAG comes in.

BDAG also claim that it is a “marker of continuation in a narrative,” to be glossed using so, now, or then.48 They cite Robertson, who says, “a transitional particle relating clauses or sentences loosely together by way of confirmation.”49 As with δέ and τότε, it seems clear that the traditional grammarians recognized the function of οὖν as a development marker, based on the attribution of “continuation” and the English adverbial glosses.

Οὖν differs from the other development markers by adding the constraint of close continuity with what precedes. In this sense it is like καί by closely linking discourse elements together, but with the added constraint of a new development. In the epistles, it is regularly translated as therefore to indicate that what follows the particle is either inferentially drawn or concluded from what precedes, hence + continuity. One often finds οὖν at high-level boundaries in the discourse, where the next major topic is drawn from and builds upon what precedes. In this way, it signals + development. This is illustrated from Romans 5:1, where Paul transitions from the means of justification to a discussion of the results that it brings about.

Example 18 Romans 5:1

| 23 Οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι’ αὐτὸν μόνον ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ 24 ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς, οἷς μέλλει λογίζεσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύοντιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν, 25 ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἴηρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν. | 24 But the words “it was counted to him” were not written for his sake alone, but for ours also. It will be counted to us who believe in him who raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was delivered up for our trespasses and raised for our justification. |
| 5 Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ | 5 Therefore, since we have been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ (ESV) |

47 BDAG, 736.
48 Ibid.
DISCOURSE GRAMMAR of the GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

The circumstantial participial clause of v. 1 reiterates the conclusion reached in the preceding context. The particle οὖν constrains what follows to be understood as building closely upon what precedes, yet as a distinct new development in the argument.

Οὖν can be used to mark lower-level developments in the discourse as well. This usage is often found in the reported speeches of the gospels. Consider the use in John the Baptist’s speech to the Pharisees and Sadducees that come to him as people are being baptized and confessing their sins.

Example 19  Matthew 3:7-8

7 But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, he said to them, “You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?

8 DM Bear fruit in keeping with repentance (ESV).

Based on addressing them as a brood of vipers, it would seem that John views them as in need of repentance. This is confirmed by him attributing their journey to fleeing the coming wrath. Fleeing itself is not sufficient to deliver them, something more is needed. Verse 8 introduces a command to produce fruit worthy of repentance, with οὖν constraining the statement to be read as a closely related next step. NIV, ESV and NRSV do not provide any indication of οὖν. John’s exhortation does not come out of thin air, but is directly related to the preceding context. The use of οὖν makes this explicit in Greek, whereas the nature of the relationship is left implicit or unmarked in these translations through the use of asyndeton. It may or may not be present. Regardless of whether one translates it or not, it is crucial to recognize the function it plays in the exegesis of this discourse.

Another sense that is attributed to οὖν is “resuming a discourse that has been interrupted.” In other words, it signals the resumption of the main discourse following a digression, whether in narrative proper or in the epistles. Levinsohn notes that this usage highlights a distinction between οὖν and δέ: “Whether the amount of intervening material is short or long, the presence of οὖν only constrains what follows to be interpreted as further development of the topic that has been resumed.” In contrast to continuing or resuming the same main topic, δέ “permits a change of topic.” In other words, if the event line of a narrative is interrupted by background material, it is common to find the resumption of the mainline marked by οὖν. The + development signals the

50 BDAG, 213.
51 Cf. Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 85, 128-29.
52 Jacob K. Heckert, Discourse Function of Conjoiners in the Pastoral Epistles (Dallas, Tex.: SIL International, 1996), 98.
53 Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 129.
54 Ibid., 85.
transition from background to mainline, and the + continuity indicates that the same event line will be resumed, as opposed to a new one.

In Matthew’s account of Jesus’ trial, there is background information provided using imperfect and pluperfect verbs, which are typically used in narrative to describe introductory states of affairs rather than main events.\footnote{Levinsohn cites Foley and Van Valin regarding, “an inherent correlation between perfective versus imperfective aspect and foreground versus background:

[The perfective aspect is the primary aspecual category found in the temporal structure of narrative discourse in a number of languages and imperfective aspect is primary in durational/descriptive structure. (op. cit. 373)

This finding [the statement on p. 373] is not surprising, since perfective aspect codes completed actions and events and imperfective incomplete events and actions and the former fit more naturally into the temporal structure of narrative, the latter into durational/descriptive structure. (op. cit. 397)

Thus, it is natural in a narrative in Greek for a clause with the verb in the imperfect (which has imperfective aspect) to be conveying information of less importance than one with the verb in the aorist (perfective aspect); this is due to the nature of the respective aspects” (Ibid., 174).}

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**Example 20** Matthew 27:17\footnote{Cf. Stephanie Black’s (Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew [JSNTSup 216; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002], 275-76) discussion of this passage, which does not make a distinction between continuity and development.}

| 14 καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ πρὸς σοῦ ἐν ἰμα, ὡστε θαυμάσειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα λίαν. | 14 But he gave him no answer, not even to a single charge, so that the governor was greatly amazed. |
| 15 ἐὰν δὲ ἑορτὴν ἐπιλύει ὁ ἡγεμών ἀπολύειν ἓν τῷ ὀχλῷ δέσμιον ὃν ἠθελον. | 15 Now at the feast the governor was accustomed to release for the crowd any one prisoner whom they wanted. |
| 16 εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν. | 16 And DM they had then a notorious prisoner called Barabbas. |
| 17 συνηγμένων αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος: τίνα ἐπαλύει ἑαυτῷ ὃν ἠθελον; | 17 So when they had gathered, Pilate said to them, “Whom do you want me to release for you: Barabbas, or Jesus who is called Christ?” |

The verbs ἐιώθει, ἠθελον, and εἶχον are all imperfective aspect, associated with offline background material. This does not mean the material of vv. 15-17 is unimportant. On the contrary, it is crucial to understanding Pilate’s motivation in v. 17. Background material does not advance the narrative plot, but fleshes out some aspect of it before moving forward. The ὁν in v. 17 simply signals a resumption of the event line suspended in v. 14. The + development marks the transition from offline back to the mainline, whereas the + continuity signals the resumption of the same event line that was suspended in v. 14. Using δὲ here would have left the door open for moving on to a new development of some kind, as in Matthew 14:25 below.

In this case, Jesus has sent away the crowds and gone off to pray after sending the disciples to cross the lake without him. Verses 23b-24 use imperfective verbs to describe the offline-information regarding the situation of the disciples, without reference to Jesus.
The arrival of Jesus is not directly related to some preceding line that was interrupted, but is a new development that builds on what precedes. It lacks the close connection observed with οὖν.

Example 21  Matthew 14:23-25

| 23 καὶ ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 24 And after he had dismissed the crowds, he went up on the mountain by himself to pray. When DM evening came, he was there alone, but DM the boat by this time was a long way from the land, beaten by the waves, for the wind was against them. 25 | ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν |
| 24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὖν | 24 δὲ πλοῖον ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὖν | 24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὖν | 24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὖν | 24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὖν |
| 25 τητάρτῃ δὲ φυλάκῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 25 τητάρτῃ δὲ φυλάκῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 25 τητάρτῃ δὲ φυλάκῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 25 τητάρτῃ δὲ φυλάκῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 25 τητάρτῃ δὲ φυλάκῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν | 25 τητάρτῃ δὲ φυλάκῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ οὖν |

Verses 23b-24 use imperfective verbs to describe the offline-information regarding the situation of the disciples. The arrival of Jesus is not directly related to some preceding line that was interrupted, but is a new development that builds on what precedes. It lacks the close connection observed with οὖν.

A comment is in order concerning the use of οὖν in John’s gospel. In many respects, John uses οὖν to mark new developments in the same way that Matthew and Luke use δέ, though there are some distinctions. Levinsohn states, “Οὖν may be thought of as a marked developmental conjunction, employed in specific contexts in which δέ would have been used in the Synoptics. It is used in John’s Gospel in two specific contexts (see also sec. 7.4):

1. in connection with a return to the storyline (i.e., as a resumptive), provided the event concerned represents a new development, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned
2. when an inferential (logical) relation with the preceding event is to the fore.58

In other words, οὖν bears the same constraints in John as it does in the epistles and some reported speeches of narrative.

Οὖν marks development in the same way as the other development markers we have considered, but with the added constraint of + continuity to differentiate it. It had traditionally been described as inferential or continuative/resumptive. These “senses” are consistent with the linguistic constraints of continuity and development. The English gloss therefore most closely matches the inferential sense of οὖν, whereas thus often captures the resumptive sense well. However, these English glosses fail to represent the semantic constraints that οὖν brings about in Greek. Understanding what each connective uniquely signals is the key to overcoming the mismatches between English and Greek. Each connective constrains a slightly different relation than the others, regardless of the English glosses that we might represent it with in translation. Attempting to understand the constraints that a connective signals based upon one or two English glosses will only obscure the issue.

58 Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 85.
2.6 Διά τοῦτο

Διά τοῦτο is not a conjunction from the standpoint of morphology, yet as a set expression has come to function as a connective in Koine Greek. In Robertson’s description of “connection between separate sentences,” he cites the use of διὰ τοῦτο in Matthew 24:44 where it “answers as a link of union” comparable to δέ, γάρ, and άρα.59 Similarly, Wallace refers to this idiom as a “formulaic phrase” that refers back to the previous argument, though he does not treat it as a connective.60 In a later section describing the classification of independent clauses, he notes that certain prepositional phrases may determine the function of independent clauses, ostensibly in lieu of a coordinating conjunction. Διά τοῦτο is one of the seven listed, and one of four he lists using some form of τοῦτο.61 Kermit Titrud also lists it alongside the conjunctions διό, άρα, and άρα οὖν that may introduce a paragraph.62

The specific context that I will focus on here is the use of διὰ τοῦτο in the absence of any other coordinating conjunction (i.e. asyndeton).63 To Wallace’s point, in the absence of a full morphological conjunction, διὰ τοῦτο plays the same functional role of indicating how the independent clause that follows is to be related to what precedes. The preposition διὰ contributes a causal sense in most cases, “the reason why someth. happens, results, exists: because of, for the sake of.”64 The demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο reiterates a proposition from the preceding context.65 Thus, the clause introduced by διὰ τοῦτο is constrained to have a causal relation with the preceding discourse. It is similar to οὖν in that both indicate + development and + continuity, but διὰ τοῦτο offers a narrower semantic constraint than οὖν.66 In this way, there is significant overlap in semantic meaning between the two, with the meaningful distinction being the narrower causal constraint in the case of διὰ τοῦτο. This overlap is analogous to that between δέ and τότε, with the latter having the narrower temporal constraint.

Διά τοῦτο is often used in the gospels within reported speeches to introduce a key proposition, co-occurring with highlighting various devices.67 The first example illustrates this. Διά τοῦτο comes in the midst of a speech at the conclusion of the parable of the rich fool, and serves as the introduction to the teaching on anxiety. It serves as a hinge between the two pericopes, closely linking them yet indicating a distinct new step.

60 Wallace, Greek Grammar, 1:331.
61 Ibid., 1:658.
63 I include those instances where καί is functioning adverbially and not as a connective, e.g. Luke 11:49. In such cases, καί will not occur at the beginning of the clause.
64 BDAG, 225.
65 There are a few instances where διὰ τοῦτο is forward-pointing (e.g. John 8:47), but there are coordinating conjunctions present, indicating that it is not functioning as a connective.
66 BDAG (Ibid.) provide the gloss therefore for διὰ τοῦτο in section B.2.b of their entry.
67 In some instances it co-occurs with forward-pointing devices like meta-comments (e.g. Matthew 6:25; 12:31; 21:43; Mark 11:24; Luke 12:22; cf. Chapter 5) or attention getters (e.g. Matthew 23:34; cf. Section 5.4.2.)
in the discourse. The reintroduction of Jesus mid-speech at the beginning of v. 22 provides further segmentation of the speech.

**Example 22  Luke 12:22**

20 But God said to him, ‘Fool! This night your soul is required of you, and the things you have prepared, whose will they be? 21 So is the one who lays up treasure for himself and is not rich toward God” (ESV).

Διά τοῦτο indicates that what follows is closely related to what precedes. It constrains what follows to be viewed as a response to some situation in the preceding context. In this case, v. 22 introduces how one ought to handle anxiety associated with wealth (or its lack). It also signals that what follows is a new development or step in the argument. In this case, it comes at the transition between the story of the rich fool and the teaching about avoiding anxiety. It is distinct from what precedes (i.e. a new pericope or teaching), yet closely related. There is also a meta-comment (underlined), a forward-pointing device that attracts attention to the proposition that it introduces.

Διά τοῦτο here serves to signal a distinct new development in the discourse, yet to closely link it with what precedes. It also provides a narrower constraint on the relationship of the two parts than οὖν. The story of the rich fool taught what not to do, διὰ τοῦτο introduces what is to be done instead, in response to the preceding story.

In the synoptic parallel of this story in Matthew 6:25, διὰ τοῦτο plays a similar “hinge” role, connecting two discrete sections that are closely related. However, in Matthew account the preceding teaching concerns serving two masters instead of the parable of the rich fool. The response to the situation is the same in both cases: do not worry. Matthew also uses a meta-comment to highlight the main proposition.

This next example illustrates διὰ τοῦτο in a context of relative continuity in a series of commands.

**Example 23  Ephesians 5:17**

15 Look carefully then how you walk, not as unwise but as wise, 16 making the best use of the time, because the days are evil. 17 Therefore do not be foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is.
Verse 15 begins with οὖν to indicate that it provides a summary or conclusion drawn from the preceding context, and is thus closely connected. This verse is elaborated upon in v. 16 by an adverbial clause. Verse 17 introduces the next command in the series, one that is related to what precedes using διὰ τοῦτο. This indicates that what follows represents a distinct development that is closely related to v. 15. It also provides a causative constraint, indicating that the command not to be foolish bears a causal relation to what precedes (vv. 15-16). The days being evil and the need for walking wisely are cast as the reason why we ought not be foolish. οὖν would have implicitly allowed for this semantic relation, but διὰ τοῦτο makes it explicit.

Not every instance of διὰ τοῦτο functions as a connective. In the absence of any coordinating conjunction, this phrase provides guidance in how to relate what follows to the preceding context. When it functions as a connective, it signals + continuity, + development, as well as adding a causal constraint to the relationship between the two parts.72

Summary Chart

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<tr>
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<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Semantic constraint</th>
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<td>διὰ τοῦτο</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Causal</td>
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Other common connectives

The rest of the connectives covered in this chapter are related only in that none of them mark development. They each bring to bear a different semantic constraint to the relationship of the clause that follows with some other portion of the discourse.

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2.7 Γάρ

The diverse usage of γάρ has resulted in a wide variety of claims being made about it. Wallace and Young contend that it functions as both a coordinating and subordinating conjunction. BDAG describe it as expressing cause, clarification, or inference. Robertson advocates that it is best viewed as explanatory in nature, before making an appeal for other senses.

Robertson’s “explanatory” assertion has largely been confirmed as the core constraint of γάρ in modern linguistic treatments. Heckert concludes that it introduces material which strengthens or confirms a previous proposition. Levinsohn states,

Background material introduced by γάρ provides explanations or expositions of the previous assertion (see Winer 1882:566–67, Robertson n.d. :1190, Harbeck 1970:12). The presence of γάρ constrains the material that it introduces to be interpreted as strengthening some aspect of the previous assertion, rather than as distinctive information.

Black also correlates the use of γάρ with background information, noting a tendency for it to be used with forms of εἰμί and imperfect tense forms. She states, “Γάρ is used to direct the audience to strengthen a preceding proposition, confirming it as part of the mental representation they construct of the discourse.”

In terms of the constraints assigned to the other connectives discussed thus far, γάρ signals close continuity with what precedes like καί, οὖν, and διὰ τοῦτο. However, it differs from the latter two in that it does not mark development. It differs from καί by adding the semantic constraint of strengthening/support. In other words, it does not advance the mainline of the discourse, but introduces offline material that strengthens or supports what precedes. Γάρ can introduce a single clause that strengthens, or it may introduce an entire paragraph. Of the 1041 instances in the Greek NT, only 10% of them are found in narrative proper, compared to within reported speeches and the epistles. The books of Romans and Hebrews have the greatest concentration of usage, followed closely by 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians.

In each case, the proposition introduced by γάρ fleshes out some aspect of what precedes. It may be in the form of background information; it may introduce the reason or rationale for some preceding action or state. For instance, six of the 33 occurrences in Mark introduce verbs of speaking, describing what people were saying in response to or to precipitate the preceding action. Twelve more instances introduce “being” verbs, while

74 BDAG, 189.
76 Heckert, Discourse Function of Conjoiners, 31, 36.
77 Levinsohn, Discourse Features of New Testament Greek, 91.
78 Black, Sentence Conjunctions, 280.
79 Ibid.
80 This statement is based of the number of occurrences normalized per thousand words in the book.
81 Cf. Mark 3:21; 5:8, 28; 6:18; 14:2, 56.
eleven more introduce states of being or perception (e.g. knowing, fearing, understanding, seeing). The remaining instances introduce states of affair (e.g. Mark 3:10, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐθεράπευσεν “for he had healed many”).

The first illustration comes from Matthew 10, where Jesus warns his disciples about a day when they will be arrested and handed over to the authorities for following him.

Example 24  Matthew 10:19-20

19 δὲ παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε πώς ἢ τί λαλήσητε· δοθήσεται γάρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε·
20 οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν.

When DM they deliver you over, do not be anxious how you are to speak or what you are to say, for what you are to say will be given to you in that hour. For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaking through you.

In light of the circumstances Jesus describes, it makes little sense not to be anxious. Verse 19b provides support for this assertion by stating that what they need to say will be given to them, they will not be left on their own. This statement is in turn supported by v. 20, stating that it is not just a matter of being given the words, but who is speaking the words. In this case, the Spirit of their Father will be the one speaking.

The information introduced by γάρ is important to the discourse, but it does not advance the mainline description of how they are to respond when arrested. Instead it introduces propositions that strengthen and support what precedes. The main line of the discourse is resumed in v. 21, introduced by δέ since it is a new point rather than the resumption of one that was interrupted.

Galatians 5 opens with the statement that it was for freedom that Christ has set us free, not to be re-enslaved to a keeping of the law. In v. 12 Paul expresses his wish that those who had distracted the Galatians with the need for circumcision would mutilate themselves. This verse is followed by what is considered to be a new section, introduced in v. 13 with γάρ.

Example 25  Galatians 5:13-14

13 ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμήν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. 14 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ τετραγωνίζει, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπητίσῃς τὸν πλῆθος σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

For you were called to freedom, brothers. Only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love serve one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word: “You shall love your neighbor as yourself.”

The paragraph introduced in v. 13 strengthens the preceding section of vv. 1-12, rather than advancing the argument with a new point. Rather than using their freedom as a license for the fight among themselves and with Paul, they were to be using it as an opportunity to serve. Verse 14 in turn strengthens the assertion of v. 13, adding support to significance of serving one another through love. This section reiterates what the freedom they received was intended to bring about. Verses 13-15 provide supporting material that
is important, but that does not advance the argument. The next major step is introduced in v. 16 by δὲ.

Γὰρ introduces explanatory material that strengthens or supports what precedes. This may consist of a single clause, or it may be a longer digression. Although the strengthening material is important to the discourse, it does not advance the argument or story. Instead, it supports what precedes by providing background or detail that is needed to understand what follows. Plots or arguments that are resumed after the supporting material are typically introduced using οὖν, whereas new points are signaled by δὲ.

2.8 Μέν

The connective μέν is described in detail in Section 4.1 in the discussion of point-counterpoint sets. The discussion here is limited to a basic overview. BDAG construe μέν primarily as a marker of correlation working in conjunction with other connectives, “introducing a concessive clause, followed by another clause w. an adversative particle: to be sure ... but, on the one hand ... on the other hand.” It serves primarily to correlate the clause that it introduces with some corresponding element that follows, typically introduced by δὲ. In contrast to the other connectives considered so far, μέν is forward-pointing. Its sole function is to create the expectation that some related element will follow.

In many cases, the element introduced by μέν functions as a concession, just as the use of although, inasmuch as, on the one hand, or more colloquially while in English. Levinsohn states,

“The presence of μέν not only anticipates a corresponding sentence containing δὲ but frequently, in narrative, it also downgrades the importance of the sentence containing μέν. In particular, the information introduced with μέν is often of a secondary importance in comparison with that introduced with δὲ.”

There are other instances where μέν simply serves to explicitly correlate two elements that otherwise would only have an implicit relation. In such cases, there is simply a connection made between the two, rather than the downgrading described by Levinsohn.

The use of μέν/δὲ to create correlated sets in Koine Greek is found far more frequently than is observed in English using corresponding particles. This difference in usage might be related to the difference between the rather cumbersome inasmuch as and on the one hand in comparison to the tiny particle μέν. The mismatch in usage leads BDAG to state that a direct equivalence translation of μέν is often not possible. The fact that we do not use forward-pointing correlatives nearly as frequently in English means that in many cases μέν is left untranslated in English versions.

83 Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 170.
84 BDAG, 628.
In terms of linguistic constraints, μέν expresses + continuity. More specifically, it signals a forward-pointing correlation with an element introduced by δέ in most cases. It does not mark development.

2.9 ἀλλά

ἀλλά is primarily used in the creation of point-counterpoint, and is therefore treated more fully in Section 4.3. The purpose of the discussion here is to discuss the semantic constraints that it brings to bear on the element that it introduces. BDAG describe it as an adversative particle “indicating a difference with or contrast to what precedes, in the case of individual clauses as well as whole sentences.” 85 Recall the comments made earlier about contrast being context-dependent, and not a quality of the connective. ἀλλά is often used following a negated clause to introduce a positive alternative. On this basis, ἀλλά is nearly always used in the presence of contrast, serving to sharpen it. 86

Heckert is able to reach more specific conclusions than “adversative” in his description of ἀλλά. He describes ἀλλά as a “global marker of contrast”, one that “introduces a correction of the expectation created by the first conjunct; an incorrect expectation is cancelled and a proper expectation is put in its place.” 87 It provides a corrective to whatever it stands in contrast with in the preceding context, even if it is positive rather than negative. 88 Levinsohn adds, “When ἀλλά links a negative characteristic or proposition with a following positive one, the negative proposition usually retains its relevance.” 89

In terms of the semantic constraints that we have discussed so far, ἀλλά is unmarked for continuity (hence). It is also unmarked for development. It is a correlator of items of equal status, like καί and μέν, but differs from καί by being unmarked for continuity (– continuity), and differs from μέν by not being forward-pointing. The constraint that it brings to bear is “correction” of some aspect in the preceding context. This is summarized in the chart below.

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<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Forward-pointing</th>
<th>Semantic constraint</th>
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85 Ibid., 44.
87 Heckert, Discourse Function of Conjoiners, 23.
88 Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 115
89 Ibid.
δὲ - + - -
tότε - + - - Temporal
οὖν + + - -
διὰ τούτο + + - - Causal
γάρ + - - - Support
μέν + - + + Expectation
ἀλλὰ - - + - Correction

2.10 Suggested Reading
BDF §442-452, §459(2)
Black, Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew, 202-253.
Dooley and Levinsohn, Analyzing Discourse, 48-49.
Heckert, Discourse Function of Conjoiners in the Pastoral Epistles.
Levinsohn, Discourse Features, 71-91, 118-126, 170-173.
Part I: Forward-pointing Devices

This section describes a number of conventions that are used to attract attention to something significant in the discourse, something that would not have garnered the same attention had the prominence marking device not been used. There are two criteria that qualify these various devices to be classified under one umbrella:

- none of the devices are required to understand the content that follows, they are redundant,
- the same propositional content could have been conveyed more simply without them.
3. Forward-Pointing Reference and Target

**Definition:** The use of pronouns like ‘this’, ‘those’ or ‘it’ to point ahead to some ‘target’ that has not yet been introduced. The forward-pointing pronoun is the *reference*, indicated by \( \rightarrow \). The thing to which it points is the *target*, indicated by \( \bigcirc \). The forward-pointing reference has the effect of attracting extra attention to the target.

We typically use pronouns like ‘he’, ‘they’ or ‘this’ to refer to concepts that have previously been mentioned in the discourse (e.g., ‘I have a sister. She lives in LA.’) The default use of pronouns is to point *backward* to something that has already been introduced. There is also a *non-default* use to point forward to things that have not yet been introduced.

We use forward-pointing references a lot more than you might think. Here are some examples taken from everyday English that illustrate how forward-pointing references are used to attract extra attention to the target they introduce.

- Get this!
- Listen to this!
- Guess what!
- You know what?
- Here’s the deal!
- This is my final offer…

Think about the context in which you would use these expressions. I might use ‘get this’ just before announcing some great news, or something shocking that just happened. If I had been trying to negotiate with someone, I might preface my next offer by saying ‘Alright, here’s the deal’.

So why use a forward-pointing reference? Why not just go ahead and say whatever was so important? Generally speaking, expressions like these are a way slowing down the flow of the discourse before something surprising or important is about to be disclosed. Forward-pointing references have the pragmatic effect attracting extra attention to the target to which they point. It would be simpler just to skip the additional reference and get on with whatever it is you have to say. The extra reference serves to pique curiosity about the target, in the same way that a drum roll or other dramatic delay has the effect of building suspense when an audience is expecting something to happen.

If the forward-pointing reference had not been used, the information that followed would not have changed in its importance, it simply would not have been marked as important. If it had not been marked, there is a greater chance that its importance might be overlooked. I might not have assigned the same significance to it as the writer did. Choosing to use a prominence-marking device increases the likelihood that I will assign the same significance to the target as the writer. If we are trying to establish the author’s intent, attention to prominence-marking devices can play a critical role in exegesis and translation.

3.1 Conventional Explanation

Most grammarians provide some discussion about the forward-pointing use of pronouns, but they say little about *why* a writer might use this device. BDF state, “οὗτος (τοιοῦτος likewise) is seldom used to point to a following clause… only τοῦτο is somewhat more
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frequently used as preparation for a subordinate clause with ὅτι, ἵνα etc. or for an infinitive or substantive”. Wallace likewise notes that although most pronouns refer backward and thus have ‘antecedents,’ there are instances where the pronouns point forward and have what he calls ‘postcedents’. He notes that forward-pointing pronouns can refer to a ὅτι clause:

This usage is normally in apposition to the demonstrative τοῦτο in such expressions as “I say this to you, namely, that…” and the like. As such, the pronoun is kataphoric or proleptic, in that its content is revealed by what follows rather than by what precedes.

He does not discuss why a writer would use a proleptic construction. Similar comments may be made about Robertson and Porter. Robertson describes the forward-pointing use of demonstratives as ‘in apposition’, and lists a number of examples to illustrate the usage. Porter notes that forward-pointing usage is common both in the Greek New Testament and extra-biblical Greek, however neither describe the effect that is achieved by this marked use of pronouns.

3.2 Discourse Explanation

There are several principles from the introduction that help us better understand the discourse function of forward-pointing references and targets. First, since they represent a non-typical or marked use of pronouns, there must be some meaning associated with the choice to use this construction. As with most other forward-pointing devices, the forward-pointing reference ends up creating a discontinuity just before the target to which it points. This extra reference has the effect of slowing down the flow of the discourse.

The forward-pointing usage contrasts with the more frequent default use of pronouns to point backward to something, and thus stands out in the context. It is far more common to first introduce a concept and before referring to it using a pronoun than vice versa. To point forward to something that has yet to be introduced risks creating confusion. The same concept could have been introduced much more easily and unambiguously by omitting the forward-pointing reference. The forward-pointing reference signals the presence of some discourse feature. The choice to use a marked form also implies that there is a meaning associated with the choice.

90 BDF, 151.
91 Wallace, Greek Grammar, 318.
92 Ibid., 459.
94 Porter, Idioms, 136.
95 A more technical explanation of why forward-pointing references add prominence to their target is provided by Smith based upon Mental Space Theory:

The cataphor's evocation of special emphasis in these situations is likely due to the fact that overt designation of the mental space set up by the matrix verb draws more attention to the proposition contained in and characterized specifically by the knowledge structures inherent in that space than if the pronoun were absent. Also, by momentarily delaying mention of the subordinate clause by the use of the pronoun the speaker creates an air of anticipation in the flow of the discourse about what is to follow which can heighten the hearer's interest in the subsequent information (again evoking another kind of conceptual distance). Related to this is that the use of the cataphor in effect results in a kind of double-mention in
3.3  Application

There are three different ways of creating a forward-pointing reference:

- use of a forward-pointing interrogatives (i.e. question words like ‘what’, ‘where’) to create rhetorical questions that are answered by the same speaker,
- use of demonstrative pronouns (e.g. ‘this’, ‘those’) to point forward to a person or concept,
- use of adverbs as substitutes (i.e. ‘pro-adverbs’) to point forward to an action that describes the manner in which something is done.

Not every pronoun or pro-adverb is forward pointing, most will be anaphoric. The claims that follow only apply to those forms which do not have an antecedent.

3.3.1  Forward-pointing Interrogatives

I will begin with some examples of interrogative pronouns that are used to make forward-pointing references. In Matt 11:7-9, Jesus asks a series of rhetorical questions. These are construed as intentional forward-pointing references because he proceeds to answer his own questions. Since these are rhetorical rather than interrogative questions, they serve to pique the hearers’ (or readers’) interest.

**Example 26**  Matthew 11:7-9

| SENTENCE | “(→ ὃ) ἔξηλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θέασασθαι” | did you go out into the wilderness to see
| SENTENCE | (ὁ [TP κάλαμον [ΤΡ] ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον ὁ) | a reed by the wind shaken
| SENTENCE | ἀλλὰ (→ ὃ) ἔξηλθατε ἰδεῖν | but what did you go out to see
| SENTENCE | (ὁ [TP ἄνθρωπον [ΤΡ] ἐν μαλακοῖς ἠμφιεσμένον ὁ) | a man in soft clothing dressed
| SENTENCE | ἰδοὺ (ὁ [TP οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες [ΤΡ] ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις | behold those — soft clothing who wear in the houses
| Tῶν βασιλέων εἰσίν | of kings are
| SENTENCE | ἀλλὰ (→ ὃ) ἔξηλθατε ἰδεῖν | but what did you go out to see

which the space designated by the pronoun metonymically relates to the proposition located conceptually within that space by prefiguring the space grammatically.


Forward-pointing references which target subordinate clauses are also referred to as 'hypotactic apposition' by Brenier and Michaelis, “Optimization via Syntactic Amalgam: Syntax-Prosody Mismatch and Copula Doubling,” *CLLT* 1(2005): 45-88.
In each case, it would have been simpler to ask, “Did you go out to the wilderness to see X?” (e.g. ‘a reed shaken by the wind’). The repetition of the rhetorical question “What did you go out to see” has the effect of increasing the suspense regarding why it is that the people came to see John the Baptist. The arrow symbols (→) delineates the forward-pointing references, whereas the target symbol (⊗) delimits the targets to which the references point. The extra reference causes the reader to try and find the target in order to resolve the reference. In this case, we only learn what the target is after Jesus answers his own questions in v. 9b. The forward-pointing references function here to highlight Jesus’ claim about John the Baptist, the key idea of the section. Omitting the forward-pointing references would have dramatically reduced the poignancy of Jesus’ message.

Another example of an interrogative pronoun used rhetorically for a forward-pointing reference is found in Romans 3:1, where Paul introduces his next topic of discussion.

Example 27 Romans 3:1

At the end of Romans 2 Paul makes the claim that it is only the Jew who is circumcised in the heart that is the true Jew, not just those who are outwardly circumcised. This raises the question of whether there is any advantage to being a Jew. In order to highlight the introduction of this new topic, Paul asks two rhetorical questions which he then answers in the balance of chapter 3. Verse 2 provides a generic answer (‘much in every way’) that he elaborates on in v. 2b (i.e., the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God). Omitting the forward-pointing references would not have attracted nearly the same attention to this new topic. The choice to use the forward-pointing references telegraphs Paul’s desire to attract attention to it. He uses it here to highlight the introduction of the next big idea in the book. Forward-pointing interrogative pronouns are a very effective rhetorical means of introducing a new topic and drawing attention to it at the same time.

Paul uses another pair of forward-pointing interrogatives later in Romans 3 to strengthen a point he makes.

Example 28 Romans 3:27
Paul could have made the same point more plainly by stating, “Therefore boasting is excluded by the law of faith”, but this would significantly reduce the rhetorical impact compared to using the forward-pointing references. Unpacking this principle in two parts allows each one to sink in. Allowing the reader to think about the questions adds significantly to the power of these statements. It also allows Paul to draw extra attention to exactly what kind of law it is that excludes boasting. He uses a point-counterpoint set (cf. Chapter 4) to further reinforce the answer. The counterpoint (×) provides a possible answer, which is rejected. The point (✓) stands out in much greater relief since there is a counterpoint providing a basis of comparison.

3.3.2 Forward-pointing Demonstratives
In the same way that interrogatives can be used for forward-pointing references, demonstrative pronouns can accomplish the same task of attracting extra attention to a target. It is not some special semantic meaning of the part of speech that has the effect of highlighting; it is the fact that it is pointing forward to a yet-to-be-introduced target. Forward-pointing references are most often associated with the writings of John and Paul.96

There are six instances in John’s first epistle there he uses the phrase ἐν τούτῳ ‘in this’ as a forward-pointing reference to highlight an important concept.

Example 29 1 John 4:9-10

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In v. 9, John introduces the means by which the love of God was revealed to us, namely in God sending his one and only Son into the world. The phrase ἐν τούτῳ highlights the target, the subordinate clause introduced by ὅτι. In verse 10 he points forward to a definition of love that consists of a point-counterpoint set. The effect is to doubly highlight the point that is eventually introduced at the end of the verse: that he loved us and that he sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. The counterpoint functions as a foil for the two-part point that follows, contrasting what love is not with what it is.

Keep in mind that the same information could have been communicated without using the forward-pointing references (e.g. “The love of God is revealed because He sent his one and only Son…”). Removing the prominence-marking devices would significantly weaken the effect achieved, making it much more likely that the reader would not have assigned the same significance to the highlighted concepts as the writer intended. The combination of prominence markers provide exegetical evidence of the writer’s intention to highlight the information.

Another forward-pointing reference is found later in the same chapter. In this case, a generic noun phrase is used to point forward instead of only using a pronoun.

**Example 30 1 John 4:21**

19 We love because he first loved us. 20 If anyone says, “I love God,” and hates his brother, he is a liar; for he who does not love his brother whom he has seen cannot love God whom he has not seen (ESV).
Remember, it is the fact that it is forward-pointing that achieves the effect of adding prominence, not the part of speech used. The context before v. 21 states that the one that says he loves God and yet hates his brother is a liar. The forward-pointing reference in verse 21 highlights the introduction of the command that applies to this context, which is introduced as a sub-point in the ἵνα-clause. The reference and target attract attention to a proposition that is key to John’s argument.

### 3.3.3 Forward-pointing Adverbs

Another grammatical device that may be used for forward-pointing references are adverbs. There are a handful of adverbs in Greek that can be used as substitute words just like pronouns. I will refer to them as pro-adverbs. Adverbs function as modifiers of verbal action, describing either the manner in which an action was done (i.e. in what way) or the degree to which the action was done (i.e. how much). Pro-adverbs stand in the place of the action, and can either be backward-pointing (i.e. ‘anaphoric’) or forward-pointing.

The Lord’s prayer is introduced in Matthew’s gospel using a forward-pointing reference, highlighting the manner in which the disciples are to pray. The prayer that follows is the target of the forward-pointing reference.

**Example 31 Matthew 6:9**

Jesus has discussed how not to pray in the preceding context, but he has not provided the positive alternative. The entire prayer is the target of the pro-adverb οὕτως, describing the manner in which they should pray. The pragmatic effect of the forward-pointing reference is to attract extra attention to this significant part of the discourse, making it stand out much more using the extra reference.

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97 Gundry and Howell make the point that most uses of οὕτως are backward-pointing rather than forward-pointing, though they do leave the door open for the latter. Cf. Robert H. Gundry and Russell W. Howell, “The Sense and Syntax of John 3:14-17 with Special Reference to the Use of οὕτως... ὥστε in John 3:16,” *NovT* 41 (1999) 24–39. BDAG, 742, also note the forward-pointing use in the second part of their definition for οὕτως.
The next example shows the use of adverbial elements as interrogatives to create rhetorical questions. The same kind of rhetorical effect is achieved because they are pointing forward to something that has yet to be introduced.

**Example 32**  
*Mark 4:30*

Jesus is telling parables in Mark 4 describing the kingdom of God. In v. 30 he uses two adverbs as though they were interrogative pronouns. These adverbs stand in the place of a single target that follows in vv. 31-32. State that ‘the kingdom of God is like a mustard seed’, skipping the forward-pointing references, would have been more direct, yet would have destroyed the rhetorical effect of the canonical version. Using the two-fold reference helps to pique interest, attracting extra attention to the target that follows. The device is used to introduce the next major component of the discourse, not just to highlight a significant proposition.

The same forward-pointing technique is also used to introduce the first parable of the kingdom from v. 26, the parable of the seed. It also uses an adverb for the forward reference, but not phrased in the form of a question.

**Example 33**  
*Mark 4:26*

The adverb functions like a pronoun by standing in the place of an entire action: a man scattering seed in the ground. A more idiomatic translation that highlights the forward-pointing reference would be, “This is what the kingdom of God is like: it is like a man who scatters seed on the ground”. Even this is awkward, which is perhaps what lead English translators to smooth over the forward-pointing reference by omitting the extra reference. Regardless of the translation, remember that the discourse function of forward-pointing references is to attract extra attention to the target. In these examples from Mark, the highlighted targets introduce the next major theme of the discourse.

**Summary**

This chapter demonstrated that pronouns and other pro-forms can be used to refer ahead to something that has yet to be introduced. The expected norm is that pro-forms would...
point *backward* to something that has already been introduced. Referring to some yet-to-be introduced entity runs the risk of creating confusion for the reader. Because this forward-pointing usage breaks from the expected norm, the target to which it points ends up receiving additional prominence that it would not otherwise have received. Forward-pointing references are used to attract attention to significant propositions, such as conclusions or key ideas of a pericope. They are also used to highlight the introduction of a new pericope, and illustrated by the parables from Mark.

**Example 34  Luke 12:16-18**

Jesus tells the parable of the rich fool in response to a man that asked Jesus to mediate a dispute over a family inheritance. Jesus makes use of prominence-marking features in order to highlight significant points he wants to make. Verses 16b-17a set the stage by establishing a state of affairs for the rich man.

He asks a question in v. 17b, ‘What shall I do?’ However, we do not learn why there is a problem until *after* we read the question, i.e. that he has more crops than he can currently store in his barns. The question is actually rhetorical, in that he answers it himself. It serves to attract extra attention to the solution to which it points.

The reader is left to ponder what the rich man might do with his excess. Will he give some or all of it to the poor? Will he tithe a portion? If the rhetorical question had not been asked, the reader would not have had as much time to think about these matters. More time is given by the insertion of a redundant quotative frame (indicated by *ποιήσο*, cf. 51
Chapter 7) at the beginning of v. 18. Since there has been no change in speaker from the rich man to someone else, there is no need to reintroduce who is speaking. The effect of the redundant frame is to build suspense for what follows by delaying learning what his solution will be.

The suspense continues to be built through the use of another forward-pointing reference τοῦτο ‘this’ following the quotative frame. This reference points to the same target as the rhetorical question: the rich man’s proposed solution. More attention is focused on the target by emphasizing τοῦτο using word order (cf. Chapter 13).

It would have been much simpler to skip both forward-pointing references and just to proceed to the solution of building bigger barns. The use of this combination of prominence-marking devices has the effect of attracting extra attention to the man’s solution. It is this solution that leads Jesus to recharacterize the man as a fool using thematic address (cf. Chapter 17) in v. 20a. Instead of being able to enjoy his excess, the rich fool ends up forfeiting his soul ‘this very night’. The pro-adverb οὕτως ‘so’ in v. 21 stands in the place of the action described in the parable, pointing backward anaphorically as we would normally expect.

The choice to use these devices to add prominence to the same part of the parable clearly indicates the importance of the fool’s solution to the discourse. Being rich was not the problem, but hording excess that is far beyond what one needs is.

3.4   Suggested Reading
