

A STUDY OF PURPOSE, RESULT, AND CAUSAL HYPOTAXIS IN EARLY
INDO-EUROPEAN GOSPEL VERSIONS

by

JOSEPH ALLEN PENNINGTON

(Under the Direction of Jared S. Klein)

ABSTRACT

This study examines purpose, result, and causal hypotaxis in the gospel versions of selected early Indo-European dialects (Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Old English). The study describes the structure of each clausal type as to the conjunctions employed, variations in word order, the use of mood, and the nuances of aspect and Aktionsart, where these features are applicable. The hypotaxis of Latin, Gothic, and Old English is subsequently compared and contrasted to their respective Vorlage in order to determine the degree of native syntax and calquing.

A conjunction in each language does not always correspond to a particular conjunction in the Vorlage. In addition, each language maintains its own syntactic constraints in regard to mood and aspect. Although the word order of the Vorlage is often imitated, especially in the case of the patterns exhibited in Latin and Gothic with the Greek, numerous discrepancies occur, which are particularly salient and prominent in the syncrisis of Latin and Old English.

INDEX WORDS: Hypotaxis, Subordinate clauses, Purpose clause, Result clause, Causal clause, Indo-European, Early gospel versions, Comparative syntax, Gospels, New Testament Greek, Gothic, Latin, Old English, Vulgate, Aspect, Mood, Word order, Aktionsart, Conjunctions, Translation, Discourse

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved wife, Sybil Brand Pennington (□ □ □ □), who daily inspires me to reach greater heights. This work is also dedicated to Miss Mavis, who has patiently waited for its completion.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose and Focus of the Study

Scholars have approached the study of Indo-European syntax generally by examining the texts of the older dialects, namely those of Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek, and—to a lesser extent—Hittite, at the expense of neglecting a careful investigation of the later attested languages, i.e., Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic (Friedrich 1975: 6-7). The scholarly consensus for preference of the study of older dialects as a more fruitful enterprise and means of richer linguistic discovery seems to be based upon the following reasons: 1) the more archaic the dialect, the more likely that dialect will reflect the grammatical structure of the proto-language; 2) Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit have substantial corpora, thus giving scholars ample data to investigate and compare. Therefore, it is no mystery as to why detailed analyses of the syntax of Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic have been scarce until the past fifty years or so because such studies have been perceived by a number of scholars to be limited in their fruitfulness, yielding little in the knowledge of Indo-European syntax.

Neglecting the study of the syntax of these later attested languages, however, is not entirely meritorious, nor can doing so be substantiated for the reasons given above. It is true that the Gothic and Old Church Slavic corpora are limited. The Classical Armenian corpus, on the other hand, is voluminous.¹ In addition, although it has undergone significant phonological

¹ Old English and Old Norse, like Classical Armenian, have substantial corpora. As the second oldest attested Germanic dialect, Old English provides not only examples of archaic Germanic vocabulary, but also examples of archaic syntax. Because a great number of OE texts are not translations from Latin or Greek, but rather are works of original composition, the sources often being from oral tradition, the study of OE can yield dividends in comparative

change (similar to what happened in Germanic) and has borrowed a plethora of words from Iranian, Classical Armenian exhibits some archaic morphological features, such as the verbal augment, a grammatical feature which is also found in Greek and Sanskrit. In regard to suprasegmental features, Germanic is an important dialect in reconstructing the Proto-Indo-European accentual system. Furthermore, and most relevant to our study, the importance of Latin, Gothic, Old English, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic for the study of comparative syntax is uniquely based upon the fact that their texts are ‘the same text,’ so to speak, and therefore commensurate in a way that, say, a comparison of these texts with the *R̥gveda* and Homer would not be. A study of the more recently attested dialects, therefore, is a useful and often necessary endeavor for attaining a more comprehensive understanding of the field.

Despite what a study of early Germanic (Gothic, Old English, Old Norse), Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic has contributed to our knowledge of Indo-European phonology and morphology, little work has been accomplished in the area of syntax, and even that work has been non-exhaustive, mainly being in the form of journal articles or parts of larger works, such as learner’s grammars. In addition, the manner in which scholars have treated the syntax of Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic varies (Klein 1992), from that of viewing their syntactic structures as idiomatic to that of seeing them as literal, interlinear translations. Hence, there exists a need to examine systematically, both on a synchronic and synchronic basis, the syntax of early Germanic dialects, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic.

philology. In addition, a comparison of the OE gospels with the Vorlage of the Latin Vulgate often gives insights into OE syntax and Anglo-Saxon translation method. Hence, the claim that later dialects have corpora too small to produce anything linguistically significant is only partially correct. If there exists any inferiority in the use of later dialects as subjects of synchronic and comparative study, it lies elsewhere, but not in the size of their corpora.

The purpose of this work, therefore, is to fill a need in the study of comparative Indo-European syntax by examining the complex sentence types (i.e., subordinate clauses) in the gospel versions of selected early Indo-European dialects (Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Old English). The fact that Gothic and Latin share within their respective corpora a text based upon the Greek Vorlage (albeit with occasionally different readings), namely that of the Greek New Testament, makes a comparative study of syntax possible. In addition, although the Old English gospel text is not based upon the Greek Vorlage, but instead on the Latin Vulgate, a comparative syntactic analysis also yields valuable insights into the syntax of Old English and, when compared to Gothic, that of early Germanic. Cuendet has done such an investigation concerning the imperative mood (1924) and word order (1929) in the four gospels in Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic. In addition, Thomason (2006) has done a comparative study of these four languages in the realm of the use and semantic range of prepositions. Furthermore, Werth (1965) has written on Gothic syntax, particularly on case usage. Because he feels that subordination would have been too lengthy a topic to include in his dissertation, Werth intentionally ignores any study in this area.² Therefore, although some work has been fruitfully accomplished in certain areas of the syntax of ancient Indo-European dialects other than Sanskrit, Greek, Hittite, or Latin, a number of other areas in the subject of comparative syntax need to be investigated, particularly in the realm of subordinate clauses.

Because of the large amount of data involved (in spite of the fact that I have limited this study to the four canonical gospels) and the time constraints that have been imposed upon the completion of this work, this study focuses on the synchronic and comparative analysis of

² Having perused Fernand Mossé's *Bibliographia gotica*, I noticed no work included in it that seems to treat subordination in Gothic exhaustively, save one: V.E. Mourek's *Syntaxis slozených vet v gotstine* (The Syntax of Complex Sentences in Gothic). I have not examined this work of 339 pages written in Czech because I do not read the language and am unsure of its value to this study, for it may be outdated since the work was published in 1893.

hypotaxis in Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Old English. Furthermore, since it is impractical to examine every type of hypotactic structure that occurs in the gospel version of these four languages, the examination centers on three types of subordinate clauses: 1) purpose (final, telic), 2) result (consecutive, ecbatic), and 3) causal (aetiological). In each clausal type, we will examine the conjunctions employed, the use of mood, the variations of word order, and—where applicable—the function and semantic nuances of aspect as a grammatical category. Within these contexts, this study will attempt to grapple with the following questions:

1) What is the structure that each language exhibits in regard to the three hypotactic types which are the focus of this study?

2) How does each language's hypotactic structure compare to that of the Greek (and in the case of OE, Latin) Vorlage?

3) To what degree does hypotaxis in Latin, Gothic, and OE reflect native idiomatic expression, and to what extent does it reflect the usage of the Vorlage? (In other words, how much of the syntax exhibited is a calquing of the Vorlage?) In light of the existing data, can such a question be sufficiently answered?

4) When a language lacks a certain grammatical category (e.g., aspect), how does that language compensate for this discrepancy?

5) Can a comparative study of hypotaxis in early Indo-European gospel versions tell us anything significant concerning hypotactic structure in Proto-Indo-European?

1.2 Previous Studies

Comparative grammatical analysis of ancient Indo-European dialects is not a new undertaking. However, the employment of a shared text as a medium for linguistic and textual analysis is relatively recent. The fact that the New Testament has been one of the most widely

distributed and translated texts in the ancient world has equipped scholars with the potential for very productive studies (Cuendet 1924, 1929; Thomason 2006). Other works discussing early gospel versions are not heavily focused on linguistic issues. For example, Metzger's seminal work, *Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (1977), although not an exhaustive comparative and linguistic analysis, is still useful in its background discussion of the earliest NT versions—both non-Indo-European and Indo-European—and is an excellent resource for textual studies. Despite the paucity of grammatical discussion in Metzger's work, it is nevertheless an excellent gateway into the study of comparative syntax.

Although there are not a large number of studies on comparative syntax in early gospel versions, the study of syntax in NT Greek is quite abundant, from those works covering syntax in a comprehensive manner (Blass 1961; Brooks 1979; Dana 1955; Goetchius 1965; Moule 1984; Porter 1992; Turner 1965; Zerwick 2005) to those focusing on a particular category of syntax, such as aspect (Campbell 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Decker 2001; Fanning 1990; McKay 1994; Porter 1996, 2003), mood (Burton 1898; Campbell 2007; Decker 2001; McKay 1994), and word order (Palmer 1995). Studies have also been done on discourse analysis (Guthrie 1995; Levinsohn 1995; Porter 1995a and 1995b; Reek 1995; Silva 1995) and pragmatics (Porter 1996). In addition, important studies have been conducted on the Semitic background of and interference on the Greek NT, some works having contributed significantly to the understanding of the underlying Greek text and what it actually represents (Black 1967; Maloney 1981), and others posing more speculative views (Burney 1922; Roth 2005; Zimmermann 1979).³

³ Most NT scholars do not see the positions held by Black and Maloney as too supposititious, it being acknowledged as the *communis opinio* by reputable scholars that there are features within the NT text that clearly indicate Aramaic and/or Hebrew influence. The scholarship done by Burney, Roth, and Zimmermann, although useful in many respects—particularly in reinforcing the work set forth by Black and Maloney, has been conducted under the highly

Studies within the field of syntax or closely related fields (such as discourse analysis and pragmatics) in other gospel versions have not resulted in work quite so voluminous as those involving Greek. In Gothic, for example, one may find a general coverage of syntax in the basic learner's grammars or standard reference works (Douse 1886; Lambdin 2006; Lehmann 1994; Streitberg 1920; Wright 1937). There have also been a number of studies in specific areas of Gothic syntax. For example, Lloyd (1979) has done an exhaustive study of verbal aspect in Gothic, and Suzuki (1989) has grappled with the morphosyntax of the suffixes *-þ-* and *-n-*. In addition, Klein has written an important article on the lexical semantics of Gothic prepositions (1992a), and Klein and Condon (1993) have written on Gothic *-(u)h*. Ferraresi (2005), furthermore, has dealt with the issue of word order, particularly as it relates to discourse particles and pronouns. The problem of whether the Gothic text represents native syntax has also been taken up by a number of scholars (Curme 1911; Klein 1992b; Metlen 1933). A number of important studies on Gothic syntax have been done as dissertations or theses at the University of Georgia under the direction and supervision of Jared Klein (Buckso 2008; Condon 1990; Govberg 2002;⁴ Tunkle 2000). Although Götti's (1974) study on verbs of motion in Gothic is not directly related to syntax, it is an important contribution to the understanding of the Gothic lexicon and Wulfila's translation technique. Despite this range of studies, little has been done in an exhaustive treatment of Gothic hypotaxis.

controversial and speculative view that the Greek text itself is a translation of an Aramaic text. Burney and Zimmermann believe that Aramaic originals were written down for the Aramaic speaking communities, then later translated into Greek for the benefit of Hellenistic converts. One may assume, then, that, since the Greek speaking communities thrive and became ubiquitous but the Aramaic speaking communities tended to be more limited numerically and geographically over time, the Greek 'translations' survived while the Aramaic 'originals' eventually were lost. Roth's position, however, is further removed from the mainstream in that he maintains that the original Aramaic text remains unto this day: '...the Aramaic patterns in the New Testament go far deeper than exploring structures from oral discourses later put into Greek. Instead, the proofs I will relate here will clearly point to mis-translations occurring from an *Aramaic written document* being rendered badly into Greek. What's more, and contrary to popular belief, those *original Aramaic sources* have in fact survived into the present day' (2005: 17) (*italics supplied*).

⁴ Govberg 2002 was actually produced as a Hebrew University dissertation co-directed by Klein.

Little has been done in the realm of syntax in the Latin Vulgate. The work of Plater and White (1926) is by no means exhaustive, and chiefly deals with Hebraisms and Graecisms in the text. A detailed analysis of subordinate clauses, however, is not covered.

Because of the substantial size of the Old English corpus, including works most of which are native compositions and not Latin translations, scholars generally have not seen the need for an extensive and deep analysis of the syntax of the Anglo-Saxon gospels. A few studies, however, have been accomplished (Callaway 1918), including an examination of subordination and word order (Martin 2004) and of discourse analysis (Kim 1992).⁵ Most studies, however, are devoid of detailed treatments of clausal structure.

A number of works have been written on the phonology, morphology, and—to a lesser extent—syntax of Classical Armenian. In most learner's grammars and reference works, the coverage of syntax is brief (Thomson 1998; Meillet 1913; Ajello 2006). Jensen's grammar (1959), however, contains a fairly comprehensive description of Classical Armenian syntax, including case usage and types of hypotaxis. There have been also studies conducted on deixis (DeLisi 2008; Klein 1996)⁶ and verbal syntax (Klaus 1968)⁷ (see Künzle 1984 for an extensive bibliography covering many facets of Armenian studies). Exhaustive studies on hypotaxis, however, are noticeably lacking.

1.3 Theoretical Foundations

Any study of syntax must begin with a clear definition of the particular feature to be studied. In the case of subordination, a definition appears to be salient upon the surface, but is

⁵ Martin's analysis focuses on the position of the verb in relative clauses; Kim's, on the use of the particle *pa* in discourse. Both were—again—University of Georgia dissertations done under the direction of Jared Klein.

⁶ Crawford (2008) also has conducted a study of deixis in Old Icelandic, touching upon an area rarely (if ever) investigated. The syntactic study of older versions of the gospels in comparison with their Vorlagen has enormous contributive potential in the field of historical and comparative Indo-European linguistics.

⁷ This is a comparative syntactic analysis of Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic.

problematic upon deeper reflection. For example, traditional theory has explained subordination in terms of ‘dependency,’ i.e., clauses that cannot stand alone are subordinate, those that can are independent (Cristofaro 2003: 15-16). This model, however, inadequately defines this feature, for verbs that are often employed to introduce indirect discourse (such as ‘think,’ ‘believe,’ ‘feel,’ ‘suppose,’ ‘say,’) cannot be said to stand alone, but rather imply some object, whether a substantive or substantival clause. For example, in the sentence ‘He says that he’ll come tomorrow,’ the clause ‘He says’ is on the one hand independent, but on the other hand it cannot be said to stand alone.

Another definition for subordination is the notion of ‘embedding’ (Cristofaro 2003).

However, coordinate clauses may also be embedded, as in:

a) This man thinks, *but others know*, that the situation is desperate.

The clause ‘but others know’ is not subordinate, but is embedded within the sentence.

Defining subordination through the functional model seems to be very workable and best captures the notion of subordination. Under this theoretical rubric, subordinate clauses are defined as those clauses that function on a whole as lexical categories, such as a substantive, adjective, or adverb. However, subordinate clauses cannot function as verbs, prepositions, or conjunctions. It appears that subordinate clauses can only function as substantives or adjuncts (modifiers); verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions do not function in this manner.⁸

⁸ One might argue that prepositional phrases may act as adjuncts, as in ‘the woman at the well was an adulteress.’ However, notice that the entire phrase is the adjunct, not the preposition. Otherwise, we would expect ‘the woman at is an adulteress’ to be grammatical, which it is not. Notice also that the phrase functions adverbially. In addition, prepositional phrases are just that—phrases, not clauses.

We may, therefore, categorize the types of subordinate clauses by function as follows:

1) substantival clauses

indirect discourse	}	(object clauses)
indirect question		
indirect command		

subject noun clauses

2) adjectival clauses

relative clauses

3) adverbial clauses

purpose clause	conditional clause	clause of manner
result clause	temporal clause	concessive clause
causal clause	locative clause	clause of comparison
epexegetical (explanatory) clause		

The problem of the role and function of conjunctions/complementizers in subordinate clause structure, and their place within traditional and generative grammar, has been taken up by Haumann (1997). Although conjunctions and complementizers clearly function as heads, they are not always necessary cross-linguistically as introducers of subordinate clauses:

b) The man said he'll be here.

c) The man I saw yesterday will be here.

In the above examples, we see that a complementizer is not present, or necessary, in a), nor is a relative particle/pronoun required in b). These constructions, however, are ungrammatical in Greek, Latin, and Gothic. It is debatable whether the relative particle/pronoun may be omitted in

OE (Mitchell 1987: 184-199). However, the Old English complementizer *þæt*, like Modern English ‘that,’ may be omitted (Mitchell 1987: 35).

Although there are different types of subordinate structures, the classification pertinent to our study concerns those structures that employ a finite verb. Our definition of the term ‘hypotaxis,’ then, is narrower in scope than the term ‘subordination,’ and is concerned with those subordinate structures whose verb occurs in a finite mood, this being in accordance with the traditional model (Harris & Campbell 1995: 283).⁹

Previous studies on the function of certain grammatical categories (mood, aspect) as they pertain to the ancient Indo-European dialects have been briefly discussed in section 1.2. Our purpose here is to give a succinct account of the theoretical background of these categories, as well as of word order, as follows:

Mood

Modality may be expressed in a language in one or both of two ways: 1) a modal system that employs modal verbs (as in the modern Germanic languages, such as English and German); 2) mood as a grammatical inflected category within the verbal system (Palmer 2001: 4).¹⁰ Greek and Latin illustrate the second model, Gothic and Old English also mostly employ it, but sometimes use modal verbs, especially in the case of Old English. The evidence from the oldest attested dialects, therefore, supports the notion that Proto-Indo-European most likely employed a system of mood, not modality.¹¹ It would appear that the subjunctive occurs in purpose clauses, but the indicative in result, because purpose clauses denote intentionality that in most instances

⁹ See Harris & Campbell (1995) for a further discussion of the theory of the source of hypotaxis in language development. Common theory suggests that hypotaxis developed over time from parataxis (‘asyndetic joining’; Harris & Campbell 1995: 283).

¹⁰ Note that Modern German incorporates both systems.

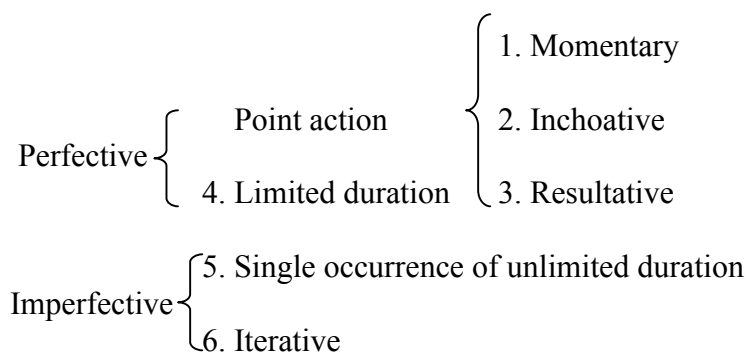
¹¹ For a more detailed discussion of mood in I.E., see Gonda (1956), in which the problem of the function of non-indicative mood is grappled with in the light of the competing scholarly theories.

does not meet actual fulfillment. Result clauses, however, typically denote fulfillment, or at least actions that characteristically by nature reach completion. The fact that causal clauses in Latin may employ either the indicative (speaker's assertion) or subjunctive (other than speaker's assertion) indicates the different characteristics of the two moods. These issues are taken up in greater detail in the relevant sections of subsequent chapters of this work.

Aspect

This is one of the more problematic areas of syntax and extremely difficult to define in absolute terms. Students of the Classical languages are well acquainted with the notion of aspect as it applies to Greek (present vs. aorist) and—to some extent—to Latin (imperfectum vs. perfectum). In addition, it becomes immediately apparent to students of these languages that the aspectual systems employed in them do not precisely coincide, although in some ways they are similar. Other types of aspectual systems are less familiar, except to those conversant with the Slavic languages.¹²

The role that aspect plays in Gothic is controversial, but evidence seems to point to a system similar to that employed in Slavic. One may, therefore, propose that an understanding of aspect in Slavic may shed light on the Gothic aspectual system. The system in the Slavic languages is generally described as a dichotomy of perfective vs. imperfective verbs, with the following system in Russian being presented as a representative example (Senn 1949: 55):



¹² For a brief discussion and overview of aspectual systems, see Comrie (1976).

Aspect often works in conjunction with tense, and this can result in a very complex system (Comrie 1976: 125-126). See Galton (1976) for an exhaustive treatment of the functions of Slavic verbal aspect. To what degree Gothic verbs reflect this system is highly debatable.

Word order

Word order is the least productive area of study in this project, except when discrepancies occur between two compared languages. In that case, deviations must be accounted for, often through explanation of a language's particular word-order typology, or through an understanding of the rules of discourse and pragmatic factors. Determining the word-order typology of a language helps in establishing generalizations about its word-order variations (Comrie 1989:102) and is useful perhaps in making predictions about what word order that language will express within a clause. The study of certain syntactic phenomena in isolation often does not explain word arrangement within a text. Therefore, it is necessary to examine a connected text, or discourse, in context in order to answer questions about a language's preference for a particular structure (Johnstone 2002: 5). In addition, the understanding of pragmatics, with its emphasis upon the study of deixis, presupposition, and speech acts (Levinson 1983: 9), also can shed light on syntactic arrangement and overall structure.

1.4 Texts

The ideal text for use in comparative linguistic analysis would be either an interlinear apparatus or one that arranges the various gospel texts in parallel columns, much as Bosworth (1888) did with Gothic, Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English. A text arranged in this manner, but with Greek, Latin, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic, would be a most welcomed and useful resource. Although there are NT texts containing Greek and Latin on facing pages, nothing readily available has been published in regard to the

early gospel versions of other Indo-European languages. That being the case, I have employed a number of various texts. The following sections are brief descriptions of the texts used in this project.

1.4.1 Greek (Κοινή) New Testament

The Greek text employed for this project is the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* published by the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. In addition, I have employed for comparative purposes other editions of the Greek NT, namely the fourth revised edition of *The Greek New Testament* published jointly by the United Bible Societies and the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*¹³ published by Thomas Nelson Publishers, the *Textus Receptus* published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, *The Greek New Testament* (Wescott and Hort)¹⁴ published by Hendrickson Publishers, *The Emphatic Diaglott* (J.J. Griesbach) published by the International Bible Students Association/Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. Although I have occasionally conferred with these above texts, the critical text (Nestle-Aland) has been the primary text of study.¹⁵

1.4.2 The Latin Vulgate

The Latin text used for this project is the New Latin Vulgate, second edition in the *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (Nestle-Aland) published by the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. I have also consulted the *Novum Testamentum Latine* (Wordsworth and

¹³ Kurt and Barbara Aland (1989) consider the *Majority Text* ‘the poorest of the various New Testament text types’ (p. 4). By ‘Majority Text,’ the Alands mean the *Textus Receptus*, which they maintain is full of errors and of questionable reliability. What these errors are is left unstated. The major criticism seems to be the text’s ‘recent’ provenance.

¹⁴ Kurt and Barbara Aland see the Wescott and Hort text as a markedly improved rendition that comes closer to the ‘original,’ or at least this was certainly how the Alands claim Wescott and Hort felt about their own work (1989:14).

¹⁵ The plethora of Greek manuscripts, approximately 5,700 (Metzger 2005: 52), is in itself an astounding statistic for an ancient document, and has aided scholars in reconstructing a reliable critical text, not only for scholarly exegetical purposes, but also for accurate linguistic analysis. The numerous editions may be seen as a fact of the evolving nature of textual critical scholarship and its goal of producing a text that is as close to the original as possible.

White) published by Simon Wallenberg. It can be argued that in this study in which we are attempting to compare the earliest gospel versions of a language with the Vorlage, it would be more advantageous—if not more in line with the spirit of the study itself—to have employed the Old Latin version instead of the Vulgate. This, indeed, is a preferable choice in that the Old Latin text is more archaic and may have had some influence on the Gothic (Friedrichsen 1926: 172-186).¹⁶ There are several problems, however, with this approach. For example, there is not one Old Latin text, but a number of texts (Metzger 2005: 101). Which, then, should we consult, or do we consult all of them?¹⁷ In addition, it has been suggested that the translations were hyperliteral, probably being more like interlinears of the Greek text (101). Such calquing defeats the purpose of our study, i.e., to determine the syntax of ancient Indo-European dialects and understand the translation technique involved in rendering the Vorlage into the target language. Finally, the Old Latin texts are fragmentary and incomplete.

On the other hand, using the Vulgate as our text for study has important advantages. First, it is an ancient text, albeit not quite so ancient as the Old Latin. Although Jerome's translation is quite literal, he avoids violating Latin word order and stylistic constraints.¹⁸ The syntax he employed in most cases is clearly good Latin, though not always modeled after the Classical idiom, but rather more closely akin to the spoken language of the masses. In addition, it should be noted that the gospels of Jerome's Vulgate were not a fresh translation, but a revision of the Old Latin version(s), and very conservative in the rendering, even when it—in

¹⁶ Burton (2000: 7) mentions the fact that the Old Latin texts—like the Gothic—have the 'Western' order of the gospels (Matthew-John-Mark-Luke) and not the more familiar 'Eastern' order as found in Jerome's Vulgate. It seems evident, then, that as the Goths immigrated westward into Italy successive post-Wulfilian generations of Goths may have revised Wulfila's text with reference to the Old Itala (see Friedrichsen 1926: 162-218).

¹⁷ The number of variant readings in the Old Latin versions can be overwhelming. In Lk. 24:4-5, there are about 27 different readings that have survived (Metzger 2005: 101).

¹⁸ This does not mean that Jerome never violated Latin word order or style when working on his translation from the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Vorlagen. He often calqued the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek word order out of a sense of piety and devotion to the sacred text, where in regard to translation of sacred scripture 'even word-order is a mystery' (Sparks 1970: 523).

some degree—violated his own philosophy of translation (Sparks 1970: 523). Furthermore, in spite of the stilted translation of the Old Latin texts, Jerome’s Vulgate was more faithful in many respects to the Greek, in that he ‘altered finite verbs in the Old Latin to participles where there were participles in the Greek’ (Kelly 1975: 87). Finally, the Vulgate gospels are a complete text with few variant readings. Since it is the Vorlage of the OE text, to employ it instead of the Old Latin version(s) also seems logical.

1.4.3 The Gothic Gospels

For the analysis of Gothic, I have used Streitberg’s *Die Gotische Bible*, 7th edition, with a separate volume that contains a glossary. I have also consulted Lambdin’s edition of the Gothic gospels contained within his *An Introduction to the Gothic Language* (2006), which also contains a glossary. Balg’s *The First Germanic Bible* is also a valuable resource, containing not only the Gothic gospels, but also a short exposition of Gothic syntax and a glossary.

1.4.4 Old English Gospels

The Old English text used for this study is Liuzza’s two-volume *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, which has many advantages to commend it over other, older editions in that it contains a bibliography, introduction, critical apparatus (all within vol. 1), a discussion of the Latin source/Vorlage, translation technique, authorship of the text, orthography, textual transmission, index of biblical passages, glossary, and Latin-OE wordlist (vol. 2).

An important resource in this study is Skeat’s *The Holy Gospels* (1871-1887), which is useful in comparing passages with those in the Liuzza text and in comparing the latest edition of the Vulgate with the Latin in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth mss.¹⁹ Liuzza’s critical apparatus,

¹⁹ In addition to Liuzza’s work, one may consult Glunz (1933) for a more exhaustive treatment of the history of the Vulgate texts employed in England.

however, functions so well with its variant readings that Skeat's work, though helpful, is not essential to the study.

1.5 Methodology

The methodology of this study is two-fold. First, it involves a synchronic examination of certain types of hypotactic structures, namely telic (purpose), ecclatic (result), and aetiological (causal). The structure of each clausal type is exhaustively examined as to the conjunctions employed, mood, aspect (if a factor), and word-order variation. For example, an examination of conjunctions shows that they are often employed in the several languages as heads of different clausal types. Consider that Greek *ὅτι*, Latin *quia/quod*, and Gothic *þatei* may introduce either causal clauses or indirect statements:

a) causal (Jn. 10:33)

Greek: καὶ ὅτι σὺ ἄνθρωπος ὧν ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν

Latin: *et quia tu, homo cum sis, facis teipsum Deum*

Gothic: *jah þatei þu manna wisands taujis þuk silban du guda*

b) indirect statement (Mt. 5:21)

Greek: Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις

Latin: *Audistis quia dictum est antiquis*

Gothic: *Hausideduþ þatei qiþan ist þaim airizam*

An examination of mood reveals, depending on the language, that the subjunctive may be employed in one type of clause, the indicative in another type, and either the subjunctive or indicative in a third. For example, in Old English the subjunctive mood is employed in purpose clauses, the indicative in result, and either the indicative or (rarely) the subjunctive in causal.

The second rubric of the method entails a syncritical (comparative/contrastive) analysis of each type of clausal structure exhibited in Latin, Gothic, and OE with the pertinent Vorlage. The correspondences in the use of conjunctions, mood, aspect, and word order are thoroughly examined, with the differences in structure being duly underscored.

The data have been obtained through a tedious process of reading, collation, examination, and analysis. I might have appealed to computer-based assistance, as well as to the use of and dependence on concordances (if or when available in all the languages studied), in order to save time and minimize undue effort. However, I have chosen to read through all the four canonical gospels in each language, carefully noting every hypotactic clause and recording the passage where each subordinate clause occurs. The clauses were subsequently sorted out by type, with only passages containing purpose, result, and causal clauses being written in full upon index cards and placed in separate piles according to language and clausal type. I have found the use of index cards to be essential in sorting clauses by conjunctions employed, mood, aspect (if applicable), and word-order type. In addition, these cards have been equally necessary in the comparative analysis of each passage in a particular gospel with its corresponding Vorlage.

Having sorted the index cards by clausal type, I recorded the passages in which each hypotactic structure occurs, arranging the frequency of the occurrence of conjunctions and other linguistic features (i.e., mood, word-order variations, aspect/tense) in charts for analysis and comment. Each chapter on a particular language concludes with a discussion of the use of conjunctions, problems of mood and aspect, and the trends in word order. The syncrisis chapters typically contain fewer charts, mainly because the emphasis is not so much upon data and frequency of occurrence as it is upon structural similarities and differences between the two languages being compared.

Although I have not relied heavily upon concordances, I have occasionally consulted one in particular, *A Concordance to the Greek Testament* by Moulton and Geden. I have employed no other concordances, though I have examined Snædal's *A Concordance to Biblical Gothic* and found it to be a monumental piece of work and a potentially useful resource in future research on Gothic.²⁰

It goes without saying that the data accumulated during the work on this project has become voluminous, and the efforts in reading through these texts and recording and sorting through the data have laid a solid foundation for further studies in hypotaxis in early Indo-European gospel versions.

²⁰ Snædal's *Concordance* (1998) is in two volumes: vol. 1: introduction and texts; vol. 2: concordance. The main drawback to this work is that it lacks a glossary.

CHAPTER 2

HYPOTAXIS IN GREEK

2.0 Introduction

A number of grammars cover hypotactic structures in Greek, but mostly in respect to the grammatical category of mood (Blass and Debrunner 1961; Burton 1898; Turner 1963; Goodwin 1889, 1930; Zerwick 2005), while a few grammars specifically treat the syntax of subordinate clause structure under such a heading (Smyth 1984; Roberson 1915; Wallace 1996; Dana 1955). Goodwin and Smyth cover the syntax of Classical Greek and, hence, are useful in the study of NT Greek primarily for comparative purposes. The grammars specifically treating NT Greek either present data exhaustively, but explicate the syntax only slightly (Turner, Blass), or they give detailed analysis of syntactic structures without a full treatment of all the data (Robertson, Wallace). The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed analysis of purpose, result, and causal clauses in NT Greek in regard to the conjunctions employed, word order, and verbal categories (tense, mood, aspect) in light of all the collected data.

Greek hypotactic structures are of two types: 1) subordinate clauses, which consist of a head (subordinating conjunction or relative pronoun/adjective/adverb) and finite verb; 2) modified subordinate structures, or subordinate phrases, which may or may not contain a head and have a non-finite form of the verb (participle or infinitive). Hypotactic structures of the first type will be examined in this chapter; those of the second type, in subsequent chapters in comparison with the subordinate clause structures of Latin, Gothic, and Old English.

2.1 Affirmative final (purpose) clauses

In the Greek gospels, final clauses are introduced affirmatively by the conjunction ἵνα: τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ‘All this occurred in order that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled’ (Mt. 1:22). Sometimes, though seldom, the conjunction ὅπως is employed: ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ‘in order that what was spoken through the prophets might be fulfilled’ (Mt. 2:23). Negative final clauses are introduced by ἵνα μὴ: ἵνα δὲ μὴ σκανδαλίσωμεν αὐτούς ‘but lest we offend them’ (Mt. 17:27), or by μήποτε: μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου ‘lest [ever] you strike your foot against a stone’ (Mt. 4:6). The negative conjunctions ὅπως μὴ and ἵνα μήποτε also occur, but only once in the entire gospels, Mt. 6:18 and Lk. 14:29 respectively. Whether μὴ alone introduces final clauses is debatable.

Final clauses in Classical Greek contain verbs in the subjunctive mood (for primary tenses), or the optative mood (for secondary ones). By contrast, in the Greek gospels, the subjunctive occurs in both primary and secondary sequences, whereas there is debate as to whether the optative mood occurs at all. In addition, one finds final clauses containing verbs in the future indicative, but these occurrences are rare. Turner (1963: 100-101) maintains that final clauses may contain the present indicative, citing Jn. 5:20 and 17:24. The editions of the Greek NT that I have consulted (i.e., Nestle-Aland 27th ed., UBS 4th ed., Majority Text 2nd ed., Wescott and Hort, Textus Receptus) indicate the present subjunctive in both passages, not the present indicative. Those passages containing verbs in the future indicative indicate no recognizable difference in semantics or structure (save in the finite verb itself) from clauses containing verbs in the subjunctive mood.

2.1.1 Final clauses with *ἵνα*

The majority of final clauses in the gospels in Greek are introduced by the conjunction *ἵνα*. Not only does *ἵνα* denote a telic function, but it also can indicate an ecclasiastic meaning or substantival use, either as subject or direct object (Turner 1963: 102; Wallace 1996: 472-477). (I shall discuss non-telic uses of *ἵνα* in later sections of this chapter.)

By far the most frequent conjunction used to introduce purpose clauses in the Greek NT gospels, *ἵνα* occurs in the following passages:

Matthew (1:22; 2:15; 4:14; 9:6; 12:10; 12:17; 14:15; 18:16; 19:13; 19:16; 21:4; 23:26; 26:4; 26:16; 26:56; 27:26)

Mark (1:38; 2:10; 3:2; 3:10; 3:14 (2); 4:12; 4:21 (2); 4:22 (2); 5:12; 5:23; 6:36; 6:41; 7:9; 8:6; 9:22; 10:13; 10:17; 10:37; 11:25; 11:28; 12:2; 12:13; 12:15; 14:10; 14:12; 14:35; 14:49; 15:15; 15:20; 15:32; 16:1)

Luke (1:4; 5:24; 6:7; 6:34; 8:16; 9:12; 11:33; 11:50; 11:54; 12:36; 14:10; 14:23; 15:29; 16:4; 16:9; 16:24; 18:15; 19:4; 19:15; 20:10; 20:14; 20:20; 21:36; 22:8; 22:30)

John (1:7 (2); 1:8; 1:19; 1:22; 1:31; 3:15; 3:16; 3:17 (2); 3:21; 4:8; 4:36; 5:7; 5:20; 5:23; 5:34; 5:36; 5:40; 6:5; 6:7; 6:15; 6:28; 6:30; 6:38; 7:3; 7:32; 8:6; 8:59; 9:3; 9:36; 9:39; 10:10 (2); 10:17; 10:31; 10:38; 11:4; 11:11; 11:15; 11:16; 11:19; 11:31; 11:42; 11:52; 11:55; 12:7; 12:9; 12:20; 12:23; 12:36; 12:38; 12:47 (2); 13:2; 13:15; 13:18; 13:19; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31; 15:2; 15:11; 15:16 (2); 15:25; 16:4; 16:24; 16:33; 17:1; 17:2; 17:11; 17:12; 17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24; 17:26; 18:9; 18:28; 18:32; 18:37; 19:4; 19:16; 19:24; 19:28; 19:35; 19:36; 20:31 (2).

The longer gospels of Matthew and Luke have the least number of occurrences of ἵνα; the gospel of John contains more occurrences of this conjunction than that of all the other gospels combined.

Table 2.1 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by ἵνα

Total # of ἵνα clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
172	16	9.3	34	19.8	25	14.5	97	56.4

2.1.1.1 Word order in ἵνα purpose clauses

In respect to word order, clauses may be classified according to the position of the verb relative to that of the direct object (VO/OV) or the position of the subject relative to that of the verb (SV/VS). In Matthew's gospel, ἵνα clauses are predominantly verb-initial, with most verbs being intransitive: ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου 'in order that what was spoken through Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled' (Mt. 12:17). Although the verb in Matthew generally precedes the subject of the ἵνα clause, nevertheless, a prepositional phrase may intervene between the conjunction and the verb: ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα 'in order that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter may be established' (Mt. 18:16). A participle of attendant circumstance may also intervene between the conjunction and main verb: ἵνα ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀγοράσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς βρώματα 'in order that, having gone away into the villages, they may buy food for themselves' (Mt. 14:15). Transitive verbs, like intransitive verbs, are clause-initial, following the conjunction: ἵνα σχῶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον 'in order that I may have eternal life' (Mt. 19:16). Sometimes (rarely) a transitive verb may govern a case other than the accusative: ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ 'in order that they might accuse him' (Mt. 12:10). The gospel of Matthew exhibits only three instances of OV word order in purpose clauses: ἵνα τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθῇ αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεύξεται 'in order that he

might put his hands upon them and pray’ (Mt. 19:13); ἵνα τὸν Ἰησοῦν δόλῳ κρατήσωσιν καὶ ἀποκτείνωσιν ‘in order that they might catch Jesus by deceit and kill [him]’ (Mt. 26:4); ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδῶ ‘in order that he might betray him’ (Mt. 26:16).

In Mark’s gospel, like that of Matthew, the greatest number of final clauses has the verb in initial position. Since Greek is a pro-drop language, it is difficult or impossible to ascertain whether the word order should be understood as SVO or VSO. In the two cases in which a nominal subject appears in a verb-initial final clause, the subject follows the verb: ἀλλ’ ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί ‘but that the scriptures may be fulfilled’ (Mk. 14:49). Hence, no doubt exists that the word order is VS, at least in the case of non-pronominal subjects. Whether this arrangement is a Hebraism is not clear, since Greek has a flexible word order. Prepositional phrases, participles, and—in one case—an adverbial phrase may intervene between the conjunction and finite verb: ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω ‘so that I may preach even there’ (Mk. 1: 38). In one passage, SVO order unequivocally occurs: ἵνα καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀφῇ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν ‘in order that also your father, the one in the heavens, may forgive you your trespasses’ (Mk. 11:25). OV order does occur with greater frequency than in Matthew’s gospel: ἵνα τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν στήσητε¹ ‘in order that you may establish your tradition’ (Mk. 7:9).

In Luke’s gospel, VO or VS word order (i.e., verb-initial) predominates: ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου ‘that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue’ (Lk. 16:24); ἵνα ἡμῶν γένηται ἡ κληρονομία ‘that the inheritance may become ours’ (Lk. 20:14). Only two instances of OV order occur in final ἵνα clauses: ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φῶς βλέπωσιν ‘in order that those entering may see the light’ (Lk. 11:33); ἵνα αὐτῶν ἅπτηται ‘in order that he might touch them’ (Lk. 18:15). Just as we see in

¹ Some manuscripts (i.e., Majority Text, Textus Receptus, and Wescott-Hort) have τηρήσητε ‘you may keep.’

respect to the other synoptic gospels, it is difficult to determine the status of most verb-initial ἵνα purpose clauses because of the absence of an overt pronominal subject. Clauses containing VS order are numerous, but contain without exception intransitive verbs. No cases of overt VSO order exist in any purpose clauses in the synoptic gospels. Two clauses do exhibit SVO order (Mk. 11:25; Lk. 8:16) and one SOV order (Lk. 11:33). Such paucity of evidence does not justify determining a default word order in ἵνα purpose clauses, though I am inclined to assume that VO purpose clauses should be understood as SVO, since VSO occurs nowhere in ἵνα purpose clauses in the synoptic gospels.

Containing the largest number of purpose clauses of the four gospels, John shows a greater variety of word-order possibilities. For example, there are a number of clauses showing OV word order: ἵνα ἀποκρισιν δῶμεν τοῖς πέμψασιν ἡμᾶς ‘in order that we may give an answer to those having sent us’ (Jn. 1:22). There exist two instances of SOV word order: ἵνα ἕκαστος βραχύ τι λάβῃ ‘in order that each may receive a little something’ (Jn. 6:7). SV or SVO is extremely common: ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι’ αὐτοῦ ‘in order that all might believe through him’ (Jn. 1:7); ἵνα ὑμεῖς² σωθῆτε ‘in order that you may be saved’ (Jn. 5:34); ἵνα ὁ υἱὸς δοξάσῃ σέ ‘in order that the Son may glorify Thee’ (Jn. 17:1). The most common word order in purpose clauses in John is verb-initial, sometimes containing a verb without an overt subject (exclusively intransitive verbs): ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός ‘so that he might witness concerning the light’ (Jn. 1:7); at other times VO: ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον ‘that he might judge the world’ (Jn. 3:17). An imbedded clause infrequently intervenes between the conjunction and finite verb: ἵνα ὅταν παραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ‘in order that, whenever the water is disturbed, he may put (literally “throw”) me into the pool’ (Jn. 5:7). In only one instance does verb-initial order with a direct object display an overt nominal subject, and in this case, the word

² N.B. pronominal subject

order is VOS, because of the heaviness of the subject: ἵνα παραδοῖ αὐτὸν Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου ‘in order that Judas, son of Simon Iscariot, might betray him’ (Jn. 13:2). As in the case with the synoptic gospels, it is difficult to ascertain a default word order in purpose clauses, since a significant number of them lack an overt subject. However, those clauses that do show overt subjects sometimes exhibit VS order, at other time SV order, and contain intransitive verbs.

In conclusion, with regard to word order in ἵνα purpose clauses in the Greek NT gospels, the constructions in the majority of cases show a tendency towards verb-initial order, particularly in the case of intransitive verbs and in that of transitive verbs without an overt subject. Although other word-order types occur (i.e., OV, SOV, SVO), these types are, nevertheless, not nearly as common, nor do they tell us anything significant about word order in such clauses, save that the order of words in these cases exhibits a flexibility in κοινή that also exists in the classical Attic dialect.

In spite of such flexibility in word order, however, Hellenistic Greek showed a normal word order of SV in independent clauses (Maloney 1981:51). Hence, verb-initial order in subordinate clauses in the gospels would seem to indicate Semitic interference were there not strong evidence of verb-initial word order in dependent clauses in Herodotus, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Polybius (Maloney 1981), as well as cross-linguistically within IE. Therefore, it is likely that VS word order in purpose clauses in the four gospels is a feature derived from Hellenistic Greek rather than an influence from Aramaic or Hebrew.

Table 2.2 Word-order types in purpose clauses with ĭva

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VS	8	2	3	12
VO	3	7	12	28
VSO	0	0	0	2 ³
VOS	0	0	0	1
SV	0	0	2	21
OV	3	7	1	11
SOV	0	0	1	2
SVO	0	1	1	7
OVS	0	0	0	0
V-initial ⁴ (No S/O)	2	17	5	17

The data of the above table indicate that the four gospels do not share the same percentage of word-order types. For example, 50% of the clauses in Matthew show VS word order, but only 5.7% do so in Mark, 12% in Luke, and about 12% in John. Luke shows the highest percentage of VO word order (48%), followed by John (28%), Mark (20%), then Matthew (19%). Mark exhibits proportionally the greatest percentage of verb-initial clauses without a nominal subject or direct object (49%). Only Matthew contains no instances of SVO word order, only Luke and John show SOV, and only John has VSO, VOS, and SV.⁵ The one overall pattern, however, that all the gospels do share is verb-initial clauses, whether the word order be VS, VO, VSO, VOS, or V (with no overt subject or direct object): Matthew (81%); Mark (74%); Luke (80%); John (59%). Although the synoptic gospels demonstrate closer percentage rates than John's gospel in this case, nevertheless, the fourth gospel—like the synoptics—shows a majority percentage of verb-initial clauses.

³ Both instances contain not nominal objects per se, but rather object noun clauses.

⁴ V-initial here refers to the position of the verb in respect to subject and direct objects. It does not preclude the intervention of other grammatical/ syntactic constructions, such as circumstantial participles, prepositional phrases, adverbs, imbedded clauses, etc.

⁵ The two passages in Luke's gospel showing SV word order contain elliptical objects.

2.1.1.2 Mood in ἵνα purpose clauses

As stated earlier, Hellenistic Greek, particularly that of the four gospels, employs the subjunctive mood in purpose clauses, regardless of the sequence of tenses. However, one finds rare occurrences of the future indicative, namely in the gospels of Luke and John: ἵνα ὅταν ἐλθῇ ὁ κεκληκὼς σε ἐρεῖ σοι ‘so that, whenever the one having called you comes, he will say to you’ (Lk. 14:10); ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν αὐτῷ ‘so that they should give him [some] of the fruit of the vineyard’ (Lk. 20:10); ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταί σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα ‘so that also your disciples will view your works’ (Jn. 7:3).⁶ Why the future indicative occurs at all in such clauses is a matter of conjecture. The following possible explanations for its occurrence may be considered:

1) *The Greek 1st person singular forms of the aorist subjunctive and future indicative are often identical.* This results from the fact that the *s*-aorist and future tenses often have identical stems.

<u>s-aorist 1st pers. sing.</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>1st pers. sing. aorist subjunctive</u>
ἔγραψα →	γραφ-	γράψω
<u>1st pers. sing. fut. ind.</u>	<u>Stem</u>	
γράψω →	γραφ-	

The 1st person singular termination for the subjunctive is indistinguishable from that of the 1st person singular present and future indicative. The determining factors in respect to tense, mood, and aspect are stem and inflection. Hence, the present tense can easily be distinguished from the aorist and future, just as the future can be distinguished from the aorist. However, where

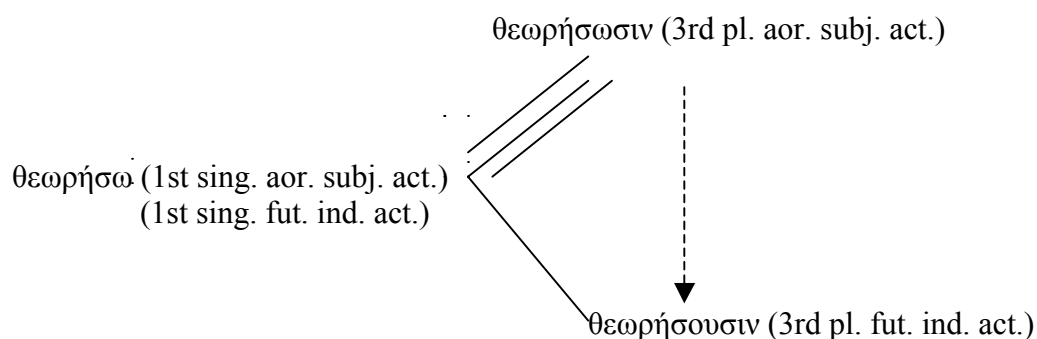
⁶ In the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland NT, the critical apparatus lists a number of manuscripts showing εἴπη, δῶσιν, and θεωρήσωσιν (□* gives θεωροῦσιν) for ἐρεῖ, δώσουσιν, and θεωρήσουσιν, respectively. The most reliable manuscripts (Sinaiticus and Vaticanus) contain the future tense in the above passages, i.e., *lectio difficilior potior*.

identical stems coalesce with identical inflections, confusion and uncertainty arise, leading the writers of the passages in question to assume that the future indicative is an optional form in purpose clauses. This process, therefore, was brought about through analogy.

θεωρήσω (1st pers. sing. aorist subj.): θεωρήσωσιν (3rd pers. pl. aorist subj.)

θεωρήσω (1st pers. sing. fut. ind.): θεωρήσουσιν (3rd pers. pl. fut. ind.)

One problem with this view is that it seemingly does not account for the paucity of the future indicative in final clauses. If analogy is occurring, we should expect more examples of the future indicative than actually exist. However, the fact that the future indicative occurs to any degree indicates that analogy has indeed occurred, as the following diagram shows:



We may consider the triple line between the 1st sing. aor. subj. act. (the expected form) a representation of the speaker's competence in the context of final clauses. The vertical broken line with the arrow represents an occasional *Entgleisung*, or slip, occasioned by the bivalence of θεωρήσω.

2) *Some confusion may have arisen concerning the function of the future*

indicative and that of the subjunctive. There can be little doubt that certain peculiar features of NT Greek syntax are a result of Semitic (namely, Aramaic) influence. Such features go beyond vocabulary, word order, or style, and also include a noticeable impact upon subordinate clause structure (Black 1998: 70-92). Hence, Semitic influence may be the cause for the appearance of the future tense in purpose clauses in NT Greek. Consider, for example, the use and connotations of the imperfect in Biblical Hebrew, the verbal system of which contains a well-defined dichotomy of aspect between imperfect (non-completed action) and perfect (completed action). The BH imperfect may denote both indicative and hypothetical (subjunctive) moods (Arnold 2003: 57). When it is used as an indicative, the imperfect often functions as a future:

□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□ ‘for a king will rule over us’ (1 Sam. 12:12). In addition, it is employed in *Gesetzessprache* as a negative imperative: □□□□ □□ ‘thou shalt not kill,’ i.e., ‘do not kill’ (Ex. 20:13); □□□□ □□ ‘thou shalt not commit adultery’ (Ex. 20:14). Purpose clauses in BH may also contain the imperfect (Waltke 1990: 638-640): □□□□ □□□□□□ □□ ‘and in order that it shall go well for thee’ (Deut. 5:16).

Furthermore, upon examination of the verbal syntax exhibited in the Greek NT, one perceives clear correspondences between the use of the Greek future and subjunctive, and that of the Hebrew imperfect. For example, the aorist subjunctive is often employed in negative imperative constructions: Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας ‘Do not think that I have come to destroy the Law or the Prophets’ (Mt. 5:17). Such a construction is typical Greek. The future indicative, however, is employed in *seemingly similar* constructions:⁷

⁷ The notable difference between these constructions is that the negative aorist subjunctive appears to be used for general negative imperatives, while the negative future indicative is employed specifically in negative commands.

οὐ φονεύσεις ‘You shall not commit murder’ (Mt. 5:21); οὐ μοιχεύσεις ‘You shall not commit adultery’ (Mt. 5:27). These futures are actually calques of the Hebrew imperfect. Lest one suppose, on the other hand, that negative imperatives involving the future indicative are merely verbatim quotes from the Septuagint (a number of which indeed are), one need only examine passages in the gospels that refer to a precept or concept found in the Septuagint (or Hebrew Bible), but are not directly quoted: Πάλιν ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις · οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὅρκους σου ‘Again, you have heard that it had been said to the ancient ones “You shall not swear falsely, but you shall perform your oaths to the Lord”’ (Mt. 5:33).

Although the above feature is not always a calque, one should realize, nevertheless, that this use of the future indicative to express a negative imperative is a special construction borrowed from Hebrew and has little to do with the functions of the future and subjunctive in Greek. However, consider the following example: ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ γένηται ‘For then there will be a great oppression, such as has not occurred from the beginning of the world until now, nor ever will occur’ (Mt. 24:21). The notable features of this passage are: 1) γένηται is in the aorist subjunctive; 2) this subjunctive is not part of any subordinate clause requiring the subjunctive mood, for there exists in the passage no introductory particle or conjunction, such as ἐάν, ἵνα, ὅτι/ὅταν, etc.; 3) no ἄν appears anywhere in the passage, seemingly ruling out a hypothetical modality.⁸ If one should

⁸ Although it may be argued that οἷα introduces a result clause, nevertheless, Greek—unlike Latin—does not employ the subjunctive mood in such clauses, but uses instead the indicative (for actual result) or the infinitive (for potential or natural result). Hence, the context of the passage above necessitates that the subjunctive be treated in this case semantically as a future.

postulate a future function for this subjunctive,⁹ then the aorist subjunctive and future indicative, as the above example shows, function in a similar way grammatically.

One explanation, then, for the presence of the future indicative in ἵνα purpose clauses is that the function of the future indicative in such clauses—and in negative imperatives—is analogous to the function of the BH imperfect in like constructions. This analogy incidentally caused the future indicative and the subjunctive to coincide in the NT. The question remains, however, as to why in such clauses the future indicative rarely occurs. If analogy to BH usage or morphological analogy is driving the use of the future indicative where one should expect the subjunctive, then the future indicative should occur with greater frequency. This problem, however, does not rule out analogy, as we have previously shown; rather, it brings into question the frequency of analogical occurrences.

3) *The presence of the future indicative in final clauses may show evidence of a slight semantic nuance contrasting with the meaning of the subjunctive.* In respect to finality, the future indicative may indicate a greater degree of certainty of outcome than that expressed by the subjunctive. Although such a function for the future indicative may be a possibility, it seems very unlikely given the fact that a number of purpose clauses with the subjunctive mood not only demonstrate potentiality in the clause, but also a certainty of result due to the aim of the action. For example, in the passage ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν ‘so that the writings of the prophets might be fulfilled’ (Mt. 26: 56), the writer perceives not only an intention of fulfillment, but also a certainty that the intended action did occur. On the other hand, consider the following example: τότε ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ ‘Then he released to them Barabbas, but having flogged Jesus, he handed [him] over

⁹ A comparison of the Greek Vorlage of Mt. 24:21 with Jerome’s Latin Vulgate further supports the notion that this subjunctive must be understood as having a future connotation, for the Latin exhibits *fiet* ‘it will happen.’ Obviously, Jerome understood γένηται as having future value, for otherwise one would expect *fiat* ‘it may happen.’

in order that he might be crucified' (Mt. 27:26). Here, the crucifixion is merely the intention, without a degree of certainty of its accomplishment explicitly stated (although Jesus was indeed crucified).

Clearly, on the other hand, rare occurrences or weak explanations for the presence of the future indicative in purpose clauses, regardless of whether those explanations be based upon analogy or semantic nuance, do not detract from the significance of the appearance of such clauses. The writers of those gospels where the future indicative occurs as described understood undoubtedly that the future indicative was a logical option in such cases.

Rather than being the result of stylistic choice, the presence of the future indicative is more likely the consequence of its own historical development in conjunction with that of the subjunctive mood. For instance, the simple future in Greek stems from the PIE desiderative *-(H₁)s- (Sihler 1995: 556). It is not unusual for desideratives to develop into futures.¹⁰ PIE possessed no simple future tense. The notion of the future was expressed through the subjunctive.¹¹ The subjunctive in PIE had two functions: prospective and voluntative (Meier-Brügger 2003: 257). The former function expressed actions occurring in future time; the latter, actions implying or specifying the will of the speaker. One immediately notices a significant degree of overlap in the development of the usage and semantics of the desiderative and subjunctive. In Hellenistic Greek, particularly that of the LXX and NT, both affirmative and negative commands may be expressed by the future indicative.¹² Therefore, there clearly developed in κοινή a significant overlap in the use of the imperative, subjunctive, and future

¹⁰ Cf. NE 'will,' which serves as the periphrastic auxiliary of the future. Note, however, that the NE noun 'will' still retains its desiderative value.

¹¹ Sihler (1995:556) maintains that the present tense expressed the notion of 'non-past' in a manner similar to what one observes in Germanic. Hence, he argues that the present tense, just as the non-indicative moods in PIE, was capable of functioning as a future.

¹² As we have stated, this is likely to be a Semiticism (Wenham 1970: 247).

indicative moods in negative imperative constructions,¹³ although a distinctive semantic nuance did exist according to the mood and tense, as the following examples demonstrate:

μὴ γράφε ‘do not write’ (on a continuous basis)¹⁴

μὴ γράψῃς ‘do not write’ (punctiliar)¹⁵

οὐ γράψῃς ‘you shall not write (ever)’¹⁶

It is evident that such an overlap also occurs with the use of the future indicative as an alternative to the subjunctive in purpose clauses. Such a merger of function shared between the future and subjunctive is not an unusual development in the history of Greek. For example, in late antiquity, the endings of the present indicative merged with those of the present subjunctive; likewise, the endings of the future indicative merged with those of the aorist subjunctive (Horrocks 1997: 246-247). This merger of endings led to confusion concerning the role of these verbal categories. In order to compensate for the destabilization of the future and its probable confusion with the functions of the aorist subjunctive, a new future arose in the early Byzantine period employing the verbs ἔχω or μέλλω with the infinitive (Horrocks 1997: 229). Such a periphrastic future was already beginning to be employed in the NT: μελλήσετε δὲ ἀκούειν πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων ‘But you will hear [of] wars and reports of wars’ (Mt. 24:6).¹⁷

That the presence of the future tense in purpose clauses is due to scribal error remains highly unlikely, for scribes would be more likely to change a future indicative to the more expected

¹³ In Classical as well as Hellenistic Greek, negative imperatives are expressed by either the present imperative or aorist subjunctive. Therefore, the use of the future indicative as a negative imperative likely indicates a marked usage.

¹⁴ The present imperative also has the force of demanding cessation of an action, as in ‘Stop writing!’

¹⁵ The aorist subjunctive employed as a negative imperative may also have the force of forbidding the commencement of an action, as in ‘Do not [begin to] write.’

¹⁶ By the time of early Modern Greek, the subjunctive mood had replaced the future indicative in negative imperative constructions found in the NT: μὴ φονεύσῃς (Mod. Greek) vs. οὐ φονεύσεις (κοινή) (Mt. 5:21). This is to be understood as a rooting out of the Semiticism in favor of a development more in line with the syntactic features of Greek itself.

¹⁷ Note that the verb μελλήσετε is in the future tense. The author evidently wanted to ensure that the reader and hearer perceived the action to be future. During the late Byzantine period, θέλω + the inf. or θέλω νά + the subjunctive became the standard future construction (Horrocks 1997).

form of the aorist subjunctive than to alter an aorist subjunctive to a future indicative. Hence, the presence of the future indicative in these clauses is intentional.

In addition to the subjunctive mood and rare occurrences of the future indicative, a third mood may exist in NT Greek purpose clauses: the optative. Three passages contain problematic verb forms which are clearly not future indicative and seemingly not subjunctive. Zerwick (1996) maintains that in every case these forms should be understood as variants of the subjunctive. This assumption is logical, given the fact that the subjunctive mood is so prevalent in final clauses. However, an examination of the passages in question shows that the forms of the verbs therein might not be subjunctive: καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώθ ὁ εἷς τῶν δώδεκα ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδοῖ αὐτοῖς ‘And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went away to the high priests in order that he might hand him over to them’ (Mk. 14:10); ἵνα γνοῖ τί διεπραγματεύσαντο ‘in order that he might know what they had gained by trading’ (Lk. 19:15); ἵνα παραδοῖ αὐτὸν Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου ‘in order that Judas, son of Simon Iscariot, might betray him’ (Jn. 13:2). The subjunctive forms in Classical Greek of the verbs cited in the given passages are παραδῶ, γνῶ, and παραδῶ, respectively. If the iotas are written not as subscripts but as full-sized symbols within the text, only vowel length differentiates the expected subjunctive from the attested forms.

παραδοῖ γνοῖ

παραδῶι γνωῖ

The question remains, however, whether a change in vowel length (in this case, from long to short vowel) is likely.¹⁸ If παραδοῖ is a variant of παραδῶ, then we should notice more

¹⁸ A change in vowel length, although it is rare, does occur in the Greek NT: δόη ἔλεος ὁ κύριος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ ‘May the Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus’ (2 Tim. 1:16). The verb δόη is in the aorist optative, the classical Greek form being δοίη. In the NT passage, we see a lengthening of the vowel o to ω with the iota

examples of this change, which we do not. If παραδοῖ and γνοῖ are not variants of παραδῶ and γνῶ, respectively, then we must inquire as to what these forms are and what their purpose is.

An examination of the form and syntax of παραδοῖ and γνοῖ seems to point to their being variants of the optative. The three cases cited (Mk. 14:10; Lk. 19:15; Jn. 13:2) contain verbs in the main clause in secondary sequence (ἀπῆλθεν, εἶπεν, βεβληκότος).¹⁹ In purpose clauses in Classical Greek, the optative mood is employed in secondary sequence, while the subjunctive mood is used in primary sequence. Hence, παραδοῖ and γνοῖ could syntactically function as optatives.

These given forms (παραδοῖ, γνοῖ), however, are not optative forms in Classical Greek. No such forms as παραδοῖ or γνοῖ exist, at least not in the standard Attic dialect. If these forms are variants of the optative, they must be those of the aorist optative, since these forms are clearly built on the aorist stem. However, the expected forms of the aorist optative in the 3rd person singular for παραδίδωμι and γνῶσκω/γινώσκω are παραδοίη and γνοίη, respectively.

A subjunctive form in -οῖ exists in the case of o-contract (denominative/factitive) verbs. Take for example the verb δηλόω ‘I make plain,’ whose 3rd sing. present subjunctive ends in -οῖ (δηλοῖ).²⁰ Παραδοῖ and γνοῖ were probably modeled on this form through identifying the sing. imperfect forms of δηλόω with those of δίδωμι:

1st ἐδήλουν: ἐδίδουν

2nd ἐδήλους: ἐδίδους

3rd ἐδήλου: ἐδίδου

subscript. Hence, change in vowel length is possible. The question remains whether a change from a long to a short vowel has occurred in the case of παραδοῖ and γνοῖ.

¹⁹ The presence of a non-finite verb is seemingly problematic. It should be noted, however, that the genitive absolute to which the perfect active participle βεβληκότος belongs acts as a clause to which the subsequent ἵνα clause is subordinated. The perfect tense in Classical Greek is not generally employed as a secondary tense, but in the above case it must be viewed as secondary since the context requires it to be so.

²⁰ Note that the present optative of δηλόω also ends in -οῖ (δηλοῖ).

3rd sing. subjunctive

δηλοῖ (present): x x= δοῖ²¹

Γνοῖ is patterned after δοῖ. It is evident, therefore, that these forms should be understood to be variants of the subjunctive rather than the optative.

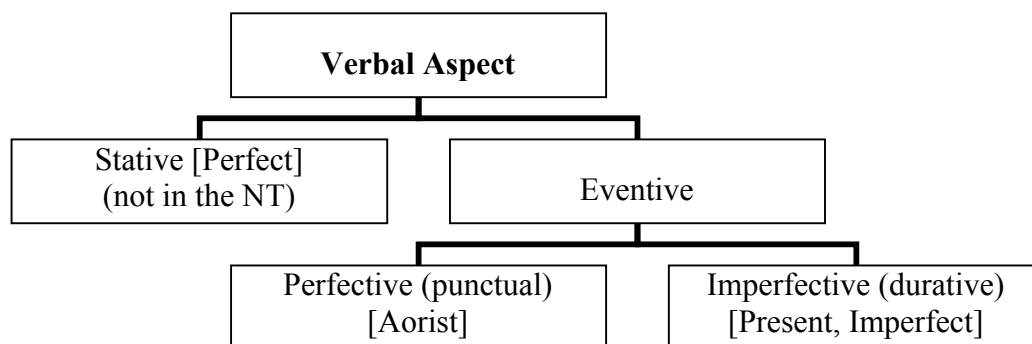
In conclusion, we can postulate two moods used in purpose clauses in the Greek NT: the future indicative, and the present and aorist subjunctive. Although the subjunctive predominates, the future indicative definitely occurs (though rarely), and the optative mood does not occur at all in such clauses.

2.1.1.3 Aspect in ἵνα purpose clauses

In PIE, there existed a dichotomy of functional categories for verbs. This dichotomy was composed of verbs classified as either stative (expressing a state or resultative status) or eventive (expressing occurrences, actions, etc.) (Sihler 1995). Certain verbs intrinsically denote a state (i.e., ‘know,’ being in a state or status of possessing knowledge); others show a status resulting from an action (i.e., ‘has died,’ being is a state of death, namely, ‘is dead,’ as a result of ‘dying’). This opposition of verbal functional categories is known as aspect. The stative aspect was expressed by means of the perfect tense, which, ironically, was not actually a tense. Verbs not classified as stative were grouped together as eventive, which itself had a dichotomy of punctual and durative aspects (also known as perfective and imperfective).

The Greek verbal system maintains, to a notable degree, the PIE aspectual system, the workings out of which are evident in the Greek of the New Testament. The Greek aspectual system may be diagrammatically set forth as follows:

²¹ The objection to this scenario is that the expected form should be διδοῖ. Codex Vaticanus, however, does show παραδίδοι (1 Cor. 15:24); cf. the Majority Text παραδιδῶ.



The present-aorist opposition is salient throughout the Greek NT, occurring in various types of clauses, including purpose clauses²². Since the subjunctive is by far the predominant mood employed in such clauses, nearly every instance of aspect, except for three occurrences of the future indicative, will be examined in light of the use of the subjunctive within these clauses.

The perfect occurs only three times in ἵνα final clauses in the Greek gospels. In every case, the verb employed is οἶδα:²³ ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ‘but that you may know that the son of man has authority on earth to forgive sins’ (Mt. 9:6).²⁴ The form εἰδῆτε is a perfect subjunctive. Zerwick (1996) relates that this form ought to be treated as a present. If by ‘present’ is meant ‘present tense,’ then this approach is a misconception of the function of Greek verbal categories, for in the moods other than the indicative (i.e., subjunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive), the present functions not as

²² The status of the future indicative in Greek relative to the opposition of perfective vs. imperfective remains to be clarified. Since PIE had no future tense, but rather employed various non-indicative moods to express the notion of future action, the status of the future is not problematic. In Greek, however, the matter is more complex, since the Greek future stems from the PIE desiderative, a derivational form and not a mood. Although the s-aorist active stem and future indicative active stem are identical (though the endings are not), it is inconclusive whether there exists an aspectual relationship between the Greek aorist and future. Nevertheless, the Greek future indicative perhaps should be classified as perfective. One should note that the future tense is not durative by nature, nor does perfective aspect necessarily emphasize completed action. Cf. the perfective present in Slavic, which denotes a future action. In spite of these facts, the classification of the future remains problematic, for the future tense may denote a durative action: cf. Eng. ‘What will you be doing tomorrow?’ ‘I will be reading this book;’ also, the BH imperfect has durative connotations.

²³ Οἶδα is a special case in Greek. It is the only verb in the language that maintains its stative function in the perfect tense form. Hence, οἶδα always signifies a present tense function (cf. Latin *cognōvī* ‘I know,’ which is perfect in form, but present in meaning). The perfect in NT Greek has frequently taken on the function and meaning of the aorist indicative.

²⁴ This is one example among many where the synoptic gospels relate the same or similar story using similar wording. In this case, Mk. 2:10 and Lk. 5:24 use the exact words of Mt. 9:6 with a slight difference in word order.

a tense but as an indicator of aspect. However, although it is more accurate to recognize εἰδῆτε as a perfect subjunctive, it is best to treat it functionally as a present within the context of the New Testament Greek verbal system.

The present subjunctive, indicating the durative or imperfective aspect, occurs 43 times in the NT gospels in ἵνα purpose clauses, mostly in John. Nowhere does it occur in Matthew.

Table 2.3 Frequency of the present subjunctive in ἵνα purpose clauses

Total # of clauses with pres. subj.	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
44	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
	0	0	6	13	4	9	34	78

The challenging question is whether one should view these present subjunctives as true indications of imperfective/durative aspect, or whether one should dismiss them as stylistic variants containing no significant difference in aspectual function from that of the aorist (punctual/perfective). Wallace (1996: 513-539) discusses the ranges and functions of the present tense, but mainly within the context of the indicative mood²⁵. An examination of the present subjunctive in purpose clauses shows a range of aspectual functions similar to those found with the present indicative.

Wallace categorizes the various functions of the present tense as follows:

I. *Particularized Presents (Narrow-Band Presents)* (Wallace 1996: 516-519). These presents denote action that occurs or is in progress. They are designated under two types:

A. *Progressive Present (Descriptive Present)* (Fanning 1990: 199-201; Wallace 1996: 518-519). The use of this present signifies ongoing/continuous action to

²⁵ Fanning (1990: 198-240) gives a fuller treatment of the ‘aspects in the indicative mood.’ In addition, his work on verbal aspect fills in the gap left undiscussed in Wallace’s text in that it treats the various aspectual uses of the non-indicative forms of the verb (1990: 389-419).

indicate vividness in a narrative, or expresses action that simultaneously occurs with another event. Hence, the force of the progressive present is that of representing uninterrupted action.

B. *Instantaneous Present (Aoristic or Punctiliar Present)* (Fanning 1990: 202-205; Wallace 1996: 517-518). This use denotes an action that is completed at the moment of speaking and connotes neither a continuous nor ongoing nuance.

Fanning classifies this present under two types: 1) performative present, whose action is completed simultaneously with the act of speaking and is often identified with it; 2) the present used to describe acts of *speaking* narrowly focused on the present moment.²⁶

II. *Generalized Presents (Broad-Band Presents)* (Wallace 1996: 519-525). This category of presents indicates events or occurrences which happen over a broad or extended period of time, but are still considered to be within the temporal frame of present activity.

A. *Iterative Present* (Fanning 1990: 205-208; Wallace 1996: 520-521). This use of the present emphasizes repeatedly occurring events.

B. *Customary (Habitual or General) Present*²⁷ (Wallace 1996: 521-522). This present indicates action that occurs regularly or is in an ongoing state (i.e., uninterrupted. See Fanning 1990 206, n. 12). The use of this present differs from that of the iterative in that the intervals of the customary present are more regular and longer in duration. In addition, the customary present denotes a time frame that is broader in its notion of 'present' than that of the iterative.

²⁶ Although Wallace (1996) acknowledges Fanning's two-fold classification of the instantaneous present, he apparently does not see Fanning's distinction of these types as necessary or useful.

²⁷ Fanning classifies the iterative and customary presents as one type. Wallace, on the other hand, maintains these two presents as distinct, though closely related, classifications.

C. *Gnomic Present* (Fanning 1990: 208-217; Wallace 1996: 523-525). This present indicates actions that proverbially occur. The actions described may be perceived as true *all* the time or as true *any* time.²⁸

D. *Extending-from-Past Present (Present of Past Action Still in Progress)* (Fanning 1990: 217-219; Wallace 1996: 519-520). This use of the present denotes an action that begins in past time and extends into the present. The difference in connotation between this use of the present and the true present perfect tense is that the former emphasizes that the action not only extends into the present but also is perceived to be continuous within present time, while the latter emphasizes the result of the action in present time. Consider the following example of an extending-from-past present: τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι ‘I have been serving you for so many years’ (Lk. 15:29).²⁹ The context of the passage clearly demonstrates that the act of ‘serving’ begins in the past (I have done) and extends into the present (I still am doing).

Wallace classifies the remaining types of present under the heading ‘Special Uses.’ Clearly, a number of these presents share features common enough to be classified under more specific headings.

III. *Non-current Presents (Vivid Presents)*. These presents signify actions that do not occur in present time, but occur in present form to emphasize vividness.

A. *Historical Present (Dramatic Present)* (Fanning 1990: 226-239; Wallace 1996: 526-532). This type of present is employed to relate a narrative in past time.

²⁸ A truth designated as occurring all the time would be ‘Fire burns’; one that occurs any time, ‘No one jumps out of an airplane at high altitude without a parachute.’

²⁹ N.B. English often employs a progressive present perfect to denote such an action, as indicated in our translation; such a construction is evidence that aspect exists in English, but must often be signified through periphrasis in contrast to simplex constructions.

The purpose of such a use is to underscore a particular characteristic of the narrative or to indicate some element of vividness in relation to the past event.

B. *Futuristic Present* (Fanning 1990: 223-224; Wallace 1996: 536). This present is used to describe a future act as if it were already present.

C. *Tendential (Voluntative) Present* (Fanning 1990: 219-221; Wallace 1996: 535). This present is employed to designate *intended* actions *desired* in the present without reference to their actual fulfillment in the future. The actions in such a present frequently do not reach their intended conclusion.

IV. *Future-extension Presents*. These presents denote actions occurring in the present, but extending into the future.

A. *Conative Present* (Fanning 1990: 219-221; Wallace 1996: 534). This present denotes an action being attempted in present time, but with the emphasis upon its non-likely fulfillment.

B. *Ingressive Present* (Fanning 1990: 221-223; Wallace 1996: 537). This present indicates the present-time commencement of an activity, but a future-time fulfillment.

V. *Present Retained in Indirect Discourse* (Wallace 1996: 537-539).³⁰ This present often occurs in indirect discourse in Greek, where in English one would expect a past tense. Unlike English, Greek does not adhere to a sequence of tenses rule in indirect discourse. For example, if the main clause contains a past tense, English requires a past tense in the subordinate clause in indirect discourse: *He heard that he was in a house.*

Greek, however, does not require such a sequence, but frequently maintains the tense of

³⁰ Wallace admits that this is not a syntactic but a translational category. But since he has listed this category of present as one of its viable and common uses, it is pertinent to discuss briefly this usage.

the verb in the original direct statement: ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν ‘It was heard that he
was in a house’ (Mk. 2:1).³¹

VI. *Perfective Present* (Fanning 1990: 239-240; Wallace 1996: 532-533). This present stresses that a past action’s results are still occurring in present time. Hence, the emphasis is upon the results of the activity, not upon the activity itself. Verbs that belong to this present type are either lexically or contextually driven.³²

Of the narrow-band presents, both the progressive and instantaneous presents are possible in the subjunctive mood (Wallace 1996: 518). Of the broad-band presents, the iterative and customary presents seem most likely to occur in purpose clauses. Other presents classified as ‘special uses’ (i.e., tendential, conative, and ingressive presents), seem possible as well in the subjunctive mood. Hence, the following types of presents appear in purpose clauses: 1) progressive present; 2) instantaneous present; 3) iterative present; 4) customary present; 5) tendential present; 6) conative present; 7) ingressive present.

Regarding the question of whether or not the present subjunctive should be viewed as durative in function, there exists one verb that is unequivocally durative since it has no perfective forms: εἰμί ‘I am.’ No examples of this verb in the present subjunctive appear in purpose clauses in either Matthew or Luke. One example can be found in Mark: ἵνα ὦσιν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ‘that they might be with him’ (3:14). Although the remaining 9 occurrences of the present subjunctive of εἰμί are found in John, all of these appear only at the latter end of the gospel and within pericopes covering chapters 14-17. This arrangement is significant because it demonstrates that the use of this verb in this specific syntactic construction is not widespread in

³¹ Note that ἐστίν is in the present tense, even though ἠκούσθη is in the aorist.

³² Wallace gives as an example of a lexically driven verb, ἦκω ‘I have come’; of a contextually driven one, λέγει ‘says,’ when introducing an OT quotation. ‘Its usual force seems to be that although the statement was spoken in the past, it still speaks today and is binding on the hearers’ (Wallace 1996: 532).

the Greek gospels. Some examples of the use of εἰμί in John's gospel are: ἵνα ὅπου εἰμί ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς ᾗτε 'so that where I am even you may be' (14:3); ἵνα μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ᾗ 'so that he may be with you forever' (14:16). All the examples of εἰμί in purpose clauses show primary sequence, save one occurrence in Mk. 3:14, which exhibits secondary sequence dependent upon the verb ἐποίησεν 'appointed.'

The remaining verbs, which have attested forms in both the present and aorist subjunctive, on the other hand, seem to exhibit aspect according to the context of the passage (which is a compelling factor) in each case. Consider the following examples:

a) Οὐδεὶς δὲ λύχνον ἄψας καλύπτει αὐτὸν σκεύει ἢ ὑποκάτω κλίνης τίθησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ λυχνίας τίθησιν, ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι βλέπωσιν τὸ φῶς 'but no one, having lit a lamp, hides it by means of a vessel, or places [it] under a bed, but places [it] on a lamp stand, so that those entering may see the light' (Lk. 8:16). In the above passage, the verb βλέπωσιν probably signifies progressive/continuous Aktionsart. The meaning here clearly indicates an expectation of continuous perception upon entrance. An iterative or habitual/customary interpretation seems unlikely, if not illogical. The context cannot describe a repetitive (i.e., through a series of cessations and inceptions) perception of the light upon entering the room, nor can it be conceived as customary or habitual. Thus, the context limits the meaning to a progressive/continuous sense.

Two other possible aspectual nuances (Aktionsarten), however, exist in the context of this passage. One type, which may be designated as a simultaneous usage, indicates an action that occurs simultaneously with another event. For example, with regard to the verb βλέπωσιν in the passage above, the act of seeing the light occurs at the same time as that of entering the room. The other type of nuance, possibly termed a 'proviso,' or provisional usage, emphasizes the

provision of an action. In the case as described above, the act of seeing occurs provided there is a light neither hidden nor placed under a bed.

b) καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα [οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν] ἵνα ᾧσιν μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν ‘And he appointed twelve whom he named also apostles, that they might be with him and that he might send them to preach’ (Mk. 3:14). Contextually understood, the above passage denotes an iterative function, it being illogical to understand the verb ἀποστέλλῃ to be in a progressive/continuous state, though a customary/habitual/general nuance is also a possibility. To perceive ἀποστέλλῃ employed here as punctiliar/perfective is erroneous, not only because of the form (present subjunctive), but also because of the context, for it is highly unlikely, though possible, that the author meant to convey that Jesus sent his disciples out to preach but once.

c) ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς; ‘or who gave you this authority, in order that you might do these things?’ (Mk. 11:28). The verb ποιῇς seems most likely to connote a habitual/customary aspect of action, for the context suggests activity that has regularly been occurring or is still going on. It is doubtful that the passage signifies a progressive/continuous meaning, for the context apparently does not treat an activity denoting progress or continuance in the immediate present. An iterative connotation emphasizing repetitive action is possible, if not probable, in this case, thus demonstrating overlap of various aspectual nuances within a particular verbal category.

Table 2.4 Aktionsart of the present subjunctive in *īva* purpose clauses³³

Nuance Type	No. of occurrences in the gospels³⁴		
	Mark	Luke	John
Progressive	2	2	5
Iterative	1	1	2
Customary	2	1	16

Below are given the verses pertinent to Table 2.4.

Progressive/Continuous

Mark 6:41; 8:6

Luke 8:16; 11:33

John 4:36; 5:20; 8:6; 16:14; 17:24

Iterative

Mark 3:14

Luke 18:15

John 15:2; 15:16

Customary/Habitual

Mark 4:12; 11:28

Luke 22:30

John 3:15; 3:16; 5:23; 5:40; 6:28; 6:38; 9:39; 10:10; 10:38; 12:46; 13:15; 16:33; 17:13; 17:21;

17:23; 20:31³⁵

Since the vast majority of instances of the present subjunctive in purpose clauses seem to convey the notion of customary/habitual Aktionsart, and since there exists considerable

³³ Because of overlap of function and meaning of aspectual nuances (Aktionsart) of the present subjunctive employed in such clauses, an accurate assessment of the nuance type used is at best a matter of conjecture and contingent upon factors of context and intent of the author. Hence, the numbers recorded in Table 2.4 are based upon my understanding and interpretation of the texts in question.

³⁴ The gospel of Matthew is not listed since there exist no occurrences of the present subjunctive in *īva* purpose clauses in this gospel.

³⁵ This text is the subject of much debate on its verbal Aktionsart.

imbrication of these aspectual nuances, it is safe to state, apart from the few notable exceptions, that the present subjunctive in purpose clauses signifies some degree of continuous/habitual action.

Occurring 119 times in ἵνα purpose clauses, the aorist subjunctive denotes punctiliar/perfective aspect. Fanning (1990) and Wallace (1996) discuss several uses of the aorist, mostly in the context of the indicative mood. However, these specific uses may be employed in other moods, according to the situation. Fanning (1990: 255-282) and Wallace (1996: 557-565) describe the specific uses of the aorist as follows:

I. *Constative (Complexive, Punctiliar, Comprehensive, Global) Aorist*. This aorist indicates the occurrences of an action without specific reference to its inception or termination. According to Wallace (1996), this is the most widespread use of the aorist in the indicative.

II. *Ingressive (Inceptive, Inchoative) Aorist*. This aorist signifies the beginning of an action by normally employing two specific kinds of verbs: 1) stative verbs and 2) verbs denoting activities perceived as new elements in the discourse (1996: 558).

III. *Consummative (Culminative, Ecbative, Effective) Aorist*. This aorist denotes the termination of an act. The semantics of certain lexemes logically require such an interpretation of this aspectual nuance. Wallace gives as an example ἀπέθανεν ‘he died.’ Such an aorist cannot be understood to be inceptive, and, although the action is complete, as with the perfect tense, Wallace maintains that the perfect tense frequently denotes completed action with present results. The consummative aorist, on the other hand, indicates cessation of an action in progress without reference to the present state thereof.

In addition, the consummative aorist seems to have in certain contexts a resultative function.

IV. *Gnomic Aorist*. This aorist signifies an event that generally occurs rather than one that did occur. Whether or not the true gnomic aorist occurs in the NT gospels in Greek is a matter of debate (Moule 1984: 12-13).

V. *Epistolary Aorist*. This aorist is found only in epistles and employed from the time frame of the reader. That being the case, no occurrences of this aorist are to be expected in the gospels.

VI. *Proleptic (Futuristic) Aorist*. This aorist is employed as though a future act has already occurred in past time. The use of this aorist is not common.

VII. *Immediate Past/Dramatic Aorist*. This aorist is employed for signifying events that have recently occurred. Adverbs, such as ἄρτι, νῦν, and καθώς, used in conjunction with an aorist, may indicate this Aktionsart.

The question remains as to which of the above specific uses of the aorist one may expect to encounter within subordinate clauses employing the subjunctive mood in the Greek gospels. Certain specific uses, by their nature, do not seem logical possibilities for use in ἵνα purpose clauses, namely, the gnomic, epistolary, proleptic, and dramatic aorists. The remaining aorists (constative, ingressive, and consummative) are all possible and likely, especially the constative and consummative.

Table 2.5 Frequency of the aorist subjunctive in ἵνα purpose clauses

Total # of clauses with the aorist subjunctive	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
125	15	12	27	21.6	18	14.4	65	52

In regard to Aktionsart, one could make the case that all aorists in purpose clauses are by nature consummative. For example, consider the following: τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος ‘All this occurred, in order that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled, saying’ (Mt. 1:22). The event described not only occurred with a goal in mind (purpose), but also with an intended result, for the prophecy, according to the author of the passage, culminated in actual fulfillment.

In contrast, however, the following example demonstrates a marked difference in Aktionsart: ἀπόλυσον τοὺς ὄχλους ἵνα ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀγοράσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς βρώματα ‘Dismiss the crowds, in order that, having gone away into the villages, they may buy food for themselves’ (Mt. 14:15). This use of the aorist cannot be consummative, for the context of the passage clearly indicates that the crowds did not enter the villages to buy food. Hence, the aorist in the above citation probably represents a constative (punctiliar) usage, indicating a summary of the purpose. The verb ἀγοράσωσιν here signifies an act that is clearly non-repetitive, indicated both by its form and its context. It is evident, therefore, that not all occurrences of the aorist subjunctive in purpose clauses are to be construed as consummative.

In addition to indicating the constative, some aorists seem to indicate an ingressive (inceptive) nuance: διδάσκαλε, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω ἵνα σχῶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον; ‘Teacher, what good [thing] shall I do, in order that I may have eternal life?’ (Mt. 19:16). According to Wallace, the use of the aorist with a verb like ἔχω is not a suitable option since its natural state is immutable (1996: 556). Occurrences of the aorist of such verbs, therefore, are to be viewed as ingressive (or, inceptive/inchoative), indicating the ‘entrance into the state’ (1996: 556). In light of Wallace’s proposal, we may translate ἵνα σχῶ along the lines of ‘that I may come to possess,’ or ‘that I may begin to have,’ or ‘that I may become the possessor of.’ Such a use of the aorist

subjunctive is in contrast with that of the present subjunctive, in which the same verb ἔχω may be employed in like situation, but with different results: ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον ‘in order that everyone believing in him may have eternal life’ (Jn. 3:15). The present subjunctive here most likely indicates a continuous/habitual nuance. The verb ἔχη does not appear to underscore entrance or commencement into a state, but rather existence within the state itself. The sense is obviously one of constant possession, rather than the onset thereof. Hence, the contrast between the present and aorist subjunctive in this case is sharply contextual *and* aspectual.

It is possible, on the other hand, that this dichotomy of forms (present vs. aorist subjunctive) poses no real substantive difference in meaning, but merely represents stylistic variation on the part of the different writers of the gospels. Evidence to the contrary, however, is supported by the presence within the same purpose clause of the same lexical item demonstrating two aspects: perfective and imperfective. Consider the following: εἰ δὲ ποιῶ, κἀν ἐμοὶ μὴ πιστεύητε, τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύετε, ἵνα γνῶτε³⁶ καὶ γινώσκητε³⁷ ‘But if I do [them, i.e., the works of the father], although you may not believe me, believe the works, in order that you may know and [continue to] know’ (Jn. 10:38). The occurrence of the verb γινώσκω in both the aorist and present subjunctive, respectively, indicates that the variation in use of the aorist and present subjunctive is clearly not a matter of style, but rather one of aspect and Aktionsart. The force of the aorist subjunctive in this passage is that of entrance into the state qualified by the lexeme, what Wallace defines as the ‘ingressive’ or ‘inceptive/habitual’ aorist. In this case, γνῶτε emphasizes the commencement of knowing, ‘come to know, begin to know,’ hence, ‘recognize.’

³⁶ Perfective, aorist subjunctive. γνῶτε here is frequently translated as ‘recognize.’

³⁷ Imperfective, present subjunctive. The verb γινώσκητε denotes a habitual act, as in ‘keep knowing,’ or ‘ever know.’

Table 2.6 Aktionsart of the aorist subjunctive in *īva* purpose clauses

Nuance Type ³⁸	No. of occurrences in the gospels			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Constative	3	11	10	25
Ingressive	1	1	0	3
Consummative	11	15	8	37

The verses in question are interpreted as follows:

Constative

Matthew: 12:10; 14:15; 19:13

Mark: 3:2; 4:21 (2); 6:36; 9:22; 11:25; 12:2; 12:13; 14:35; 15:32; 16:1

Luke: 6:7; 6:34; 9:12; 11:54; 12:36; 15:29; 16:24; 20:14; 20:20; 21:36

John: 1:7; 1:22; 3:17 (2); 4:8; 5:7; 5:34; 5:36; 6:5; 6:7; 6:15; 6:30; 7:32; 8:59; 9:36; 10:31;

11:42; 12:36; 12:47 (2); 13:19; 14:29; 14:31; 18:38; 20:31

Ingressive

Matthew: 19:16

Mark: 10:17

John: 10:38; 19:4; 19:35

³⁸ Fanning (1990) and Wallace (1996) treat exhaustively only the various indicative uses of the aorist. In regard to the other moods, the aorist is dealt with in a general manner. Therefore, in reference to the nuance types of the aorist as employed in purpose clauses, I define those specific uses as follows:

- 1) *constative*: emphasizes a summary connotation without reference to the nature of the occurrence. In final clauses, this use summarizes the purpose of an occurrence without necessarily indicating or suggesting the actual result of that occurrence.
- 2) *ingressive*: indicates the entrance into a state. This use in the subjunctive is similar if not identical to that of the indicative.
- 3) *consummative*: stresses the completion of an action. In purpose clauses, this use has the connotation of an action that reaches culmination due to the purpose or intention. In other words, there exists not only the purpose of an action, but also an implication of its actual result.

Consummative

Matthew: 1:22; 2:15; 4:14; 12:17; 18:16; 21:4; 23:26; 26:4; 26:16; 26:56; 27:26

Mark: 1:38; 3:10; 4:22 (2); 5:12; 5:23; 7:9; 10:13; 10:37; 12:15; 14:10; 14:12; 14:49; 15:15;
15:20

Luke: 1:4; 11:50; 14:23; 16:4; 16:9; 19:4; 19:15; 22:8

John: 1:7; 1:8; 1:19; 1:31; 3:16; 3:21; 9:3; 10:10; 10:17; 11:4; 11:11; 11:15; 11:16; 11:19;
11:31; 11:52; 11:55; 12:7; 12:9; 12:20; 12:23; 12:38; 13:2; 13:18; 14:13; 15:16; 15:25;
17:1; 17:2; 17:12; 18:9; 18:32; 18:37; 19:16; 19:24; 19:28; 19:36

2.1.2 Clauses with ὅπως

Affirmative purpose clauses introduced by the conjunction ὅπως occur almost exclusively in the gospel of Matthew.³⁹ The evidence within the text indicates no substantial difference in syntax or semantics between these clauses and those introduced by ἵνα: ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος ‘so that what was spoken through Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, saying’ (Mt. 8:17).⁴⁰ Stylistic variation best accounts for the use of this conjunction, though its presence is uncommon. A notable difference between the usage of ὅπως and ἵνα is that the former expresses no discernable ecbatic function. This observation seems, at first, contradictory, for the above passage (Mt. 8:17) apparently contains a culminative or ecbatic aorist. But it must be noted, however, that in purpose clauses the aspect of the verb (whether its form be present or aorist) determines the nature of its Aktionsart, not the form of the conjunction. The most notable distinction in hypotactic usage between ὅπως and ἵνα is that the former never heads a result clause, but the latter may. The conjunction ὅπως in purpose clauses may be found in the following verses:

³⁹ A single occurrence of this sort appears in Luke.

⁴⁰ Cf. Mt. 1:22.

Matthew (2:8; 2:23; 5:16; 5:45; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16; 8:17; 13:35; 23:35)

Luke (16:28)

Several of the clauses containing ὅπως in Matthew appear almost formulaic, employing similar if not identical lexemes, as well as similar word order and the same aspectual verb forms.

Table 2.7 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by ὅπως

Total # of ὅπως clauses	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
12	11	92	0	0	1	8	0	0

2.1.2.1 Word order in ὅπως final clauses

The ὅπως clauses in the gospels are exclusively verb-initial with no overt subject:⁴¹ ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ‘so that you may become sons of your father, the one in [the] heavens’ (Mt. 5:45). In addition, the majority of the occurrences of ὅπως found in Matthew contain only intransitive verbs. In Mt. 2:8, the verb προσκυνήσω ‘I may worship’ may be considered to be intransitive since the object is in the dative case. The same, however, cannot be said for Mt. 5:16, where the verbs ἴδωσιν and δοξάσωσιν govern overt nominal objects, τὰ καλὰ ἔργα and τὸν πατέρα respectively. In the sole appearance of ὅπως in Luke, the verb also may be considered as intransitive, if one reckons grammatical (not semantic) transitivity to govern accusative objects only: ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς ‘so that he may solemnly urge (or, warn) them’ (Lk. 16:28). The verb διαμαρτύρηται governs no overt accusative object, the actual object being a noun clause in indirect command. The pronoun αὐτοῖς, hence, is the indirect object, as the dative case here indicates.

⁴¹ It is debatable whether the pronominal construction ἐγώ in Mt. 2:8 should be considered an overt subject or merely an emphatic maker.

On the other hand, grammatical transitivity can be shown not to depend upon the accusative case alone, for a number of verbs clearly demonstrate transitivity both with accusative noun objects, and with noun clauses and infinitives. For example, compare the following uses of θεωρέω ‘I observe, catch sight of.’⁴²

a) καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρουν, προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ καὶ ἔκραζον λέγοντες ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ‘And the unclean spirits, whenever they would catch sight of him, would fall down before him and cry out, saying, “You are the Son of G-d”’ (Mk. 3:11).

b) λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή · κύριε, θεωρῶ ὅτι προφήτης εἶ σύ ‘The woman says to him, “Sir,⁴³ I observe that you are a prophet”’ (Jn. 4:19).

In a), ἐθεώρουν governs an accusative object, αὐτὸν; in b), θεωρῶ governs no accusative.

Instead, the object of the verb is a clause. In light of this evidence, we may safely conclude that the verbs προσκυνήσω and διαμαρτύρηται as found in Mt. 2:8 and Lk. 16:28 respectively are transitive.

Establishing the presence of transitivity is crucial in the study of word order, for the lack thereof within a clause precludes either VO or OV word order. Since nearly all the verbs in ὅπως clauses in Matthew are intransitive, the combination of verb and direct object in such clauses in this gospel is impossible. Conversely, if the verb διαμαρτύρηται found in Luke’s gospel is transitive (and I attest that it is), then the presence of transitivity necessitates VO word order in this passage.

Under half the ὅπως clauses in Matthew (45%) exhibit VS word order: ὅπως ἦ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ‘so that your alms may be in secret’ (Mt. 6:4). Of this word-order type, 60% employ the same lexeme: πληρωθῇ.

⁴² Θεωρέω has connotations of mental as well as physical perception (Bauer 2000).

⁴³ In addition to the meaning ‘Lord,’ κύριος also has the connotation of a general term of respect; cf. NE ‘sir’ (Bauer 2000).

Of the remaining clauses in Matthew, 5 contain verb-initial word order, but no overt nominal subject; one contains an overt nominal subject in the form of the pronominal phrase *ἐγώ*. Therefore, it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether the word order in the clauses without an overt subject is to be understood as VS or SV: *ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* ‘in order that they may be glorified by men’ (Mt. 6:2). Whenever a *ὅπως* clause occurs in Matthew with an overt nominal subject, the clause mostly shows VS word order. On that basis, we may assume that clauses without overt nominal subjects should be understood to display VS word order as well (provided that there are no overt objects).

In the one passage in Luke’s gospel containing a *ὅπως* clause, no overt nominal subject appears. On this basis we might assume a VS word order. Having determined that the verb in this passage is transitive, we may conclude, furthermore, that the word order of this clause is VSO.

2.1.2.2 Mood in *ὅπως* final clauses

Unlike the situation with *ἵνα* clauses, where we find occurrences of two moods (indicative and subjunctive), only the subjunctive appears in purpose clauses introduced by *ὅπως*: *ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες* ‘for they disfigure their faces, in order that they may appear to men [as though] fasting’ (Mt. 6:16). Since the occurrences of the future indicative are rare in purpose clauses in NT Greek, their absence in *ὅπως* clauses carries little, if any, significance.

2.1.2.3 Aspect in *ὅπως* final clauses

Final clauses introduced by *ὅπως*, like those with *ἵνα*, show a dichotomy of aspect, the majority of cases being in the aorist subjunctive (83%). The present subjunctive occurs in one clause in Matthew (6:4) and the sole clause in Luke (16:28). As has been stated earlier, it is not

always clear how to assess and determine the specific uses of the present subjunctive in non-indicative clauses. It is probable that in Mt. 6:4 the present subjunctive signifies a descriptive or punctiliar use; the usage found in Luke seems likely to stress either a progressive or iterative notion.

In final clauses with the aorist subjunctive, the lexical items often indicate the value signaled by the mood. For example, Mt. 5:45 contains the verb γένησθε ‘you may become.’ The very nature of the verb γίγνομαι is ingressive. Hence, we may safely conclude that this passage denotes an inchoative/inceptive function. Consider another example: ὅπως ἐλθῇ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυννόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ‘in order that all the righteous blood poured out upon the earth may come upon you’ (Mt. 23:35). The use of the aorist in the verb ἐλθῇ seems to stress a culminative or effective Aktionsart. The notion of ‘come’ is not logically ingressive. Although the use in this clause might be interpreted as constative, Wallace (1996: 558) might challenge such a view based upon his position that it is often difficult to distinguish the constative use from that of the ingressive.

Table 2.8 Frequency of the subjunctive mood in ὅπως final clauses

Aspect of the verb	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John ⁴⁴	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Present	1	9	0	0	1	100	0	0
Aorist	10	91	0	0	0	0	0	0

⁴⁴ The conjunction ὅπως occurs in Jn. 11:57 as heading a possible purpose clause: δεδώκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐντολὰς ἵνα ἐὰν τις γινῶ ποῦ ἐστὶν μηνύσῃ, ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν ‘But the chief priests and Pharisees had given commandments that, if anyone should know where he was, he might make it known how they might arrest him.’ Zerwick (1996: 323) states that ὅπως here means ‘how.’ Of the standard NT Greek grammars, only Robertson (1914: 986) views this conjunction as possibly introducing a purpose clause.

2.1.3 Final clauses with ὅπως ἄν

Final clauses with ὅπως ἄν are found only once in the entire Greek corpus of the gospels: ὅπως ἄν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί ‘in order that thoughts may be revealed out of many hearts’ (Lk. 2:35). Final clauses containing ὅπως ἄν are rare in Greek, occurring nowhere in Homer and appearing first in Aeschylus (Goodwin 1889: 116; Robertson 1914: 985). When it is employed in prose, ὅπως ἄν often occurs in official or legal language (Smyth 1984: 495). The issue at hand is the force that ἄν has within a purpose clause. This adverbial particle may have added a conditional element to the purpose clause (Burton 1898: 85; Goodwin 1889: 116). The fact that final clauses introduced by ὅπως ἄν occur only in Luke’s writings is significant,⁴⁵ especially in light of the tradition that maintains Luke to have been the only Gentile writer of a NT book. An appraisal of Luke’s Greek style compared to that of the other gospel writers reveals a much greater level of sophistication and polished diction, evidence leading one to conclude that the writer of Luke-Acts was most likely an educated native speaker of Greek. Again, tradition seems to verify this estimation by claiming that Luke was a physician. If Luke were an educated Greek, one might assume that he was acquainted with the legal and official language of his day. Such a conclusion would explain the presence of ὅπως ἄν within purpose clauses, but still leaves unanswered the function of this collocation in such clauses or the function of the clauses themselves.

⁴⁵ The other occurrences of ὅπως ἄν are in Acts: ὅπως ἄν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ‘so that the times of recreation may come from the face of the Lord and he may send to you the one appointed, Messiah Jesus’ (3:20); ὅπως ἄν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον... ‘so that the remaining ones of men may seek out the Lord...’ (15:17). Cf. Amos 9:12 (LXX), where no ἄν appears.

There is one occurrence of ὅπως ἄν outside the writings of Luke: ὅπως ἄν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε ‘so that you may be justified in your words and you will conquer when you are judged’ (Rm. 3:4). Since this passage is a near exact quote from Ps. 50:6 (LXX), it rightly should not be considered as indicative of the syntax employed by the apostle Paul. Hence, only Luke’s writings are to be taken seriously as employing this clausal type.

If, therefore, one assumes that ὅπως ἂν denotes some conditional element, then it may be concluded that within such clauses lies an added degree of uncertainty of the fulfillment of purpose. Such a syntactic function would be the opposite of what occurs in final clauses containing the future indicative, which seem to indicate a greater degree of certainty. Hence, Lk. 2:35 indicates that the ‘revealing of thoughts’ must be predicated upon some other action left unspecified in the text.

However, the presence of a conditional meaning within the purpose clause may not be the only viable explanation for ὅπως ἂν. The ἂν may indicate a potentiality, similar to what one finds in a potential optative. Since the subjunctive mood in the Greek NT has taken on the functions once held by the optative as employed in Classical Greek, the notion of potentiality with the optative must have been employed in the Greek NT by the subjunctive as well. Hence, one may interpret the verb ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν (Lk. 2:35) as connoting some potential action, ‘they might [possibly] be revealed.’ This understanding of the passage overlaps to a degree that of the conditional function. One may translate ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν by employing both notions conjointly, as in ‘they might, if it were possible, be revealed.’

Such an explanation, on the other hand, seems to stretch the intended sense of the clause. That there is one case of ὅπως ἂν in the four canonical gospels, and three in the entire Lucan corpus should bring into question why such appearances of this conjunction are so rare, if one accepts the explanation of its function as signifying a conditional or potential value. However, the lack of frequency invalidates no cause for presence of any forms or functions within a corpus. The rare occurrences of the optative mood in the Greek gospels do not nullify the fact that they are optatives. The same may be said concerning the function of ἂν in ὅπως clauses.

Although the few clauses with ὅπως ἔν present a syntactic problem, nevertheless, the solution may lie outside the realm of grammatical analysis. An examination of the passages found in Luke's writings and of the one in Paul's (Rm. 3:4) reveals a potentially shared social/cultural context. Acts 15:17 and Rm. 3:4 are quotations from the Septuagint (Am. 9:12 and Ps. 50:6, respectively) and are to be classified as prophetic utterances. The other occurrences of ὅπως ἔν (Lk. 2:35 and Acts 3:20) are clearly prophetic statements as well. Prophetic sayings in the Hebrew Bible are typically arranged in poetic form, as is the case with Am. 9:12 and Ps. 50:6. In the instances within the Lucan corpus that do not stem from any Septuagint quotation, the appearance of ὅπως ἔν may well demonstrate that the passage in question is to be understood as prophetic. In other words, the intent of the author of Luke-Acts is to place the declaration of Simeon to Mary (Lk. 2:35) and the sermon of Simon Peter to the men at the temple (Acts 3:20) on a level comparable to those utterances given through the Prophets of old.

2.2 Negative final (purpose) clauses

In Classical Greek, verbs in independent clauses in the indicative and optative (except those signifying wishes) show negation by using the adverb οὐ (οὐκ, οὐχ) (Goodwin 1930: 340); verbs in the subjunctive or imperative are negated by the particle μή.⁴⁶

In NT Greek, on the other hand, the system of negation has become simplified in that the dichotomy of the functions of οὐ vs. μή has been clearly demarcated: οὐ is used to negate verbs in the indicative, μή to negate those in all other moods. One may, therefore, presuppose that οὐ indicates a negative clause wherein the action is perceived as not having occurred, whereas μή stresses that an action has not yet occurred, nor will. Οὐ governs the realm of actual occurrence,

⁴⁶ I.E. *meH₁; cf. Skt. mā. This particle also negates verbs in the infinitive, except those employed in indirect discourse, where either οὐ or μή may appear (Goodwin 1930: 340).

or what may be designated as *fact*; μή, that of the hypothetical, or the *mind* (Bauer 2000: 644; Blass 1961: 220; Robertson 1914: 1167).

2.2.1 Final clauses with ὅπως μή

A purpose clause introduced by this conjunction occurs only once in the entire NT gospels and is classified as a negative purpose clause: ὅπως μή φανῇς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων ‘lest you appear [to be] fasting to men’ (Mt. 6:18). Such a clause is to be viewed as a negative of a ὅπως or ὅπως ἄν clause. In Attic Greek, clauses introduced by ὅπως or ὅπως μή were typically governed by verbs of striving, planning, caring for, effecting, etc. (Goodwin 1889: 122). In Hellenistic/κοινή Greek, these clauses tended to develop into pure final clauses. These final clauses introduced by ὅπως, ὅπως ἄν, or ὅπως μή, except for three passages (Mt. 2:23; 8:17; 13:35), have a common feature: the main clauses upon which they depend contain or imply a second person verb form. Hence, we may conclude that in final clauses the conjunction ὅπως (ἄν, μή) functions to denote:

- 1) an official prophetic utterance;
- 2) a conditional/potential meaning;
- 3) the purpose of an implied or overt exhortation concerning an action.

2.2.1.1 Word order, mood, and aspect in final clauses with ὅπως μή

The final clause with ὅπως μή in Mt. 6:18 is verb-initial and intransitive. Since no nominal subject appears, it is unclear whether the word order should be understood as VS or SV.⁴⁷ The mood of the verb is subjunctive, and the aspect is aorist. The verb φανῇς seems to have an ingressive connotation, meaning something along the lines of ‘lest you begin to appear’

⁴⁷ Since no examples of SV word order appear in these clauses in Matthew’s gospel, one may safely assume VS word order in this case.

or ‘lest you enter the state of appearing.’ Overall, the features of this one clause do not vary from the structure found in affirmative purpose clauses.

2.2.2 Final clauses with ἵνα μή

The majority of purpose clauses in the Greek gospels are negated by ἵνα μή. The negative particle μή nearly always immediately follows the conjunction ἵνα: ἵνα μή κριθῇτε ‘lest you be judged’ (Mt. 7:1). There are, however, rare instances in which the conjunction and negative particle are intervened by another word, for example, another particle: ἵνα δὲ μή σκανδαλίσωμεν αὐτούς ‘But lest we offend them’ (Mt. 17:27). The intervening word may be a participle: ἵνα βλέποντες μή βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μή συνιῶσιν ‘in order that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not comprehend’ (Lk. 8:10). These two cited cases are the only examples in the four gospels of a word intervening between the conjunction ἵνα and the negative particle μή. The occurrences of ἵνα μή by gospel are as follows:

Matthew (7:1; 17:27; 26:5; 26:41)

Mark (3:9; 14:38)

Luke (8:10; 8:12; 16:28; 18:5; 22:32; 22:46)

John (3:20; 4:14; 5:14; 6:12; 7:23; 12:35; 12:40; 12:42; 12:46; 16:1; 18:28; 18:36; 19:31)

Table 2.9 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by ἵνα μή

Total # of ἵνα μή clauses	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
25	4	16	2	8	6	24	13	52

John’s gospel contains half of all ἵνα μή purpose clauses, continuing a trend of showing a high frequency of purpose clauses generally. Of the synoptic gospels, Luke displays the greatest number of ἵνα μή clauses, probably because Luke’s gospel is the longest, though length of the text does not insure that a particular syntactic feature will occur. In comparison with the

frequency of affirmative ἵνα clauses (see Table 2.1), these negative clauses show a close parallel percentage-wise in respect to Luke and John. The data may not explain anything significant about Matthew and Mark, but they do demonstrate something noteworthy concerning Luke and John, namely, that these two latter gospels show a consistent frequency in their use of ἵνα purpose clauses, whether these clauses are affirmative or negative.

2.2.2.1 Word order in final clauses with ἵνα μή

In Matthew's gospel, word order in ἵνα μή clauses is mostly verb-initial: ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν 'lest you enter into temptation' (26:41). There exists one instance of SV word order: ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος γένηται ἐν τῷ λαῷ 'lest there occur an uproar among the people' (26:5). In addition, there is one example of VO word order: ἵνα δὲ μὴ σκανδαλίσωμεν αὐτούς 'But lest we offend them' (17:27). Besides these mentioned word-order types, no other types are to be found in Matthew.

In contrast to the types that Matthew displays, only verb-initial types occur in Mark: ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν 'so that they might not press him' (3:9). This passage is the only example of VO word order in ἵνα μή clauses in Mark. The only other example of a ἵνα μή clause in this gospel shows verb-initial word order with no overt nominal subject and no direct object: ἵνα μὴ ἔλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν⁴⁸ 'lest you come into temptation' (14:38).

One-third of the ἵνα μή clauses in Luke exhibit pure verb-initial word order: ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡ πίστις σου 'so that your faith might not fail' (22:32). The remaining clauses in Luke show either a pronoun or participle/participial phrase intervening between the conjunction and the verb: ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς βασάνου 'in order that they also may not come into this place of torment' (16:28). ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζῃ με 'lest, coming constantly, she wear me out' (18:5). Only one passage in Luke displays an overt

⁴⁸ Cf. Mt. 26:41

nominal subject (23:32), and in this case the word order is VS. One instance of VO occurs (18:5). No other word-order types in ἵνα μή clauses occur in Luke.

Verb-initial is the characteristic word-order feature of ἵνα μή clauses in John: ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν ‘lest they see with the eyes and perceive with the heart and be converted [lit. ‘be turned’; cf. Heb.⁴⁹ □□□ ‘and they turn/repent’ 3rd pers. sing. because of the referent □□□□□□, which agrees with a sing. verb]’ (12:40). Clauses with verb-initial word order sometimes display an overt nominal subject: ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ‘lest his deeds be exposed’ (3:20). Verb-initial negative purpose clauses in John may also contain a direct object: ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα ‘so that they might not be defiled but eat the Passover’ (18:28). Purpose clauses with ἵνα μὴ in John also display verb-final word order: ἵνα μὴ χεῖρον σοί τι γένηται ‘lest something worse happen to you’ (5:14). SOV word order also occurs: ἵνα μὴ σκοτία ὑμᾶς καταλάβῃ ‘in order that the darkness may not overtake you’ (12:35).

In conclusion, the evidence from the data demonstrates that word order in negative purpose clauses shows a certain level of unpredictability, a level not as high as that found in affirmative clauses, but nonetheless a clear variation.

Table 2.10 *Word-order types in purpose clauses with ἵνα μή*

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VS	0	0	1	3
VO	1	1	1	1
SV	1	0	1	3
SOV	0	0	0	1
V-initial (No S/O)	2	1	3	5

⁴⁹Isa. 6:10

2.2.2.2 Mood in final clauses with ἵνα μή

The subjunctive mood is exclusively employed with verbs in ἵνα μή clauses: ἵνα μή διψῶ μηδὲ διέρχωμαι ἐνθάδε ἀντλεῖν ‘in order that I do not thirst nor come here to draw’ (Jn. 4:15).

There is one instance, however, in which a future indicative appears: ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς ‘lest they see with the eyes and perceive with the heart and be converted, and I shall heal them’ (Jn. 12:40). The question is whether ἰάσομαι should be perceived as belonging to the subordinate or to the main clause. If ἰάσομαι is part of the independent clause, then we may conclude that there are no occurrences of the future indicative in ἵνα μή clauses.

At first glance, it seems unlikely that ἰάσομαι is part of the independent clause, because the semantic structure in that case would appear disjointed: τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπόρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν...καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς ‘He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart...and I shall heal them’ (Jn. 12:40). The arguments of the verbs τετύφλωκεν and ἐπόρωσεν are unclear. The context of the passage gives no evidence to indicate the subject of these verbs. An elliptical ὁ θεός is most likely (Brown 1966: 485-486; Kieffer 2001: 984), but that leaves the problem of how to interpret the subject of ἰάσομαι, which does seem to have as its subject an elliptical ὁ θεός. It seems unlikely that the verbs in the 3rd pers. and the verb in the 1st pers. would share the same subject. In addition, the subject of the main clause would be performing seemingly contradictory actions at the same time. On the other hand, if these verbs have different subjects, then the question remains as to who, or what, are the subjects of these verbs.

2.2.2.3 Aspect in final clauses with ἵνα μή

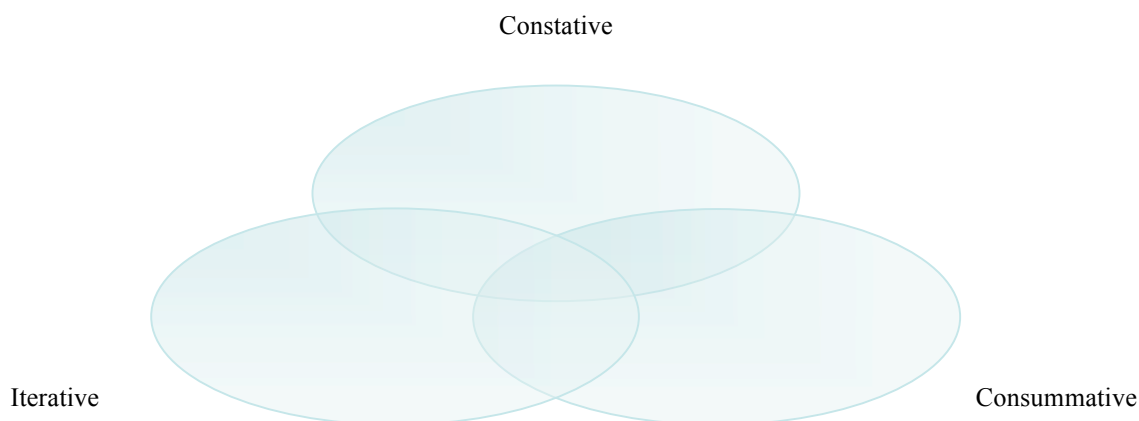
Final clauses with ἵνα μή exhibit both present and aorist aspect, with the latter being far more numerous than the former. Of the 24 appearances of ἵνα μή clauses in the gospels, only 4 clauses contain the present subjunctive, and none of these instances are found in Matthew. All the examples of the present aspect are best understood as continuous/progressive, although a conative connotation is possible in some contexts: ἵνα μή εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζη με ‘lest coming continually she try to wear me out’ (Lk. 18:5).

Table 2.11 Frequency of the subjunctive mood in ἵνα μή final clauses

Aspect of the verb	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Present	0	0	1	25	2	50	1	25
Aorist	4	19	1	5	4	19	12	57

All the gospels, with the exception of Mark, display a greater number of ἵνα μή clauses in the aorist than in the present subjunctive. Aktionsart most likely plays the determining role in this disparity. Three uses of the aorist (constative, iterative, and consummative) are possible interpretations, depending on lexicon and context. Some clauses, furthermore, may be understood according to more than one usage: ἵνα μή κριθῆτε ‘lest you [ever] be judged (or, lest you be judged *at any time*),’ or ‘lest you [enter into the state of] be[ing] judged’ (Mt. 7:1). Admittedly, this analysis seems to stretch the boundaries of the nuances to a degree. Nevertheless, not only is such an analysis possible, but also there might be a synergistic employment of both uses of the aorist in the above passage. Such a working together and

overlap of nuance may be diagrammatically shown as follows:



That an iterative nuance may overlap or synergize with a consummative one is seemingly contradictory. It should be noted, however, that there will not be overlap or synergy in every case, especially in those that are logically contradictory. The diagram above is merely a proposal of what is *possible*; what is *probable*, or what the author intended to convey, is another matter.

2.2.3 Final clauses with μήποτε

Negative purpose clauses with μήποτε have a nuance of greater indefiniteness,⁵⁰ i.e., connoting ‘lest ever, so that never,’ etc. In some passages, it seems appropriate to translate this conjunction as such: μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου ‘lest [ever] you strike your foot against a stone’ (Mt. 4:6; Lk. 4:11). In some cases, the phrase ‘at any time,’ practically synonymous with ‘ever,’ better fits the sense: μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν. . . ‘lest, having come at any time, his disciples steal him’ (Mt. 27:64). Often it is best to leave the nuance indicated by μήποτε untranslated: μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς

⁵⁰ Bauer (2000) mentions that μήποτε can indicate a negative statement connoting something conjectured, with a meaning of ‘probably, perhaps.’

ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς ‘lest they trample them under their feet⁵¹ and, having turned, tear you to pieces’ (Mt. 7:6).

Final clauses with μήποτε do not frequently occur in the gospels. They are found only in the synoptics, with Matthew having the greatest number of them. In addition, μήποτε clauses occur only in direct discourse, never in the narrative proper; and in nearly every case save four (Mt. 4:6; 27:64; Mk. 14:2; Lk. 4:11), Jesus is the speaker. In those occurrences of μήποτε where Jesus is not the speaker, Jesus is the addressee in two of them, with Satan as the one addressing (Mt. 4:6; Lk. 4:11). The Pharisees speak in the other two instances (Mt. 27:64; Mk. 14:2). The significance of the occurrences of μήποτε is not that the discourses somehow center upon Jesus, whether he speaks or is spoken to or is spoken about (for such can be the claim concerning *every* passage in the gospels). Rather, the importance of the presence of this conjunction is the fact that it occurs in purpose clauses only in the context of spoken discourse. This conjunction appears to serve as some stylistic feature in the synoptic gospels, especially in Matthew and Luke, for there are no occurrences of μήποτε in any final clauses in John. That being the case, I

Table 2.12 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by μήποτε

Total # of μήποτε clauses	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
13	7	54	2	15	4	31	0	0

shall exclude any discussion of John’s gospel in this regard. The occurrences of clauses with μήποτε in the gospels are as follows:

⁵¹ Literally, ‘in their feet.’

Matthew (4:6; 5:25; 7:6; 13:15; 13:29; 15:32; 27:64)

Mark (4:12; 14:2)

Luke (4:11; 14:8; 14:12; 21:34)

2.2.3.1 Word order in final clauses with μήποτε

Most final clauses with μήποτε are verb initial and VO: μήποτε συλλέγοντες τὰ ζιζάνια ἐκρίζωσθε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον⁵² ‘lest perhaps while gathering the weeds you uproot along with them the grain’ (Mt. 13:29). A clause may (rarely) be VS: μήποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ ‘lest [by chance] there shall be an uproar of the people’ (Mk. 14:2). SV word order occurs only once: μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ἢ κεκλημένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ‘lest perhaps one more honorable than you be called by him’ (Lk. 14:8). SVO word order also occurs, but seldom: μήποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντικαλέσωσιν σε ‘lest they also ever invite you’ (Lk. 14:12). There exists one case of OVS word order: μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδοκος τῷ κριτῇ ‘lest the adversary perhaps hand you over to the judge’ (Mt. 5:25). Clauses may also exist without a nominal subject or object: μήποτε ἐκλυθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ‘lest they perhaps become exhausted on the way’ (Mt. 15:32). Hence, the variation in word order with clauses introduced by μήποτε is comparable to that exhibited by final clauses introduced by other conjunctions.

Table 2.13 *Word-order types in purpose clauses with μήποτε*

Word-order Type	Frequency		
	Matthew	Mark	Luke
VO	4	0	1
SVO	1	0	1
SV	0	0	1
VS	0	1	1
OVS	1	0	0
V-initial, no S/O	3	1	0

⁵² Notice that a participial phrase intervenes between the conjunction and verb; in addition, a prepositional phrase stands between verb and direct object.

2.2.3.2 Mood in final clauses with μήποτε

Two moods appear in final μήποτε clauses: future indicative and subjunctive.

Being the more frequently occurring mood, the subjunctive is found in all the synoptic gospels having μήποτε final clauses: μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν ὑμῶν αἱ καρδίαι ἐν κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ καὶ μερίμναις βιωτικαῖς καὶ ἐπιστῇ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη 'lest perhaps your hearts be burdened in intoxication and drunkenness and with the cares of daily living, and that day come upon you unexpectedly' (Lk. 21:34). The future indicative occurs three times, but only in Matthew and Mark: μήποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ 'lest perhaps there [will] be an uproar of the people' (Mk. 14:2).⁵³ The future indicative may also be used in a purpose clause alongside the aorist subjunctive, evidence of a falling together of syntactic usage in such clauses: μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ρήξωσιν ὑμᾶς 'lest they trample them under their feet and, having turned, tear you to pieces' (Mt. 7:6).⁵⁴

Table 2.14 Frequency of mood in final clauses with μήποτε

Mood	Occurrences by gospel					
	Matthew		Mark		Luke	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Future Indicative	2	67	1	33	0	0
Subjunctive	7	58.3	1	8.3	4	33.3

2.2.3.3 Aspect in final clauses with μήποτε

The aorist subjunctive predominates in final clauses introduced by μήποτε: μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν 'lest ever they see with the eyes and hear with the ears and understand with the heart and turn (i.e.,

⁵³ Cf. the comparable passage in Matthew: ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος γένηται ἐν τῷ λαῷ 'lest there occur an uproar among the people (26:5). Although the meaning of the two passages is similar, the syntactic structure is different; Mark contains the verb in the future indicative, Matthew has the aorist subjunctive. Mark employs a genitival construction with θόρυβος, Matthew uses a prepositional phrase. Mark introduces the clause with μήποτε, Matthew with the more commonly used conjunction ἵνα μή.

⁵⁴ Also see Mt. 13:15.

repent)’ (Mt. 13:15). The present subjunctive occurs once: μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ἢ κεκλημένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ‘lest perhaps one more honorable than you be called by him’ (Lk. 14:8). Notice that, in this case, the verb in the present subjunctive is ἦ, a form of εἰμί (I am). Since this verb in Greek has no aorist form (nor does such a form seem possible), it should perhaps be considered an anomaly. That having been said, I propose that the conjunction μήποτε is driving the aspect used in these types of negative final clauses. In regard to the few occurrences of the future tense in these types of clauses, such verb forms should be treated as aorists for aspectual purposes. Upon comparison of the use of the future indicative with the aorist subjunctive, one notices that the future is often employed alongside the aorist subjunctive within the same purpose clause (see section 2.2.3.2): μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξουσιν ὑμᾶς ‘lest they trample them under their feet and, having turned, tear you to pieces’ (Mt. 7:6). Also see Mt. 13:15 for an example of this shared usage. Hence, the conjunction μήποτε appears to require the use of the aorist subjunctive in negative final clauses.

Table 2.15 Frequency of the subjunctive mood in μήποτε clauses

Aspect of the verb	Occurrences by gospel					
	Matthew		Mark		Luke	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Present	0	0	0	0	1	100
Aorist	7	64	1	9	3	27

2.2.4 Final clauses with ἵνα μήποτε

There is only one instance of ἵνα μήποτε in the entire corpus of the four gospels in the Greek NT: ἵνα μήποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες

ἄρξονται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίζειν ‘lest after he has placed a foundation and is not able to complete [it],⁵⁵ all those watching begin to mock him’ (Lk. 14:29).

This occurrence of ἵνα μήποτε is not simply unique to the gospels; this passage found in Luke is the only clause of its type in the entire Greek NT. Having investigated through the use of a concordance (Moulton 1967) the possible occurrence of ἵνα μήποτε in other NT Greek writings, I discovered no other appearances of this conjunction. Because of this conjunction’s unique occurrence, it is difficult to ascertain its function beyond that of redundancy.

The word order of the clause is SVO, if one considers the infinitive ἐμπαίζειν to be the object of the verb ἄρξονται. A genitive absolute intervenes between the conjunction and subject, which is itself a participial phrase (οἱ θεωροῦντες), here acting attributively.

The mood of the verb is in the subjunctive, a predictable outcome in light of the fact that most final clauses in the Greek NT employ this mood.

The aspect of the verb is in the aorist, demonstrating an obvious redundancy of incipience. As with the other clauses introduced with μήποτε, this ἵνα μήποτε conjunction seems to affect the aspect of the verb. It is also possible that the existence of μήποτε or ἵνα μήποτε could be a stylistic variation. However, the paucity of the occurrences of this conjunction, coupled with the contexts surrounding its use, justifies viewing its usage as indicating a nuance of meaning.

2.2.5 Sub-categories of final clauses

There are two sub-categories of final clauses in Greek: 1) clauses of effort (Goodwin 1889: 122-130; 1930: 291-292; Burton 1898: 88-90; Smyth 1984: 497-500) and 2) clauses of

⁵⁵ I could have given a more accurate rendering of this genitive absolute, such as ‘with him having laid a foundation and not being strong [enough] to complete [it]. However, such a translation seems stilted and somewhat unnatural. I feel that the context justifies the rendering I have given.

caution (Goodwin 1889:131-137; 1930: 292; Burton 1898: 95-96; Smyth 1984: 500-501).⁵⁶ The seemingly telic nuance of these clauses justifies their being classified as a type of purpose clause. Although fearing clauses have been considered to be of this type as well, it is best to classify them separately, since their syntax functions differently from true purpose and effort clauses,⁵⁷ (which function adverbially, in contrast to fearing clauses, which act as object noun clauses). Clauses of effort and caution are frequently treated as pure purpose clauses rather than as a subgroup, as is the case in Wallace (1996). The principle of translation is basically the same, with the affirmative conjunction being translated as ‘so that, that, in order that, and the negative as ‘lest, that. . . not, so that. . . not,’ etc. Therefore, what constitutes a pure final clause and a clause of effort or caution is a matter of personal preference and the percipience of the translator or syntactician.

2.2.5.1 Clauses of effort

Clauses of effort are introduced by a verb of striving, planning, exhorting, etc. in the main clause and headed by the conjunction ὅπως in the subordinate clause, with the verb in the subordinate clause in the subjunctive mood: Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον ἐζήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσουσιν ‘But the chief priests and the whole council kept on seeking false witness against Jesus that (or, how) they might put him to death’ (Mt. 26:59). Most clauses of effort are located in Matthew. One clause in John may also be interpreted as such: δεδώκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐντολὰς ἵνα ἐάν τις γνῶ ποῦ ἐστὶν μηνύση, ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν ‘But the chief priests and Pharisees had given

⁵⁶ Although the above grammars generally classify clauses of caution with those of fearing, nevertheless, these two types of clauses should be treated as distinct both semantically and syntactically. Clauses of caution are, in a sense, negative clauses of effort. Hence, one could perceive only one sub-category of purpose clauses, that of effort clauses.

⁵⁷ Effort clauses may also function as object noun clauses. For example: σκόπει ὅπως τοῦτο γένηται ‘see that this happens.’ See Goodwin 1889: 122-125 for a more detailed discussion of this clausal type.

commandments that, if anyone should know where he was, he should make [it] known, in order that (or, how) they might arrest him' (Jn. 11:57).⁵⁸

Only three word-order types are attested with clauses of effort in the gospels (this is not to say that other types are not possible): SVO, OV, and VO.

SVO: ὅπως καὶ γὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ 'in order that I also, having come, may worship him, (Mt. 2:8).

OV: ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν 'that they might destroy him' (Mt. 12:14).

VO: ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν 'that they might arrest him' (Jn. 11:57).⁵⁹

Concerning mood and aspect, only the aorist subjunctive is to be found in such clauses. Clauses of effort may also contain verbs in the future indicative in Classical Greek, but no such occurrences of the future are found in these clauses in the NT Greek gospels.

2.2.5.2 Clauses of caution

Clauses of caution may be understood as negative clauses of effort. Like clauses of effort, clauses of caution typically contain a verb of striving, exhorting, planning, etc. in the main clause. The conjunction heading the subordinate clause is usually μή: βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ 'See lest anyone lead you astray (or, see to it that no one lead you astray)' (Mt. 24:4).⁶⁰ Sometimes the conjunction μήποτε introduces the clause of caution. In these cases, the verb in the main clause only implies a notion of striving, etc.: ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ αἱ φρόνιμοι λέγουσαι · μήποτε οὐ μὴ ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν · πορεύεσθε μᾶλλον πρὸς τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράσατε ἑαυταῖς 'But the sensible [virgins] answered, saying, "Lest there not be sufficient for us and you,

⁵⁸ The following passages may be considered to be clauses of effort: Mt. 2:8; 12:14; 26:59; Jn. 11:57.

⁵⁹ These examples of purpose clauses are to be considered more specifically clauses of effort because of the introductory verbs in the main clauses: ἀπαγγεῖλατε 'report,' συμβούλιον ἔλαβον 'took counsel,' and μηνύσῃ 'make known,' respectively.

⁶⁰ In every case where a verb in the main clause denotes an act of caution, the verb is either βλέπετε 'see' or γρηγορεῖτε 'watch.'

go rather to the ones selling and buy for yourselves” (Mt. 25:9). The act of buying from the sellers is cautionary to prevent the lack of oil for the lamps. Hence, this act of going and buying is one of striving and planning, and the command given by the sensible virgins may be construed as an act of exhortation.

Clauses introduced by μή are:

Matthew (24:4)

Mark (13:5; 13:36)

Luke (21:8)

Those introduced by μήποτε:

Matthew (25:9)

Luke (12:58)

There seem to be no clauses of caution in John’s gospel.

In accordance with ancient Greek syntax, the word order is variable. For example, SOV word order occurs, but this structure is seen only twice in identical passages: μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ ‘lest anyone lead you astray’ (Mt. 24:4).⁶¹ There are also cases of VO word order: μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης εὗρη ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας ‘lest, having come suddenly,⁶² he find you sleeping’ (Mk. 13:36). Sometimes a clause contains both VO and SOV word order: μήποτε κατασύρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν, καὶ ὁ κριτής σε παραδώσει τῷ πράκτορι, καὶ ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακὴν ‘lest perhaps he drag you to the judge, and the judge hand you over to the bailiff, and the bailiff throw you into prison’ (Lk. 12:58). An intransitive verb without a nominal subject may also occur: βλέπετε μὴ πλανηθῆτε,⁶³ ‘See [to it] that you are not led astray’ (Lk. 21:8).

⁶¹ See also Mk. 13:5.

⁶² By its position, ἐξαίφνης could be taken to modify either the participle ἐλθὼν or the finite verb εὗρη. The semantic distinction between the two possible readings is subtle.

⁶³ Cf. Mt. 24:4 and Mk. 13:5.

In regard to mood, the subjunctive is employed in nearly every instance. The future indicative, however, appears in one case: μήποτε. . . ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακὴν ‘lest perhaps the bailiff throw you into prison’ (Lk. 12:58).⁶⁴

The aspect in every case is aorist. However, in Lk 12:58, the verb κατασύρη may be understood as either present subjunctive or aorist subjunctive. As a present subjunctive, its usage is probably conative or ingressive. As an aorist subjunctive, the verb most likely has an ingressive or constative function.

2.3 Result (consecutive) clauses

In Classical Greek, result clauses are of two types: 1) actual result, which employs the indicative mood; 2) natural (or, probable) result, which employs the infinitive. Both types are introduced by ὥστε (rarely ὡς) (Crosby 1928; Goodwin 1889, 1930; Smyth 1984). Actual result clauses denote, as the designation indicates, outcomes that actually occur:⁶⁵

εἶχον χρήματα ὥστε ἡγόρασα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ‘I had money so that I bought provisions.’

In the above example, the buying of provisions actually took place. But consider the following:

εἶχον χρήματα ὥστε ἀγοράσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ‘I had money to buy provisions.’

Here, the infinitive indicates a natural or probable action. Neither the context nor the syntax specifies whether the act of buying provisions occurred. These nuances of actual vs. natural result are essential semantic distinctions in Classical Greek, comparable to those found in English with the use of this type of clause.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ See sections 2.1.1.2 and 2.2.2.2 for a discussion of the use of the future indicative in purpose clauses.

⁶⁵ The following examples are taken from Crosby and Schaeffer (1928: 60).

⁶⁶ In English, however, there is a tendency toward ambiguity. For example, in the sentence, ‘He is so foolish that no one believes him,’ it is unclear whether an actual or natural result has occurred. To overcome this ambiguity, English often uses a modal, such as ‘would,’ or ‘could’ to show a natural or probable result.

Ex. He ran so slow that they caught him. (actual result)

He ran so slow that they could catch him. (natural result)

There exist two other types of result clauses that employ a finite verb. These uses are not typically discussed in elementary grammars (i.e., Crosby 1928; Abbot 1997; Allen 1994; Mastronarde 1993; Pharr 1985), but the standard reference grammars in English tend to mention them (Smyth 1984: 511; Goodwin 1889: 230; 1930: 309).⁶⁷ We may designate these two types as:

1) potential/possible result, expressing ‘a possible consequence’ (Rijksbaron 2002: 63).

This consecutive clausal type employs the optative + ἄν: εἶχον χρήματα ὥστε ἀγοράσαιμι ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ‘I had money so that I might buy provisions.’

2) inhibitive result, expressing ‘a consequence that did not come about’ (63). This type employs a secondary sequence of the indicative + ἄν and the negative particle οὐ.⁶⁸ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι οὕτω κακῶς ἦσαν διδάσκοντες ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἐπίστευον αὐτοῖς οἱ μαθηταί ‘The Pharisees were teaching so badly that the disciples would not believe them.’

This section will investigate the structure of result clauses in the Greek NT that employ only finite verbs, since by definition the infinitival constructions are properly deemed to be verbal phrases rather than clauses. Result clauses utilizing the infinitive will be treated in the subsequent comparative chapters.

2.3.1 The structure of result clauses in the NT Greek gospels

Although result (consecutive) clauses are common in the Greek NT, nevertheless, they do not fully coincide in structure and nuance with those found in Classical Greek authors. For example, like Classical Greek, NT Greek employs the conjunction ὥστε to head result constructions, the verb of which may either be in the infinitive or a finite form (in Classical

⁶⁷ See also the introductory grammar by Hansen (1992: 755).

⁶⁸ Smyth (1984) gives examples of the potential consecutive clause employing a past tense of the indicative + ἄν. That being the case, it is logical to place the potential and inhibitive result clauses under a single classification, the inhibitive being simply the negative of the potential result clause.

Greek, typically in the indicative mood). Unlike Classical Greek, however, NT Greek frequently employs ὥστε + infinitive to denote not only natural result, but also actual result: καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθευδεν ‘And behold, a great earthquake occurred in the sea, so that the boat was being enveloped by the waves, but he himself was sleeping’ (Mt. 8:24). The context of the passage clearly indicates an actual rather than natural result. It is unlikely that Classical Greek would have employed such a construction using the infinitive καλύπτεσθαι, but would have instead preferred the indicative ἐκαλύπτετο. In addition, the Greek NT almost always prefers the infinitive to denote result clauses, to the point that such clauses with a finite verb are uncommon in the Greek gospels. Because this study underscores the function of true subordinate clauses (i.e., clauses that contain a finite verb), the amount of data for result clauses is far less than that found in clauses of purpose.

2.3.2 Conjunctions (conjunctive particles) introducing result clauses in the NT Greek gospels

Both Classical and κοινή Greek employ the conjunction ὥστε to introduce result clauses with the infinitive. However, where Classical Greek uses ὥστε (or rarely ὥς) in conjunction with finite verb forms (signifying actual or potential result), κοινή Greek does not consistently use one particular conjunction. The use of ὥστε⁶⁹ with a finite verb is rare in the NT Greek gospels,

⁶⁹ Some passages pose problems in their classification. For example, there are a small number of passages that contain ὥστε in a clearly consecutive function, but not in the sense of their being subordinate clauses: πόσῳ οὖν διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος προβάτου. ὥστε ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασι καλῶς ποιεῖν ‘Therefore, how much more valuable than a sheep is a human being. Therefore (or, so that), it is lawful to do well on the sabbaths’ (Mt. 12:12). In this passage, two different lexemes are employed denoting a resultative function, οὖν (a postpositive particle) and ὥστε (an introductory conjunction). The primary connotation of both words is inferential. There appears to be no significant discrepancy in nuance between these two items, the distinction lying rather in their use and syntax. Because of this, ὥστε in this instance is to be more accurately treated as heading an independent instead of a subordinate clause.

occurring only once: οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν. . . ‘For thus did G-d love the world, that he gave his only-born son’ (Jn. 3:16).

Koinḗ employs, however, a variety of conjunctions and structures not normally employed similarly in Classical Greek. For example, in addition to ὥστε, NT Greek employs ὅτι as a conjunction heading result clauses: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες, ποταπὸς ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν; ‘But the men were amazed, saying, “What sort of [man] is he, that even the winds and the sea obey him?”’ (Mt. 8:27). Ὅτι might well be translated ‘because’ and interpreted as a causal clause, the context not prohibiting such a view. Causal clauses, however, tend to complete the notion of ‘why?’ In the above passage, the question asked is ‘what kind/sort of.’ The expected response would logically be ‘the sort that,’ hence, clearly indicating result. In addition to meaning ‘because,’ the conjunction ὅτι frequently means ‘that,’ especially in indirect discourse. By transference of function because of Semitic influence,⁷⁰ ὅτι has taken on the usage exclusive (at least in Classical Greek) to that of ὥστε or ὡς.

The conjunction ἵνα also may introduce result clauses in NT Greek: καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· ῥαββί, τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; ‘And his disciples asked him, saying, “Rabbi, who sinned, this [man] or his parents, that he was born blind?”’ (Jn. 9:2). The purport of the passage cannot be purpose, for that would indicate that either the blind man or his parents deliberately sinned in order to cause blindness, an absurd notion. Rather, the context signifies a result or consequence of sin. As with ὅτι, ἵνα has assumed in certain contexts the syntactic function of ὥστε with the finite verb. Although ἵνα

⁷⁰ Cf. the overlapping in function and semantics of Heb. □□ and Aramaic □□ Like koinḗ with ὅτι, Heb. employs □□ as a causal and resultative particle.

may have taken on the syntactic *function* of ὥστε in this context, it still retains its expected syntactic *structure*.

Just as the conjunction ὅπως in NT Greek may introduce purpose clauses, so also it may head result clauses: καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μεταξύ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν ‘And in all these things, between us and you there has been firmly fixed a great gulf, so that those willing cannot cross from here to you, nor may they cross over from there to us’ (Lk. 16:26). Ὅπως may be treated as introducing a purpose clause, a possibility allowed by the context. It is more likely, however, that ὅπως connotes both purpose and result; therefore, the great chasm or gulf was fixed in order to prevent a crossing from one side to another as well as to be large enough to be able to accomplish this intention. Clauses performing a dual function of purpose and result are not unusual in language. Consider, for example, the English sentence:

He ran quickly, so that he could escape.

Here, the meaning is ambiguous, indicating either the purpose of running quickly or its result.

An unusual particle employed in result clauses in the NT gospels is ὅθεν, whose occurrence is rare. Turner (1963) classifies this conjunction (which is adverbial) as a ‘consecutive coordinating particle.’ In certain contexts, there can be no doubt as to its consecutive function: γενεσίοις δὲ γενομένοις τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὠρχήσατο ἡ θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἡρώδιადος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἤρεσεν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ, ὅθεν μεθ’ ὅρκου ὡμολόγησεν αὐτῇ δοῦναι ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃται ‘But when Herod’s birthday celebration occurred, the daughter of Herodias danced in the midst and it pleased Herod, wherefore with an oath he promised to give her whatever she should ask’ (Mt. 14:7). To establish what kind of subordinate clause ὅθεν is indicating, we must first reckon with the issue of what the purpose of ὅθεν is and to what this particle refers.

Ὅθεν falls under the grammatical category of adverb and usually functions as an adverbial relative indicating source. In addition, ὅθεν may be an indicator of the reason for an action (Bauer 2000). In that case, it may be translated ‘for which reason.’ It is within this syntactic realm that ὅθεν functions as a consecutive coordinating particle, signifying the result of an action. In regard to the above passage (Mt. 14:7), therefore, the action performed by Herodias’ daughter (see v. 6), i.e., her dancing, pleased Herod to the point that ‘he promised to give her whatever she should ask.’ In this case, ὅθεν functions similarly to the conjunction ὅτι, which denotes both a causative and resultative nuance.

In conclusion, the differences between the structure and use of result clauses as employed in Classical Greek and κοινή may be described comparatively as follows:

Classical Greek	Κοινή
Makes a clear distinction between natural and actual result	Makes no clear distinction between natural and actual result
Introduces result clauses with ὥστε, rarely ὡς	Employs a number of conjunctions/particles, including ὥστε, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅθεν, etc.
Clauses employing both the indicative and constructions with the infinitive are frequent	The infinitive construction is dominant, often employed without a conjunction. Result clauses containing finite verb forms are uncommon
No ambiguity exists with purpose and result clauses	Sometimes there exists ambiguity with purpose or result clauses

2.3.3 Word order in result clauses

The one case in which ὥστε is used with a finite verb in the Greek gospels has OV word order: ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν ‘so that he gave his only born son’ (Jn. 3:16). If the verb ὑπακούω⁷¹ is to be understood as taking a dative direct object, then the conjunction ὅτι also

⁷¹ See also ἐπιτάσσω (Lk. 8:25).

heads a clause of this word-order type: ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν;⁷² ‘that even the winds and the sea obey him’ (Mt. 8:27). VO word order may also be found: ἵνα μὴ αἰσθῶνται αὐτό ‘so that they did not understand it’ (Lk. 9:45).⁷³ A verbal or prepositional phrase may intervene between the subject and verb (see Lk. 16:26). VO word order with an intervening indirect object occurs: ὅθεν μεθ’ ὅρκου ὠμολόγησεν αὐτῇ δοῦναι ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃται ‘wherefore he promised to give her whatever she should ask’ (Mt. 14:7). In this passage, the infinitival phrase δοῦναι ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃται functions as the direct object of ὠμολόγησεν. A notable feature of result clauses in the Greek gospels in comparison with purpose clauses is that verb-initial word order occurs only once, in Lk. 9:45 (see above). Since there are so few occurrences of result clauses containing finite verb forms, no word-order type predominates. Hence, word order in result clauses appears more unpredictable than in purpose clauses.

2.3.4 Mood in result clauses

Result clauses in the NT Greek gospels, like purpose clauses, may contain two finite moods: indicative and subjunctive.⁷⁴ The frequency of occurrences of these moods is approximately equal, indicating that neither mood is dominant. The conjunctions ὥστε, ὅτι, and ὅθεν introduce the indicative; ἵνα and ὅπως the subjunctive. In clauses of this type, with the exception of Jn. 9:2, ἵνα and ὅπως with the subjunctive seem to perform simultaneously a dual function, namely that of purpose and result. Ὡστε, ὅτι, and ὅθεν with the indicative signify pure result clauses,⁷⁵ according to context.

⁷² The word order is SOV in this passage.

⁷³ A number of scholars understand this clause to be purely final, others perceive it as consecutive (Zerwick 1996). The context clearly allows for both grammatical interpretations.

⁷⁴ It is debatable whether or not the infinitive should be classified as a mood. In object clauses, the infinitive indeed functions as a verbal noun, not as a special mood. In adverbial clauses, however, the infinitive appears to function with a degree of modal nuance. Cf. actual vs. natural result clauses in Classical Greek.

⁷⁵ Robertson (1914: 997) discusses the scholarly debate concerning the status of ἵνα in result clauses. Jannaris (1968: 455) maintains that later Greek employed ἵνα in an ecclastic (consecutive) sense. Blass (1961: 198) supports the conclusion that ἵνα may introduce a result clause but not as an actual result.

οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό ‘But some failed to understand this word and it was concealed from them lest they perceive it,’ or ‘. . . so that they did not perceive it’ (Lk. 9:45). Here, ἵνα functions ambiguously within a purpose or result clause. These two clausal types may also be simultaneously present in this passage.

Τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ
 ‘Who, then, is this, that he commands even the winds and the water, and they obey him’
 (Lk. 8:25).

In this passage, the action is neither natural nor potential consequence, but rather an actual occurrence. To translate ὅτι as ‘because’ would logically fit the semantics and context, and be syntactically sound. Like the conjunction ἵνα, ὅτι may be performing a dual function as heading a clause containing two nuances, i.e., as a causal and result clause in this case.

2.3.5 Aspect in result clauses

The various conjunctions employed in result clauses do not determine aspect within the clause. That ὅτι and ὅπως appear with the present, and ὥστε, ἵνα, and ὅθεν with the aorist is merely circumstantial. No grammatical law in Greek would inhibit a reversal of aspect in either of the above cases.⁷⁶

In conclusion, aspect is no more predictable in result clauses than in purpose clauses, its basis depending on the context of the passage. Aspect, however, does appear to coincide more with tense in result clauses, especially those clauses employing the indicative mood, than in

⁷⁶ Evidence for this in regard to the aorist occurs with ὅτι when it introduces an indirect statement or causal clause: Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ‘And having heard that John had been handed over, he withdrew into Galilee’ (Mt. 4:12); Τότε ἤρξατο ὀνειδίζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐγένετο αἱ πλεῖσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν ‘Then he began to blame the cities in which most of his miracles occurred, because they did not repent’ (Mt. 11:20). Likewise with ὅπως when it is not functioning as part of a result clause: ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ‘that you may become sons of your father, the one in heaven’ (Mt. 5:45).

purpose clauses, which almost exclusively employ the subjunctive. Result clauses in which the subjunctive mood is employed exhibit both the present and aorist aspect (cf. Lk. 16:26 [present subjunctive] with Jn. 9:2 and 9:45 [aorist subjunctive]). The range of aspectual nuances (Aktionsarten) does not appear to be as comprehensive in the case of consecutive structures as in that of final ones, primarily because of the paucity of data in regard to the former.

2.4 Causal clauses

Causal clause structure in Classical Greek contains nuances sometimes difficult to construe effectively in standard English. Three main types of causal clauses may be observed,⁷⁷ dependent upon two factors: 1) the introductory conjunction, and 2) the mood of the verb. These nuances in Classical Greek do not seem as apparent in NT Greek, perhaps because of Semitic interference. This section shall treat causal clause structure as found in the NT gospels in comparison with Classical Greek causal clause structure and any probable Semitic influence.

2.4.1 Causal clauses in Classical Greek

Classical Greek employs numerous conjunctions to introduce causal clauses: ὅτι,⁷⁸ διότι, διόπερ (because); ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ὅτε, ὁπότε, ὥς (as, since, because); εἴπερ (seeing that, since) (Smyth 1984: 503-505; Goowin 1930: 307-308). By the time the Classical period was at its height, the conjunctions ὥς, ὅτε, and ὁπότε were rarely used as causal particles, and ὅτι, διότι, and ἐπεί ascended as the more commonly employed causal conjunctions.

The indicative mood was most commonly employed in causal clauses in Classical Greek, and indicated factual statements. Any of the causal particles could introduce such clauses in the indicative without essentially affecting the meaning of the clause. However, according to Smyth (1984: 503, 504), the conjunction ὥς might introduce a clause used to denote ‘a reason imagined

⁷⁷ The details of these causal clause types will be discussed in a subsequent sub-section.

⁷⁸ After verbs of emotion, ὅτι means ‘that,’ not ‘because’ (Smyth 1984: 505).

to be true' and factual from the 'principal' subject's viewpoint: ὁ δ' ἐζήλωσας ἡμᾶς ὥς τοὺς μὲν φίλους...εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα..., οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει 'But what you envied us of, because we are able (as you surmise as fact) to do our friends well, not even does this case stand' (Xenophon, Hiero 6.12). The indicative mood as shown in the verb δυνάμεθα in the ὥς clause denotes a fact. The conjunction ὥς, according to Smyth, in this context underscores the viewpoint of the principal subject (here, contained in the verb ἐζήλωσας 'you envied') rather than that of the narrator.

In addition to the indicative mood, causal clauses may also employ the optative in cases where the narrator gives an alleged or reported reason: τὸν Περικλέα...ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὦν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι 'They abused Pericles on the ground that, though being their general, he did not lead them out' (Thucydides 2.21.3).⁷⁹ The optative or pertinent tenses of the indicative may be employed with the particle ἄν to connote unreal causal notions: οὐ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν ἄν 'He did not do these things because he would have died.'⁸⁰

Hence, in Classical Greek we may categorize causal constructions as follows:

- 1) clauses introduced by a causal conjunction and containing the indicative mood to denote facts as perceived by the narrator;
- 2) clauses introduced by ὥς and containing the indicative mood to denote facts as perceived by the principal subject;
- 3) clauses introduced by a causal conjunction and containing the optative mood, or indicative mood + ἄν, to denote alleged or unreal causal situations.

⁷⁹ Passage taken and translation slightly adapted from Rijksbaron (2002: 85).

⁸⁰ Example taken from Hansen (1992: 753).

2.4.2 Causal clause structure in NT Greek

Two types of causal clause structure exist in the Greek gospels: 1) coordinate clause structure, which employs the postpositive conjunction γάρ; 2) subordinate clause structure, which uses—similarly to causal clauses in Classical Greek—various conjunctions. The conjunction ὥς, when it is used to indicate statements of fact from the principal subject's viewpoint, is not found in the NT gospels (Wallace 1996: 674). In addition, alleged or unreal causal clauses employing the optative, optative + ἄν, or indicative + ἄν are not found in the NT gospels.⁸¹

The conjunction ὅτι is by far the most commonly used causal particle in the NT gospels. Frequently corresponding to Hebrew □□ (Blass/Debrunner 1961: 238), ὅτι may introduce both causal clauses and indirect/direct statements, just as Hebrew □□ may introduce causal clauses and constituent noun structures (Waltke 1990: 640-641, 644-646). Whether such a correspondence is fortuitous or the effect of Semitic interference is difficult to say, since Classical Greek employs ὅτι in much the same manner as that witnessed in κοινή. Hence, there is no reason to posit Semitic interference in this case.

The remaining conjunctions employed in the NT Greek gospels are infrequent, if not rare (ἐπεὶ being the most frequent in occurrence). In comparison to ὅτι, the other causal particles seem almost negligible. Ὅτι is very frequent in all four gospels. Furthermore, it is the only causal particle to introduce such clauses in Mark's gospel. That Mark is the earliest of the four canonical gospels is the *communis opinio* of NT scholars. If Marcan priority should best solve the so-called 'synoptic problem,' and if the earliest gospel version should contain substantial Semitic influence, one may surmise that Mark's exclusive use of ὅτι is a result of either a non-

⁸¹ 'One may say at once that in the N.T. the mode is always indicative' (Robertson 1914: 963).

native speaker's lack of command of Greek syntax, or Semitic interference, or—most likely—both. Luke contains the greatest variety of causal conjunctions (ὅτι, διότι, καθότι, ἀνθ' ὧν, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἐπειδήπερ). The question is whether this variation is due to stylistic choice or semantic nuance. In the following section, I shall undertake to treat this problem.

Table 2.16 Frequency of conjunctions employed in causal clauses in the NT Greek gospels

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
ὅτι	248	94
ἐπεί	6	2.3
διότι	3	1.1
καθότι	2	.8
ἀνθ' ὧν	3	1.1
ἐπειδή	1	.4
ἐπειδήπερ	1	.4
Total	264	

In conclusion, we may summarize the basic structure of causal clauses found in the NT Greek gospels as follows:

- 1) introduced by a causal conjunction, primarily ὅτι, though a number of less frequently employed conjunctions (i.e., διότι, καθότι, ἀνθ' ὧν, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἐπειδήπερ) are possible;
- 2) lack the optative mood or constructions with ἄν.⁸² This indicates an important divergence from Classical Greek usage;
- 3) employ no ὥς constructions.

A major distinction, therefore, between Classical Greek and κοινή causal usage is that κοινή appears to lack the nuances found in Classical Greek pertaining to assertion or unreal cause (at least, in subordinate causal structure. For an explanation of the distinction in nuance between independent and subordinate causal clauses in NT Greek, see Burton 1889: 98).

⁸² Ἄν occurs three times in causal clauses in the NT Greek gospels. However, in every case, this particle occurs in the apodosis of a past contrary-to-fact condition embedded within the causal cause.

2.4.3 Causal clause conjunctions in the NT Greek gospels

In this section, we address the problem of whether the variation of causal conjunctions indicates stylistic choice on the part of the author or semantic nuance. To understand better the usage of these conjunctions in the Greek gospels, let us examine briefly their frequency.⁸³

*Table 2.17 Frequency of Greek causal clause conjunctions employed in Matthew*⁸⁴

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	% ⁸⁵
ὅτι	52	21
ἐπεὶ	3	50
ὅθεν	1	100

In Matthew, only two conjunctions are employed in causal clauses, as the above table indicates. Since ὅτι seems to be the default causal clause conjunction in Matthew, the presence of ἐπεὶ is noteworthy. If the presence of ἐπεὶ is a matter of style, 1) why does this conjunction not occur more frequently, and 2) why do other causal conjunctions not occur?

An examination of the passages containing ἐπεὶ and a comparison with those containing ὅτι may shed light on the nature of the use of these conjunctions, namely, whether the usage is based upon stylistic choice (due to either structural conventions⁸⁶ or a desire for variability) or semantic nuance. Consider the following:

⁸³ The previous section briefly examined the overall frequency of causal clauses within the Greek gospels. This section shall treat their frequency specifically within each gospel.

⁸⁴ The passages containing causal clauses in Matthew are as follows:

ὅτι clauses

2:18; 5:3; 5:4; 5:5; 5:6; 5:7; 5:8; 5:9; 5:10; 5:12; 5:34; 5:35 (2); 5:36; 5:45; 6:5; 7:13; 9:36; 11:20; 11:21; 11:23; 11:25; 11:26; 11:29; 12:41; 23:15; 12:42; 13:11; 13:13; 13:16 (2); 14:5; 15:23; 15:32; 16:8; 16:17; 16:23; 17:15; 20:7; 20:15; 23:10; 23:13; 23:14; 23:15; 23:23; 23:25; 23:27; 23:29; 24:42; 24:44; 25:8; 25:13.

ἐπεὶ clauses

18:32; 21:46; 27:6.

ὅθεν clause

14:7.

⁸⁵ Not from the total number of causal clauses, but rather from those involving the conjunction in question.

⁸⁶ Structural conventions do not indicate or presuppose semantic variation. Consider the following examples of subordination in German: 1) Ich weiß, sie war gestern krank; 2) Ich weiß, daß sie gestern krank war. In these examples, structural change has not necessitated semantic change.

a) ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωανᾶ ‘because they repented at John’s preaching’ (Mt. 12:41).

b) ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσάς με ‘since you asked me’ (Mt. 18:32).

Nothing striking or noteworthy stands out structurally in these clauses. Both subordinate clauses follow the main clause, both contain a verb in the aorist indicative, both are affirmative clauses, both exhibit verb-initial word order after the subordinating conjunction. Hence, structural convention does not appear to be operating in this case. In addition, the main clauses upon which these two clauses depend exhibit no syntactic structure that necessitates the use of one conjunction in a specific instance over another.

Since the gospel of Mark contains no causal clauses introduced by the conjunction ἐπεὶ, one might expect the clauses in Mark comparable to those in Matthew to be introduced by ὅτι. Unfortunately, there exist in Mark no clauses comparable to the Matthew ἐπεὶ causal clauses, save one: Mt. 21:46 is comparable in content to Mk. 12:12 (and Lk. 20:19). Let us examine briefly the passages in question.

a) καὶ ζητοῦντες αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι ἐφοβήθησαν τοὺς ὄχλους, ἐπεὶ εἰς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον ‘And seeking to take hold of him, they feared the crowds, since they held him as a prophet’ (Mt. 21:46).

b) καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ⁸⁷ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον ‘And they kept seeking to take hold of him, and they feared the crowd, for they knew that he had spoken the parable against them. And having left him, they departed’ (Mk. 12:12).

⁸⁷ Here is a classic example of Semitic syntactic interference in Mark. In Classical Greek, one would expect here the conjunction ἀλλά or the postpositive conversive particle δέ as part of a μέν...δέ construction.

οὐ καὶ ἐζήτησαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν λαόν· ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην ‘And the scribes and the high priests sought to throw their hands upon him at that very hour, and they feared the people, for they knew that he had spoken against them this parable’ (Lk. 20:19).

The resemblance of vocabulary and/or meaning employed in the three passages is evident. Mark and Luke share more in common with each other in the above account than with Matthew.

Neither Mark nor Luke displays a causal clause; rather, they both exhibit instead an indirect statement, a construction noticeably lacking in Matthew’s account. In fact, the ἐπεὶ clauses in Matthew have no true parallels in the other gospels, demonstrating, in addition to what has already been treated, that there exists no conclusive evidence for ἐπεὶ clauses connoting any significant semantic nuance differing from that of ὅτι clauses.

Since ὅτι is the only causal conjunction found in Mark, choice and usage are not problematic. The problem of causal conjunctions in Mark, however, poses two lingering

Table 2.18 Frequency of Greek causal clause conjunctions employed in Mark⁸⁸

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
ὅτι	17	7

questions: 1) Why does Mark employ only one type of causal conjunction (ὅτι), but Matthew and John show two conjunctions (ὅτι and ἐπεὶ) and Luke several (ὅτι, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ, ἐπειδὴπερ, καθότι, διότι, ἀνθ’ ὧν)? 2) Why does Mark exhibit comparatively few causal clauses? The answer cannot simply lie in the fact that Mark is the shortest gospel, for John is shorter than either Matthew or Luke, but contains a relatively greater number of causal clauses than either of them.

⁸⁸ The passages containing ὅτι causal clauses in Mark are as follows: 1:34; 3:30; 4:29; 4:41; 5:9; 6:17; 6:34; 7:19; 8:2; 8:16; 8:17; 8:33; 9:38; 9:41; 14:21; 14:27; 16:14.

That the Greek conjunction ὅτι, like the Aramaic ܐܝܢ, may introduce causal clauses and indirect statements and, hence, may be a translation of ܐܝܢ is a matter of speculation,⁸⁹ given that ὅτι may function likewise in Classical Greek exclusive of any Semitic influence. Such a position, furthermore, does not explain why Mark exhibits the least number of causal clauses found in the four gospels, nor does it explain why the other gospels show causal conjunctions in addition to ὅτι. It seems best to leave the problem of ὅτι in Mark as a result of the author's own word choice, indicative of his particular style and understanding of Greek syntax.

The relatively polished Greek of Luke's gospel points to its composition by a native speaker or a speaker of native fluency, which well explains the plethora of causal clauses found in Luke and the variety of their exponents. The data from Matthew's gospel has left the problem of semantic nuance in causal conjunctions inconclusive. The same must be stated for causal clauses in Luke. All causal clauses in Luke follow the main clause, save one: Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων 'Since many have undertaken to compile a narrative concerning the events having been accomplished among us' (Lk. 1:1). This evidence suggests that the conjunction employed has no effect upon the position of the subordinate clause in regard to that of the main clause. Moreover, the data clearly support Rijkbaron's findings (2002) concerning causal clauses in Classical Greek:

⁸⁹ To say that ὅτι corresponds to ܐܝܢ is not to assert that the gospels are direct translations from an original Aramaic source. However, evidence of Aramaic/Hebrew interference in the gospels as proposed by Black (1998), Maloney (1981), and Zimmerman (1979) validates the notion that the *words* contained in the gospels are indeed Greek and not a translation of a particular Aramaic text, but that the *thoughts and ideas* stem from a native speaker of a Semitic language, probably Aramaic (Zimmerman 1979: 3). Zimmerman discusses various other views of scholars, namely, that the Greek of the NT probably contains passages which are translations of Aramaic/Hebrew (1979: 4), or that the entire corpus of the four gospels (except Jn. 21, Lk. 1-2, Mk. 16: 9-20)—including the Acts of the Apostles up to 15: 35—have been translated directly from Aramaic into Greek, which is Zimmerman's position (1979: 4-5). A speaker of Aramaic who might have known Greek only as a second language would likely have displayed interference from his native tongue upon the target language during the act of composition. The point being made concerning ὅτι and ܐܝܢ is that their correspondence may not necessarily be the result of coincidence, but rather that of Semitic interference.

ἐπεὶ and ὥς frequently function as causal coordinator-like conjunctions ('for,' 'namely'), comparable to γάρ. The content of such ἐπεὶ- and ὥς- clauses usually consists of a *motivation* for the preceding statement: οὐ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ('You will not leave us behind, for I shall give you larger gifts,' Hdt. 8.5.2); πέμπειν δὲ

Table 2.19 Frequency of Greek causal clause conjunctions employed in Luke⁹⁰

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
ὅτι	80	32
διότι	3	100
καθότι	2	100
ἀνθ' ὧν	3	100
ἐπεὶ	1	17
ἐπειδὴ	1	100
ἐπειδήπερ	1	100

χρῆ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ ('But you too must send a great force; for, if you will not send it, be assured that we shall make terms with the Persians,' Hdt. 7.172.2). In this use the ἐπεὶ- and ὥς- clauses always *follow* the clauses or sentences they modify (86).

⁹⁰ The passages containing causal clauses in Luke are as follows:

ὅτι clauses

1:37; 1:48; 1:49; 1:68; 2:11; 2:30; 4:6; 4:32; 4:41; 4:43; 5:8; 6:19; 6:20; 6:21 (2); 6:24; 6:25 (2); 6:35; 7:47; 8:30; 8:37; 8:42; 9:12; 9:38; 9:49; 9:53; 10:13; 10:21 (2); 11:18; 11:31; 11:32; 11:42; 11:43; 11:44; 11:46; 11:47; 11:48; 11:52; 12:15; 12:17; 12:32; 12:40; 13:2; 13:14; 13:24; 13:31; 13:33; 14:11; 14:14; 14:17; 15:6; 15:9; 15:24; 15:27 (2); 15:32; 16:3; 16:8 (2); 16:15; 16:24; 17:9; 18:11; 18:14; 19:3; 19:4; 19:17; 19:21; 19:31; 19:34; 19:43; 21:22; 22:22; 23:29; 23:31; 23:40; 24:29; 24:39

διότι clauses

1:32; 2:7; 21:28

καθότι clauses

1:7; 19:9

ἀνθ' ὧν clauses

1:20; 12:3; 19:44

ἐπεὶ clauses

1:34

ἐπειδὴ clauses

11:6

ἐπειδήπερ clauses

1:1

The evidence from the data does not appear to support a notable distinction in semantic nuance or structure among the various conjunctions employed in Luke. Hence, we may assert that stylistic—and not semantic—factors govern the choice of conjunction in causal clauses.

As noted earlier, John's gospel contains the greatest number of causal clauses. Like Matthew, John has a small number of clauses introduced by ἐπεὶ, in addition to those introduced by ὅτι: ἐπεὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν Ἰούδας... 'since Judas had the money bag' (Jn. 13:29); ἐπεὶ παρασκευῇ ἦν... 'since it was the preparation' (Jn. 19:31). In the synoptic gospels, causal conjunctions always follow the main clause or supporting thought (Lk. 1:1 being the lone exception). In John's gospel, however, causal clauses may precede the main clause, although such a construction is very infrequent: ὅτι εἶπόν σοι ὅτι εἶδόν σε ὑποκάτω τῆς συκῆς, πιστεύεις; 'Because I said to you that I saw you underneath the fig tree, do you believe?' (Jn. 1:50).⁹¹ Hence, one may conclude, discounting the few exceptions, that causal clauses in the Greek NT gospels follow the main clause.

Table 2.20 Frequency of Greek causal clause conjunctions employed in John⁹²

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
ὅτι	99	40
ἐπεὶ	2	50

⁹¹ For other causal clauses in John exhibiting the same position relative to the main clause, see the following: 8:45; 14:19; 15:19; 16:6; 20:29.

⁹² The passages containing causal clauses in John are as follows:

ὅτι clauses

1:15; 1:16; 1:17; 1:30; 1:50; 2:25; 3:18; 3:23; 4:22; 5:16; 5:18; 5:27; 2:28; 5:30; 5:38; 5:39; 6:2; 6:26 (2); 6:38; 6:41; 6:46; 7:1; 7:7; 7:8; 7:22; 7:23; 7:29; 7:30; 7:39; 8:14; 8:16; 8:20; 8:22; 8:29; 8:37; 8:43; 8:44 (2); 8:45; 8:47; 9:16; 9:17; 9:22; 10:4; 10:5; 10:13; 10:17; 10:26; 10:33; 10:36; 11:9; 11:10; 11:15; 11:41; 11:47; 12:6 (2); 12:11; 12:18; 12:39; 12:41; 12:49; 14:12; 14:17 (2); 14:19; 14:22; 14:28 (2); 15:5; 15:15 (2); 15:19; 15:21; 16:3; 16:4; 16:6; 16:9; 16:10; 16:11; 16:14; 16:17; 16:19; 16:21 (2); 16:27; 16:32; 17:8; 17:9; 17:14; 17:24; 18:2; 18:18; 19:7; 19:20; 19:42; 20:29; 21:17

ἐπεὶ clauses

13:29; 19:31

We may summarize the use of causal clause conjunctions and their placement as follows:

1) ὅτι is the preferred conjunction, with ἐπεὶ occurring infrequently (other conjunctions rarely occur); 2) causal clauses almost always follow the main clause, Luke and John exhibiting the few notable exceptions; 3) the various conjunctions employed connote no semantic nuance, any difference apparently being stylistic.

2.4.4 Word order in causal clauses in the Greek gospels

That the Greek gospels exhibit as great a variety of word-order types in causal clauses as in other clausal types we have examined (i.e. purpose and result clauses) appears to be the result of style and emphasis rather than of semantic or syntactic conditioning. This section treats word-order types according to their structure in the four canonical gospels.

The most common word-order type in Matthew is verb-initial, without an overt subject or object: ὅτι κρᾶζει ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν ‘because she is crying out behind us’ (Mt. 15:23). Sometimes a participle/adjective and/or adverb intervene(s) between the conjunction and verb: ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδὲ συνίουσιν... ‘because (although) seeing they do not see and hearing they do not hear, nor do they understand’ (Mt. 13:13). An embedded subordinate clause may also intervene between the conjunction and verb: ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἄν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ‘Because if there had occurred in Sodom the miracles having occurred in you, it would have remained until today’ (Mt. 11:23).

VO and SV word order are nearly as frequent as V-initial (no S/O): ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν ‘because you do not know the day nor the hour’ (Mt. 25:13, an example of VO word order); ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ... ‘because the Son of Man goes just as it has been written concerning him’ (Mk. 14:21, an example of SV

word order). Such clauses⁹³ mostly feature a noun (or pronoun) subject with an intransitive, stative, or copulative verb. Any predicates present may follow or precede the verb: ὅτι καθηγητῆς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν εἷς ὁ Χριστός ‘because your guide is one, the Anointed’ or ‘because one, the Anointed, is your guide’ (Mt. 23:10, position of the predicate unclear); ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται ‘because they will be called G-d’s sons’ (Mt. 5:9, predicate precedes verb).

Clauses in which the object precedes the verb are infrequent: ὅτι ὡς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον ‘because they held him as a prophet’ (Mt. 14:5), OV word order); ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς ἐμισθώσατο ‘because no one hired us’ (Mt. 20:7, SOV word order). The following are other infrequent word-order types found in Matthew:

- 1) VS: ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ‘because to you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 13:11). In every instance of this word-order type, a possessive or dative pronoun intercedes between the conjunction and verb.
- 2) SVO: ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν ‘because they will inherit the earth’ (Mt. 5:5). This passage contains the only occurrence of SVO word order in causal clauses in Matthew.
- 3) S-initial (no V/O): ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς because your reward in the heavens is much (or great)’ (Mt. 5:12). A predicate nominative/adjective may precede the subject: ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν... ‘Because wide [is] the gate and spacious the way, the one leading to destruction’ (Mt. 7:13).

⁹³ i.e., those exhibiting SV word order.

The greatest number of causal clauses in Mark have VO word order:⁹⁴ ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ‘because you do not consider the things of G-d but the things of men’ (Mk. 8:33). OV word order also occurs: ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν ‘because he married her’ (Mk. 6:17). Verb-initial with no overt subject or object occurs as frequently as OV: ὅτι ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα ‘because they were as sheep not having a shepherd’ (Mk. 6:34). SV word order is very uncommon: ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ ‘because, on the one hand, the Son of Man departs just as it has been written concerning him’ (Mk. 14:21). The two remaining word-order types are rare, each occurring only once: ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμός ‘because the harvest is present’ (Mk. 4:29, VS word order); τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ ‘Who indeed is this, because even the wind and the sea obey him?’ (Mk. 4:4, SVO word order. Although it is possible that this passage contains a causal clause, that clause in question more likely connotes result: ‘Who indeed is this, *that* even the wind and the sea obey him?’).

In Luke’s gospel, verb-initial (no S/O) word order is most common in causal clauses: ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε ‘because you will be fed’ (Lk. 6:21). Most clauses with this word-order type are intransitive.⁹⁵ However, some transitive verbs with no direct or indirect object do occur. Such verbs are often modified by a prepositional phrase or adverb: ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ’ ἡμῶν ‘because he does not follow after us’ (Lk. 9:49); ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν ‘because he did sensibly’ (Lk. 16:8). The adverbial construction (prepositional phrase, adverb, dative of means/respect, etc.) may intervene between the conjunction and verb: ὅτι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸς ἦν ‘because he was small in stature’ (Lk. 19:3).

⁹⁴ Dative objects of verbs governing the dative rather than accusative case, as well as direct/indirect statements, are considered objects for the purpose of this study.

⁹⁵ The intransitivity is by nature (i.e., the inherent meaning of the verb), by derivation (i.e., verbs derived from adjectives or nouns and, hence, indicating a state of being or becoming), or by inflection (i.e., transitive verbs becoming intransitive through passive voice inflection).

In addition to verb-initial (no S/V) word order, VO word order is also common: ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν ‘because you build the tombs of the prophets’ (Lk. 11:47). Sometimes the verb may take a double accusative: ὅτι φορτίζετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φορτία δυσβάστακτα ‘because you cause men to bear burdens difficult to carry’ (Lk. 11:46).⁹⁶ Some objects are in the dative, not accusative, case: ἄνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου ‘because you did not believe my words (Lk. 1:20). The direct object may also be an adverbial clause: ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω ποῦ συνάξω τοὺς καρπούς μου ‘because I do not have where I shall gather my fruits’ (Lk. 12:17). Two notable syntactic features exist in this passage: 1) the interrogative adverb ποῦ acts as a relative adverb, substituting most likely for the phrase τόπον ἐν ᾧ ‘a place in which;’ 2) the indirect question acts as the direct object of the verb ἔχω.⁹⁷ An elliptical direct object occurs rarely: ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναί σοι ‘because they do not have [anything] to give back to you’ (Lk. 14:14, the elliptical object being the indefinite pronoun τι). The object may also be an indirect statement: ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ‘because they knew [that] he was the Anointed one’ (Lk. 4:41).

Other types of verb-initial word order with direct objects (i.e., VSO and VOS) are rare in causal clauses in Luke: ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου ‘because my eyes have seen your salvation’ (Lk. 2:30, VSO word order); ὅτι ἐποίησέν μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατός ‘because the Mighty One has done great things for me’ (Lk. 1:49, VOS word order).

On the other hand, VS word order is fairly common: διότι ἐγγίζει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν ‘because your redemption is drawing near’ (Lk. 21:28). In a rare instance, the subject is neither a noun or pronoun, but an infinitival phrase: ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω

⁹⁶ The above passage is an example of a cognate accusative, a type of internal (object) accusative (see Smyth 1984: 355-356).

⁹⁷ Indirect questions, like all indirect discourse, act as direct objects. Although the clause ποῦ συνάξω τοὺς καρπούς μου is introduced by an adverb, it functions syntactically substantivally as a direct object of the verb ἔχω.

Ἱερουσαλήμ ‘because it is not possible [for] a prophet to be destroyed outside Jerusalem’ (Lk. 13:33).

Verb-final word order is not as common in causal clauses in Luke as verb-initial; of the former, SV word order occurs most frequently: ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ ‘because his face was journeying into Jerusalem’ (Lk. 9:53). Predicates occur usually immediately before the verb: καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστίν ‘because he also is a son of Abraham’ (Lk. 19:9); ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ‘because the kingdom of God is yours’ (Lk. 6:20). The predicate may precede the subject: ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταὶ εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ‘because these are days of punishment, so that all things [which have been] written may be fulfilled’ (Lk. 21:22). The length or complexity of a clause does not appear to affect verbal finality: ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτὸς εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν ‘because the sons of this age are more sensible in respect to their own generation than the sons of light’ (Lk. 16:8).

The remaining verb-final word-order types are relatively uncommon: ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω; ‘since I do not know a man?’ (Lk. 1:34, OV word order); ὅτι πνεῦμα σὰρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα⁹⁸ ‘because a spirit does not have flesh and bones just as you see me having’ (Lk. 24:39, SOV word order). OV order is apparently not as common as VO order. Although Greek has a relatively free word order in respect to subject-verb-object, nevertheless, there seem to be tendencies, especially in κοινή, which are not necessarily the effects of Semitic influence, but rather processes and developments that have arisen in the evolution of Greek itself; such effects are evident in Luke’s gospel, the text of the four canonical gospels closest to Classical idiom, syntax, and style. Hence, Luke’s tendency toward VO word

⁹⁸ This clause is syntactically ambiguous, and may be understood as an indirect statement, representing an appositional object of the verb ἴδετε, ‘you see’ or ‘see!’

order in causal clauses demonstrates a syntactic shift already under development in the Greek language in the late Hellenistic period.

The remaining subject-initial clauses (SVO, S-initial with no V/O) are infrequent or rare: Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ‘Since many undertook to set in order a narration concerning the actions having been fulfilled among us’ (Lk. 1:1, SVO⁹⁹ word order); ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλὸν βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ‘because the [thing] stately among men [is] an abomination in the sight of G-d’ (Lk. 16:15, S-initial with no V/O. The subject is the substantival use of the adjective ὑψηλόν ‘stately, proud, high, lofty.’ The above passage is the only example of this word-order type in the gospel of Luke).

In John’s gospel, V-initial (no S/O) word order occurs most commonly: ὅτι πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ‘because I journey to the father’ (Jn. 14:28). This word-order type acts in the same manner as that found in the other gospels, namely, that V-initial causal clauses may contain phrases, predicates, and adverbial constructions which intervene between the conjunction and verb (see Jn. 14:7—prepositional phrase intervention, Jn. 8:16—predicate nominative/adjective intervention, Jn. 17:9—dative of possession intervention).

VO word order is also common: ὅτι οὐκ οἶδασιν τὸν πέμψαντά με ‘because they do not know the one having sent me’ (Jn. 15:21). Sometimes the object is a direct or indirect statement: ἐλυπήθη ὁ Πέτρος ὅτι εἶπε αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον· φιλεῖς με; ‘Peter grieved, because he said to him the third [time], “Do you love me?”’ (Jn. 21:17); ὅτι εἶπόν σοι ὅτι εἶδόν σε ὑποκάτω τῆς συκῆς, πιστεύεις; ‘Because I said to you that I saw you underneath the fig tree, do you believe?’ (Jn. 1:50).

⁹⁹ The infinitival phrase ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν ‘to set in order a narration’ is the object of the verb ἐπεχείρησαν ‘they undertook.’

SV is the most frequently occurring subject-initial word-order type found in John: ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ... ‘because many waters (i.e., much water) were there’ (Jn. 3:23).

Sometimes the subject is a pronoun: ὅτι ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστιν ‘because I bear witness concerning him, that his works are evil’ (Jn. 7:7). A predicate or prepositional phrase often intervenes between the subject and verb: ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν ‘because salvation is from the Jews’ (Jn. 4:22). Other subject-initial types are relatively rare:

SVO

ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος οὐκ οἶδεν τί ποιεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος ‘because the slave does not know what his lord is doing’ (Jn. 15:15). On one occasion, a modifier precedes the verb and its object: τί ποιοῦμεν ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ ποιεῖ σημεῖα; ‘What do we do, because this man is doing many signs?’ (Jn. 11:47).¹⁰⁰

SOV

ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ πεφιλήκατε ‘because you have loved me’ (Jn. 16:17).

The remaining word-order types are also infrequent or rare:

VS

ὅτι ἦλθεν¹⁰¹ ἡ ὥρα αὐτῆς ‘because her hour has come’ (Jn. 16:21).

VSO

ὅτι πάλιν εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας ‘because again Isaiah said:’ (Jn. 12:39).¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ This passage can be analysed in two ways: 1) πολλὰ is the actual object of ποιεῖ, and means ‘many things.’ Such an analysis would have to indicate SOV word order in this passage, and σημεῖα would have to be construed as an appositive to πολλὰ. This interpretation is unlikely. What is more probable is 2) that πολλὰ modifies σημεῖα, as interpreted above. In this case, the passage is to be understood as an example of hyperbaton, a syntactic feature common to Classical Greek (see Devine and Stephens 2000).

¹⁰¹ Perfect use of the aorist.

¹⁰² The object of εἶπεν is the direct statement that follows the passage.

VOS

ὅτι ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι ‘because the Jews were seeking him to kill [him]’ (Jn. 7:1). The syntactic analysis of this passage is problematic. Is αὐτόν the direct object of ἐζήτουν or of ἀποκτεῖναι? Either analysis would work here. It might be assumed that position of the object αὐτόν indicates ἐζήτουν as the governing verb because of the proximity of the verb and the accusative object, but such a rule concerning object proximity is not a necessity either in Classical or NT Greek. Hence, either interpretation is valid.

OV

ἀλλ’ ὅτι ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν ἡ λύπη πεπλήρωκεν ὑμῶν τὴν καρδίαν ‘but because I have spoken these things to you, grief has filled your heart’ (Jn. 16:6).

OVS

ἐπεὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν Ἰούδας... ‘since Judas used to have the money bag’ (Jn. 13:29).

OSV

ὅτι ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος, τούτῳ ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε ‘because, whom that [one] sent, this [one] you do not believe’ (Jn. 5:38). In other words, ‘because you do not believe the one whom he has sent.’ If τούτῳ is the object of the verb πιστεύετε, then the word order is O (τούτῳ) S (ὕμεις) V (πιστεύετε).¹⁰³

An examination of word order in causal clauses reveals certain trends that all the gospels share. For example, word-order types with the verb heading the clause after the conjunction are most frequent.

¹⁰³ It is reasonable to analyse τούτῳ as an indirect object, the verb πιστεύω connoting the idea of ‘rendering trust to.’ In addition to taking a dative object, πιστεύω may be employed in conjunction with the preposition εἰς ‘into, unto.’ In this case, it may be argued that εἰς has taken on the role of the dative in connection with this particular verb. Perhaps, then, τούτῳ should not be treated as a direct object. Yet, I have treated τούτῳ as a direct object for the following reasons: 1) no internal or cognate accusative occurs in relation to πιστεύω. Therefore, there exists no direct object to which τούτῳ may act in relation as indirect object; 2) τούτῳ is not an object of any preposition, nor does it function in any conceivable adverbial capacity. Since the demonstrative is clearly the object of something, the verb πιστεύετε works best syntactically as governing τούτῳ.

Table 2.21 General comparison of word-order types in NT Greek causal clauses

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VS	3	1	13	9
VO	13	6	20	24
VSO	0	0	2	2?
VOS	0	0	1	1?
V-initial (no S/O)	17	4	23	26
SV	13	2	19	15
SOV	1	0	3	3
SVO	1	1	5	7
S-initial (no V/O)	2	0	1	0
OV	4	4	3	11
OVS	0	0	0	2
OSV	0	0	0	1

Table 2.22 Word-order types in causal clauses in NT Greek

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Verb-initial	165	62.5
Subject-initial	74	28.03
Object-initial	25	9.45

V-initial (no S/O) is the most common of all word-order types, occurring with relatively great frequency in all the gospels, save Mark (simply because Mark's gospel contains so few causal clauses in comparison to the other gospels). In addition, this word-order type occurs with nearly equal frequency in the gospels excluding Mark. VO word order occurs frequently, as well, and is the most frequently occurring word-order type found in causal clauses in Mark. Subject-initial clauses occur less frequently than verb-initial ones, but of the former, the type SV is by far the most common. Of the object-initial types, OV occurs most frequently, with the presence of other word-order types (OVS, OSV) being nearly negligible.

The tendency, then, in causal clauses in NT Greek is for the verb to move to initial position in respect to the subject and object. Subject-initial clauses occur, but with far less frequency; object-initial clauses are relatively rare.

Table 2.23 Argument-initial word-order types in NT Greek causal clauses

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Verb-initial	165	62.5
Subject-initial	74	28.03
Object-initial	25	9.45

2.4.5 Mood in causal clauses in the Greek gospels

Of the possible finite moods that can exist in a Greek clause (indicative, imperative, subjunctive, optative), only the indicative appears with any significant frequency in causal clauses found in the Greek gospels. An examination of the previous example passages substantiates this observation. Not all occurrences of the indicative mood in these clauses denote that the verb in its clause expresses a fact. There exist a minute number of passages containing verbs denoting actions that are contrary to fact: ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν¹⁰⁴ ‘because if the miracles having occurred among you had occurred in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sack-cloth and ashes’ (Mt. 11:21). This passage, containing a contrary-to-fact condition embedded within the causal clause, exhibits a complex structure. Since the conjunction εἰ governs the verb in the protasis, the verb in the apodosis belongs to the causal clause proper, which may be structurally shown as follows:

¹⁰⁴ ἂν + μετενόησαν indicate that the action is unreal, such structure being exhibited in causal clauses also in Classical Greek. Unreal acts in causal clauses in the Greek gospels are rare, occurring only four times (three contrary-to-fact conditions, one mixed condition containing a deliberative question).

(ὅτι {[εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν,] πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν})¹⁰⁵

This clause displays a hierarchical structure of governance. The entire conditional sentence is governed by the conjunction ὅτι. The question of governance within the conditional sentence appears difficult to ascertain. Does the structure of the protasis determine that of the apodosis, or vice versa? Apodoses often may stand alone in such embedded clauses, or even in main clauses. For example, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν as a main clause can be translated ‘They might have repented long ago in sack-cloth and ashes,’ indicating the uncertainty of the act by the speaker. On the other hand, protases cannot by nature stand alone, but are dependent upon the apodotic clauses with which they are semantically connected. Hence, we may conclude that, in this passage, the protasis is hierarchically dependent on the apodosis.

A conditional clause embedded within a causal clause may exhibit a structure whose governance is difficult to determine: ὅτι εἰ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ξύλῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται; ‘because if they do these things in the moist timber, what is to occur in the dry?’ (Lk. 23: 31). The complexity of this clause is twofold in that 1) the protasis embedded is a present particular condition, and 2) the apodosis is in the form of a deliberative question with subjunctive verb, the only appearance of the subjunctive mood in a causal clause in the four Greek gospels. Although γένηται is part of the ὅτι clause, the conjunction in this case does not determine the mood of the verb, nor does the protasis.¹⁰⁶ The verb’s mood is *semantically* and *syntactically* driven, the phenomenon being demonstrated through substitution of γένηται with forms in the indicative:

¹⁰⁵ In this instance, the entire period seems to be the actual clausal structure, dependent upon the prior ‘woe’ statements. One might perhaps term this structure ‘semi-causal.’

¹⁰⁶ The causal clauses in both Mt. 11:21 and Lk. 23: 31 are weakly characterized inasmuch as they do not themselves explain any assertion. Instead, the analysis of these passages suggests a conditional rather than causal emphasis.

a) ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γίνεται; ‘what is occurring in the dry?’ (present indicative middle)

b) ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γενήσεται; ‘what will occur in the dry?’ (future indicative middle)

The above examples indicate that a change in mood (and tense) result in a change in meaning.

It may be argued that the verb γένηται is acting as a future in the causal clause. The subjunctive historically did function as a future in PIE, and such a function of the subjunctive would not be considered unusual in Greek. However, since κοινή has a grammatical category of future tense, the presence of the subjunctive must indicate semantically what the future tense in this case cannot signify, namely, a deliberative question.

In conclusion, except for the presence of the subjunctive mood in Lk. 23:31, causal clauses in the Greek gospels employ the indicative mood only. In such clauses, the indicative may demonstrate factual or contrary-to-fact/unreal statements.

2.4.6 Aspect (and tense) in causal clauses in the Greek gospels

Aspect in the indicative mood in Greek is closely tied to tense.¹⁰⁷ Since causal clauses in the Greek gospels are predominantly in the indicative mood, a discussion of aspect without mentioning its synergy with tense would give an inaccurate, if not incomplete, account of both grammatical categories. A more detailed treatment of aspect has already been given in section 2.1.1.3. Therefore, a reiteration of those points in this section would be superfluous. Here we shall emphasize and briefly treat the aspect-tense interface in causal clauses, the effects of which indicate a blurring of distinctions between aspect and tense and of the tense contrasts themselves.

All four gospels exhibit causal clauses containing the present indicative: ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν because the kingdom of the heavens is theirs’ (Mt. 5:3); ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε ‘because you are the Anointed’s’ (Mk. 9:41); ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἀσκληρὸς εἶ ‘because you are a harsh

¹⁰⁷ The notion of aspect and time (the temporal sense occurring only in the indicative mood, at least theoretically) Wallace (1996: 514) designated as the ‘unaffected’ or ‘ontological’ meaning.

man' (Lk. 19:21); ὅτι τὸ φῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ 'because the light is not in him' (Jn. 11:10). A number of these presents, as the above examples demonstrate, function with descriptive lexical and structural items. A descriptive present may also occur without the verb εἶναι: ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν 'because wide [is] the gate and spacious the way, the one leading into destruction' (Mt. 7:3).

The past tense counterpart of the durative present is the imperfect¹⁰⁸, which does not frequently occur in causal clauses in the Greek gospels: ὅτι ὡς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον 'because they were holding him as a prophet' (Mt. 14:5); ὅτι ἔλεγον· πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει 'because they were saying, "He has an unclean spirit"' (Mk. 3:30) (could be a number of imperfects, either iterative, customary, ingressive/inchoative, punctiliar); ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἰᾶτο πάντας 'because power was coming out from him and he was healing everyone' (Lk. 6:19); ὅτι ταῦτα ἐποίει ἐν σαββάτῳ 'because he was doing these things on the sabbath' (Jn. 5:16).

¹⁰⁸ This correspondence refers to the unaffected meaning of these tenses. Wallace discusses in detail the specific (or, affected) uses of the imperfect (1996: 540-553). One may categorized these uses as follows:

I. Particularized (Narrow-Band) Imperfects

A. Punctiliar imperfect (Wallace 1996: 542-543)—functions as an aorist. Ex. ἔλεγεν· τίς μου ἥψατο τῶν ἱματίων; 'he said, "Who touched my garments"' (Mk. 5:30). Note: to translate ἔλεγεν as a progressive or habitual imperfect here would be irrational, unless the author intended the imperfect to signify that Jesus was repeatedly asking this question (certainly a possibility, but unlikely in light of the context).

B. Progressive imperfect (Fanning 1990: 241-244; Wallace 1996: 543-544)—signifies action ongoing or in progress in past time from the speaker's (author's) perspective. Ex. see Mt. 14:5 below.

C. Ingressive imperfect (Fanning 1990: 252-253; Wallace 1996: 544-545)—indicates the commencement of an action in past time and its ongoing continuance into the present. If one should translate Mt. 14:5 as an ingressive imperfect, then the rendering would be 'because they began to hold him as a prophet.'

II. Generalized (Broad-Band) Imperfects

A. Iterative imperfect (Fanning 1990: 244-249; Wallace 1996: 546-547)—indicates repeated action in past time. This use of the imperfect would render Mt. 14:5 'because they kept on holding him as a prophet.'

B. Customary imperfect (Fanning 1990: 244-249; Wallace 1996: 548)—indicates habitual action in past time. Mt. 14:5 'because they would hold/used to hold/continually held him as a prophet.'

For 'special uses' of the imperfect, see Wallace 1996: 549-553, where he discusses the 'pluperfective' imperfect, the conative imperfect, and the imperfect in indirect discourse.

The aorist as employed in causal clauses denotes a punctiliar action in past time: ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ ‘because they repented at the preaching of Jonah’ (Mt. 12:41); ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγηγερμένον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ‘because they did not believe those having beheld that he had risen (literally, him having been raised)’ (Mk. 16:14); ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς ἀκοῦσαι τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶνος... ‘because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon...’ (Lk. 11:31); ὅτι εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλησεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ‘because he saw his glory, and spoke concerning him’ (Jn. 12:41).

Often the aorist indicative functions as a perfect: ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς ἐμισθώσατο ‘because no one has hired us’ (Mt. 20:7); ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις ‘because you have hidden these things from the wise and sensible and have revealed them to the immature’ (Lk. 10:21); ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος ‘because out of his fullness we all have received even grace upon grace’ (Jn. 1:16).

In addition, the aorist may have the meaning of the pluperfect: ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν ‘because he had married her’ (Mk. 6:17); ἀγανακτῶν ὅτι τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐθεράπευσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς... ‘being angry because Jesus had healed on the Sabbath...’ (Lk. 13:14); ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη ‘because Jesus had not yet been glorified’ (Jn. 7:39).

The perfect tense in causal clauses is not commonly employed: ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ‘because it has been given to you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 13:11); ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμός ‘because the harvest has come’ (Mk. 4:29); ὅτι ταῦτα πεπόνθασι; ‘because they have suffered these things?’ (Lk. 13:2); ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κέκριται ‘because the ruler of this world has been judged’ (Jn. 16:11). The verb οἶδα ‘I know’ always has the meaning of a present: ὅτι οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν ἡμέραν

οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν ‘because you do not know the day nor the hour’ (Mt. 25:13); ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος οὐκ οἶδεν τί ποιεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος ‘because the slave does not know what his lord is doing’ (Jn. 15:15).

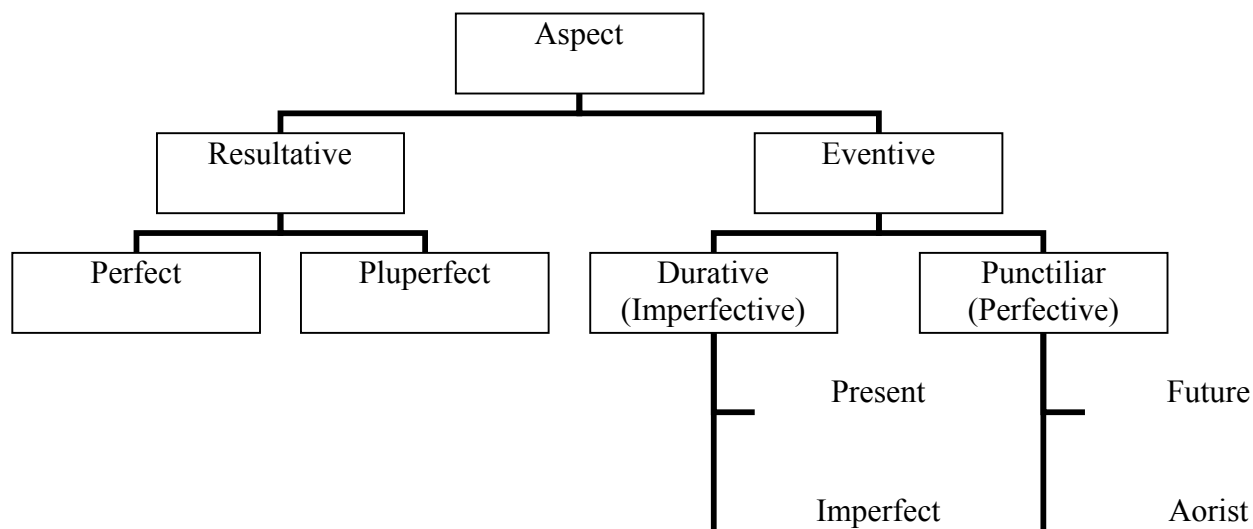
Rare occurrences of the pluperfect always employ a form of οἶδα; hence, these pluperfects are best understood as simple past in meaning:¹⁰⁹ ὅτι ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν ‘because they knew him’ (Mk. 1:34); ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ‘because they knew that he was the Anointed one’ (Lk. 4:41).

That the imperfect may have an aorist connotation, and the aorist a perfect and pluperfect value, indicates that the aspectual functions are not always salient or consistent with the tenses, at least in the indicative mood in causal clauses. The ‘unaffected’ meaning is clearly not always the obvious one.

A word must be mentioned concerning the future tense in causal clauses. The problem of how to classify the aspect of the future has already been briefly addressed (see section 2.1.1.3). It is evident that the future cannot be considered to be aspectually imperfective. Could the future perhaps be a type of aorist? Although the future often has the same stem as the aorist, and no future imperative or subjunctive exists in Greek, nevertheless, there are separate future forms of several non-indicative mood categories (e.g., future infinitive, participle, and optative). Hence, it is not clear whether the future should be classified aspectually as a counterpart of the aorist. On the other hand, if the present is a temporal counterpart to the imperfect, the future may well be a

¹⁰⁹ Whether the pluperfect of οἶδα is to be understood as imperfect or aorist in meaning depends upon the context. The rare occurrences of this form in causal clauses are best treated as aorists.

temporal counterpart of the aorist (Wallace 1996: 566).¹¹⁰ If we assume that Wallace's assertion is correct, then we may postulate the following tense-aspect relationship:¹¹¹



The future occurs irregularly in causal clauses in the Greek gospels: ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν ‘because they will inherit the earth’ (Mt. 5:5); ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσιν ‘because many, I say to you, will seek to enter and will not be able’ (Lk. 13:24); ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήμψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν ‘because he will receive and report to you from what is mine’ (Jn. 16:14). One passage without a verb most likely implies a future: ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ‘because your reward [is/will be] much in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:12).

¹¹⁰ Wallace (1996: 567) bases his claim of the temporal relationship between the future and aorist on 1) morphology and 2) usage. Like the aorist, the future tense is unaffectedly external in regard to action portrayed.

¹¹¹ Notice that the future perfect has no place in the schema.

In conclusion, we may indicate the frequency of aspect/tense through the following table:

Table 2.24 Frequency of aspect/tense in causal clauses in the Greek gospels

Aspect/Tense	Frequency							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Perfect	3	13	2	9	3	13	15	65
Pluperfect	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0
Present	30	25	9	8	39	33	40	34
Imperfect	3	9	3	9	11	32	17	50
Future	7	41	0	0	8	47	2	12
Aorist	11	16	2	3	31	45	25	36

For a more detailed discussion of aspect, see section 2.5.4.

2.5 Conclusion

We shall conclude this chapter with a recapitulation of subordinating conjunctival usage, word-order configuration, mood, and aspect/tense employment in telic, ecbatic, and aetiological hypotaxis as displayed in the NT Greek gospels.

2.5.0 General Considerations

Before examining the uses given above, it is important to consider the following notable features of telic, ecbatic, and aetiological structure in the Greek gospels:

1) *There is no standard, uniform manner to express purpose in the Greek gospels.* This statement merely indicates the fact that Greek employs a number of structures, in addition to hypotaxis (i.e., subordinate clauses), to express the notion of purpose. For example, the infinitive—as in English—may indicate purpose: οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι ‘I did not come to destroy, but to fulfill’ (Mt. 5:17). The articular infinitive in the genitive case also may indicate a final clause: ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖρειν ‘The sower went out to sow’ (Mt. 13:3). The preposition εἰς with the accusative of the articular infinitive signifies purpose in the NT Greek gospels: καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ‘and the Son of

Man is handed over to be crucified' (Mt. 26:2). Πρός with the articular infinitive is employed infrequently to designate purpose: ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ 'that everyone seeing a woman in order to covet her has already committed adultery with her in his heart' (Mt. 5:28). The future participle also may indicate purpose, especially with verbs of motion: ...ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται Ἠλίας σώσων αὐτόν 'let us see whether Elijah comes to save him' (Mt. 27:49). Sometimes the preposition εἰς with a substantive in the accusative indicates purpose: κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν 'preaching a baptism of repentance for the cancellation of sins' (Mk. 1:4).

2) *The distinction between actual and natural result is blurred in NT Greek.* This is indicative of the fact that result may be expressed in ways not limited to a) ὥστε + indicative (actual result) or b) ὥστε + infinitive (natural result). See section 2.2.2 for a discussion of the conjunctions employed in result clauses in the NT Greek gospels.

3) *Causal semantics is not limited to subordinate clause structure.* Similar to what is found in respect to purpose, causality may be expressed by the articular infinitive. The preposition διά frequently occurs in such cases: καὶ εὐθέως ἐξάνετειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς 'and immediately it sprouted, because it did not have depth of earth' (Mt. 13:5). The circumstantial participle often denotes causality: Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτήν δειγματίσαι 'But Joseph her husband, being a just [man] and not willing to disgrace her' (Mt. 1:19).¹¹² The genitive absolute may sometimes be equivalent to a causal clause: μὴ ἔχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος παραθῆναι 'But with him not having [anything] to pay back, the lord ordered him to be sold as a slave' (Mt. 18:25).¹¹³

¹¹² The sense of the passage is 'But her husband Joseph, because he was a just man and did not want to disgrace her.'

¹¹³ The meaning of the absolute construction here is clearly causal, i.e., 'Because he did not have anything to pay back.'

4) *Subordinating conjunctions may introduce a number of different clausal types, and a particular clausal type may be introduced by various conjunctions.*

5) *Purpose clauses may exhibit more than one type of finite mood.*

6) *Tense and aspect appear to be interactively based upon a binary system.*

7) *In subordinate clauses, the verb tends to move closest to the subordinating conjunction, with the subject being as close as possible to its verb, by either immediately preceding or following it.*

The following sections shall recapitulate points 4-7.

2.5.1 Use of conjunctions in the Greek gospels

This investigation is not exhaustive, but only treats briefly those conjunctions and situations containing overlap in usage or variable conjunctive employment.

2.5.1.1 Uses of ἵνα

As noted above, ἵνα may introduce purpose or result clauses. In addition, it may head a substantival clause (or, indirect statement).¹¹⁴

a) ἀλλὰ ταῦτα λέγω ἵνα ὑμεῖς σωθῆτε ‘but I say these things, so that you may be saved’

(Jn. 5:34). (purpose)

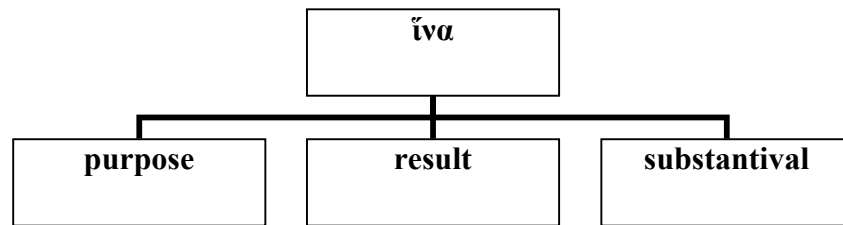
b) τίς ἥμαρτεν...ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; ‘Who sinned...that he was born blind?’ (Jn. 9:2).

(result)

c) ἡρώτα ἵνα καταβῇ καὶ ἰάσῃται αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν ‘he asked that he come down and heal

his son’ (Jn. 4:47). (indirect request)

¹¹⁴ Not all substantival clauses fall under the category of indirect discourse. However, all instances of indirect discourse (indirect statement, indirect question, indirect command) function as substantival clauses.



We may also observe that ἵνα shares purpose, result, and substantial usage with other conjunctions or non-finite constructions.

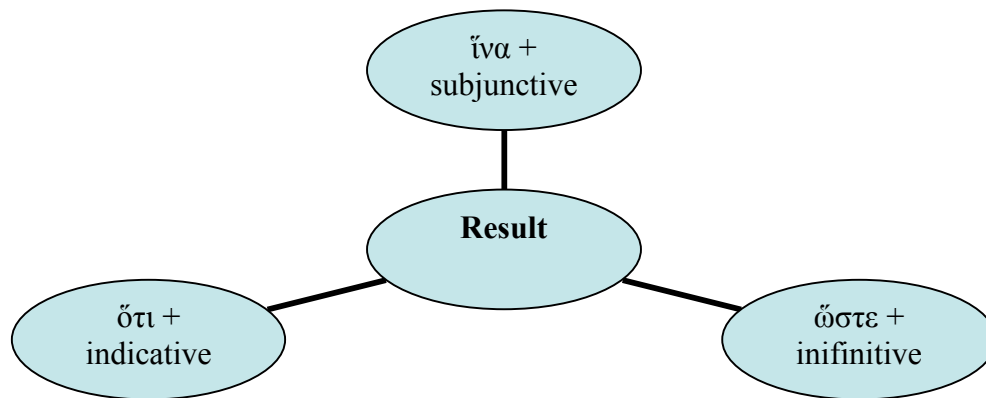


Figure 1 Ecbatic Constructions in Greek

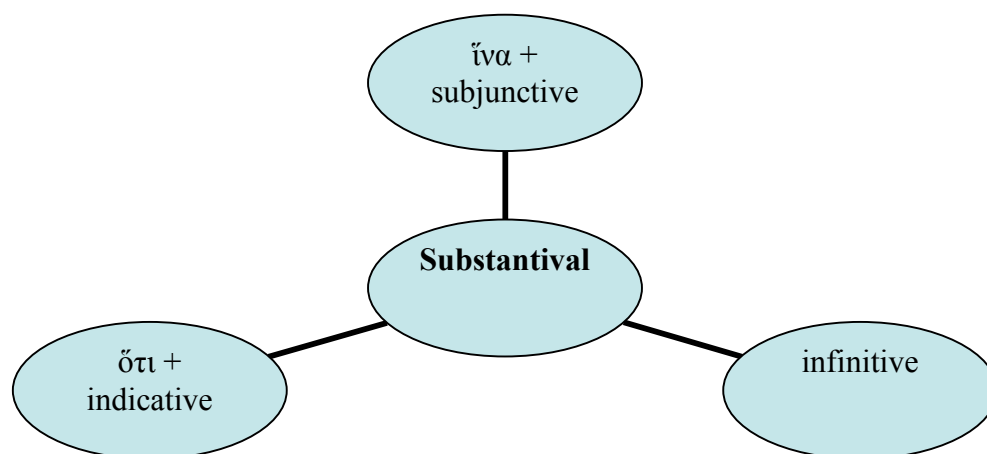


Figure 2 Substantival Constructions in Greek

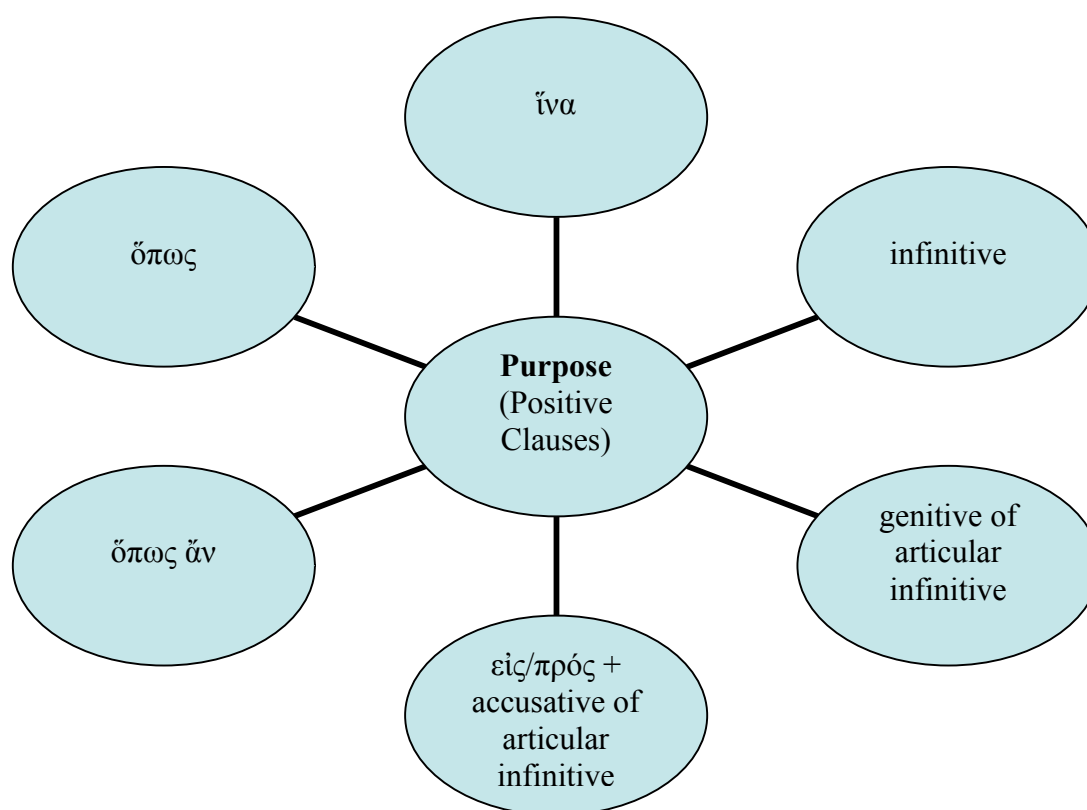


Figure 3 Positive Telic Constructions in Greek

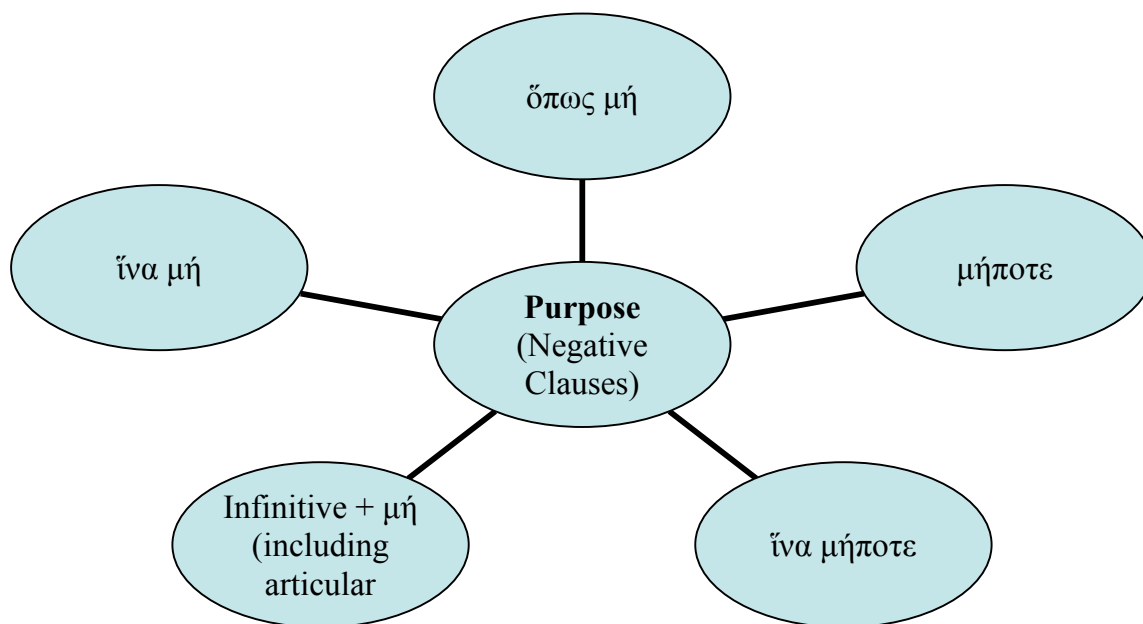
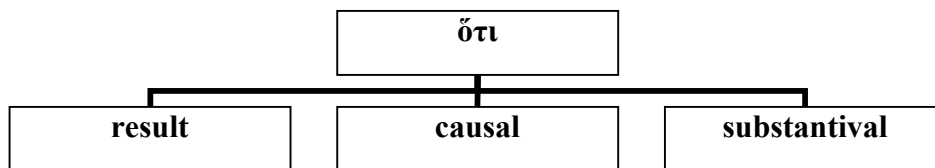


Figure 4 Negative Telic Constructions in Greek

In the above diagrams demonstrating the variety of constructions in regard to purpose, all clauses containing conjunctions exhibit either the subjunctive or future indicative form of the verb.

2.5.1.2 Uses of ὅτι

Like ἵνα, ὅτι has multiple hypotactic uses. It functions primarily as the head of a causal or substantival clause. Rarely, it may signal a result clause.¹¹⁵



- a) ὅτι οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν ‘because you do not know the day nor the hour’ (Mt. 25:13). (causal)

¹¹⁵ Wallace classifies ὅτι only as a causal or substantival conjunction. The passage where I deem ὅτι to signal a result clause is taken by Wallace (1996: 678) to be an exegetical construction. I do not deny this, but perceive that such a construction may be construed as functioning both exegetically and resultatively, especially according to the context of the passage in question (Mt. 8:27).

b) μὴ νομίζατε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας ‘Do not assume that I came to destroy the Law or the Prophets’ (Mt. 5:17). (substantival/indirect statement)

c) οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες, ποταπὸς ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν; ‘But the men were amazed, saying, “What sort of [man] is he, that even the winds and the sea obey him’ (Mt. 8:27).

(result?/epexegetical/characterizing)

In addition to exhibiting multiple uses, ὅτι shares these uses with a number of other conjunctions (for result and substantival constructions, see Figures 1 and 2 above). Causality may be signaled by a plethora of conjunctions, the clauses themselves containing predominantly the indicative mood with rare occurrence of the subjunctive.

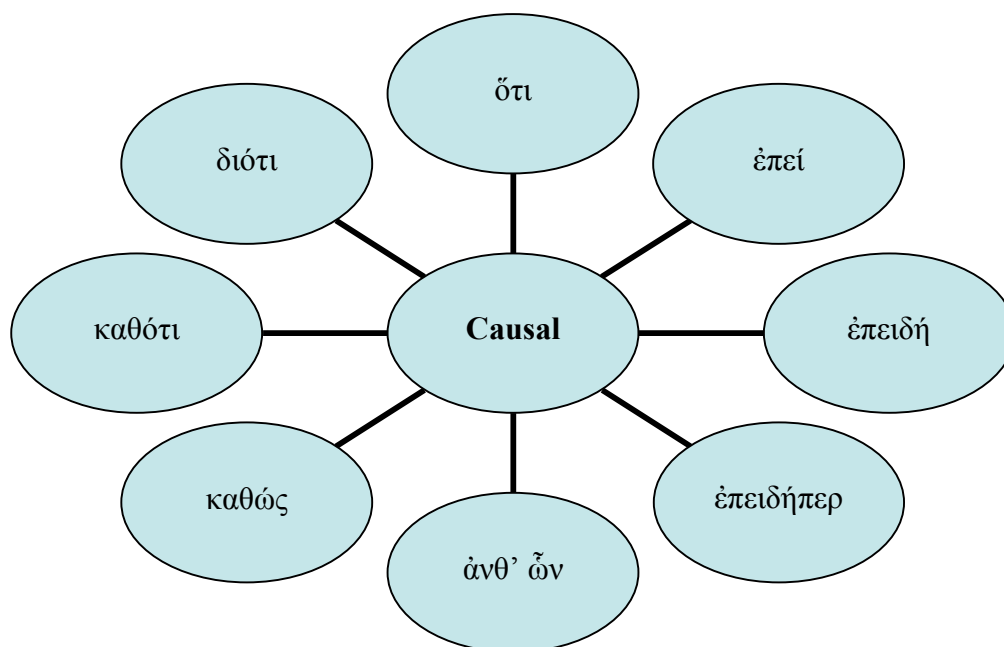


Figure 4 Causal Clause Conjunctions in Greek

2.5.1.3 Uses of ἐπεὶ/ ἐπειδή/ ἐπειδήπερ

The conjunction ἐπεὶ may be employed only with causal clauses in the NT Greek gospels.

Επειδή, however, may head a causal or temporal clause.

a) ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ

‘because my friend has come out of the way to me and I do not have [anything] which I shall set before him (i.e., anything to set before him)’ (Lk. 11:6). (causal)

b) Ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς

Καφαρναούμ ‘When he had completed all his words unto the ears¹¹⁶ of the people, he entered into Capernaum’ (Lk. 7:1). (temporal)

The variety of conjunctions possible in the construction of causal clauses has already been displayed diagrammatically (see Figure 4 above). Temporal clauses likewise can exhibit a variety of conjunctions in addition to ἐπειδή; but ἐπειδή, meaning ‘when’ or ‘after,’ is comparable in use and meaning to the temporal subordinating conjunctions ὅτε/ὅταν.

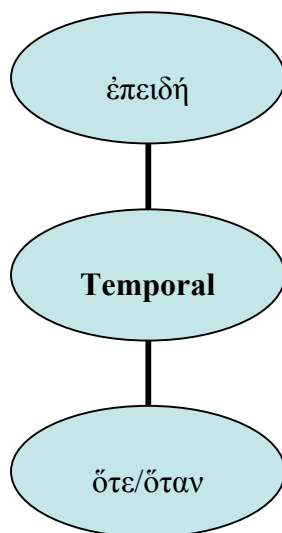


Figure 5 Temporal Clause Conjunctions in Greek

¹¹⁶ Ἀκοή means ‘hearing, listening.’ To translate this noun thus would be awkward. Ἀκοάς in this context is apparently an example of metonymy, in which one term implicitly suggests another.

2.5.2 Word order

Final, consecutive, and causal clauses exhibit similar statistical patterns and percentages in respect to word-order types. For example, these three hypotactic types tend to display V-initial constructions, i.e., constructions in which the verb precedes the subject, direct object, or both.

Table 2.25 Argument-initial types in Greek hypotaxis

Argument type	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
V-initial	161	68	7	54	165	62.5
S-initial	50	21	4	31	74	28.03
O-initial	26	11	2	15	25	9.45

The three categories of hypotaxis examined show a majority of occurrences of V-initial constructions, occurring more than the other two types combined. S-initial structures are second most common in occurrence, and O-initial clauses occur least frequently.

Although Greek word order is variable in respect to subject, verb, and object, nevertheless, the fact that the finite verb tends to shift towards the head of the clause seems to pose a problem, particularly in that such movement violates the OV word order that the *communis opinio* imputes to PIE. It may be questioned whether Greek, which had moved away from PIE word order and begun to display variable word order already in the language's early attested stages, underwent a syntactic change similar to that found in Germanic and the Romance languages. The answer to that question is most likely negative, primarily for the following reasons:

1) *The word-order shift as found in Germanic is related to the rule known as Auxiliary-Clitic Movement* (Hock 1991:330-336), *a rule that does not apply to syntactic change in Greek.* This rule is based, in part, upon **Wackernagel's Law**, which states that enclitics universally tend to shift to second position in an independent clause (Fox 1995: 106; Lehmann 1995: 60).

Auxiliaries, which were classified as enclitics in Germanic, moved to second position. Because these auxiliaries have finite forms, all verbs having finite forms moved—through analogy with auxiliary movement—to second position. The non-finite forms remained in verb-final position. Finite verbs in dependent clauses remained verb-final, since subordinate clauses are believed to lag behind in syntactic change. Modern German clearly exhibits this law:

a) Die Frau sieht den Mann. (finite verb in second position in the independent clause)

‘The woman sees the man.’

b) Die Frau hat den Mann gesehen. (main non-finite verb in final position in the independent clause)

‘The woman saw the man.’

c) Die Kinder sagen, daß die Frau den Mann sieht. (finite verb in final position in the subordinate clause)

‘The children say that the woman sees the man.’

The problem, however, with verb movement in subordinate clauses in Greek has nothing to do with auxiliary movement. The fact that finite verbs in NT Greek do not generally exhibit the syntactic change that occurred in Germanic indicates that verbal movement in Greek did not follow along similar lines to what occurred in Germanic. Hence, we should not expect verb-final subordinate clauses as a hard and fast rule in NT Greek, nor do we find such a rule in place. But why would the verb have a tendency to move to initial position within the subordinate clause? This question leads us to a second reason demonstrating that the syntactic change in Greek did not follow the Germanic pattern.

2) *The movement of the verb in subordinate clauses in Greek is the result of continuous constituency, not of prosody or accent due to Wackernagel's Law.* Movement to initial position in a clause (whether independent or subordinate) occurs not only to indicate clausal accentuation (this is incidental), but also to emphasize the importance of the word occurring in that position. But why in the Greek gospels would a finite verb have a tendency to initiate the subordinate clause over a noun or pronoun subject? Perhaps the verb may have been regularly viewed as most vital to the meaning of the clause, especially since it could occur without the presence of an overt noun or pronoun subject. The most probable factor concerns where the 'weight' of the subordination is felt, which appears to relate primarily to the link between the subordinator and the verbal notion. This link of subordinator and verb with its associated modality serves as an 'information package' and follows the general tendency for continuous constituency rather than hyperbaton or prosody/accentuation.

Hence, if we assume an original final position in subordinate clauses for finite verbs in PIE, we may demonstrate the movement in κοινή as follows:

a) ἵνα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δοξασθῇ (expected word order according to PIE)

b) ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ____ (Jn. 12:33) (attested word order)



Our claim, therefore, is that the lexical value of the subordinator and the verbal modality (in Jn. 12:33, subjunctive) formed a constituent on both the syntactic and semantic levels.

Table 2.26 Word-order types in hypotactic clauses in Greek

Word-order type	Clausal type					
	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
VS	37	15.61	2	15.4	26	9.85
VO	59	24.89	3	23	63	23.86
VSO	2	.84	0	0	4	1.5
VOS	1	.42	0	0	2	.76
V-initial (no S/O)	62	26.16	2	15.4	70	26.5
SV	29	12.23	2	15.4	49	18.6
SOV	8	3.38	1	7.7	8	3
SVO	13	5.5	0	0	14	5.3
S-initial (no V/O)	0	0	1	7.7	3	1.1
OV	25	10.5	2	15.4	22	8.3
OVS	1	.42	0	0	2	.76
OSV	0	0	0	0	1	.38
Total	237	n/a	13	n/a	264	n/a

2.5.3 Mood

Final, consecutive, and causal clauses may be constructed with the verb in the indicative mood.

a) **final clause:** ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα (Jn. 7:3)

‘so that also your disciples will view your works’ (future indicative)

b) **consecutive clause:** οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν... (Jn. 3:16)

‘For thus did G-d love the world, that He gave His one-and-only Son...’ (aorist indicative)

c) **causal clause:** ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουσιν εἰς ἐμέ (Jn. 16:9)

‘because they do not believe in me’ (present indicative)

The indicative is the expected mood with result and causal clauses. Its occurrence in purpose clauses is uncommon.

These three clausal types may also contain verbs in the subjunctive mood.

a) **final clause**: ἵνα σχω ζωὴν αἰώνιον (Mt. 19:16) [note adjacency of ἵνα + verb]

‘that I may have eternal life’ (aorist subjunctive)

b) **result clause**: τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα¹¹⁷ τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; (Jn. 9:2)

‘Who sinned, this man or his parents, that he should have been born blind?’

(aorist subjunctive)

c) **causal clause**:¹¹⁸ ὅτι εἰ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ξύλῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται;

(Lk. 23:31) [pragmatic fronting of a rhetorical opposition]

‘because if they do these things in the moist timber, what is to occur in the dry?’

(aorist subjunctive)

In the causal clause above, the apodosis of the embedded conditional construction has been traditionally translated as a deliberative question. It should be noted, however, that the ancient manuscripts contained no indications of modern sentence mechanics, such as punctuation, spacing between words, breathing marks, or accentuation. The apodosis, therefore, may not have been in the form of a deliberative question, but may rather have been a statement of potentiality, being rendered into English as: ‘because if they are doing these things in the moist timber, anything may happen in the dry.’

It should be observed, furthermore, that the subjunctive is rare in result and causal clauses in the Greek gospels, but extremely common (in fact, the default mood) in purpose clauses.¹¹⁹

Other constructions, namely, non-finite ones employing the infinitive, occur in all three clausal

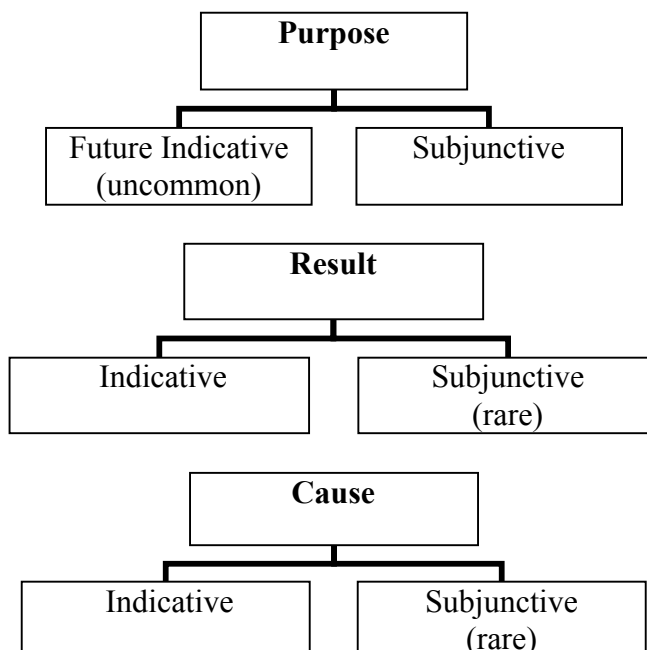
¹¹⁷ The verb γεννηθῇ is not adjacent to the conjunction ἵνα. That the clause is very short may have something to do with this.

¹¹⁸ This construction shows pragmatic fronting of rhetorical opposition.

¹¹⁹ This difference in mood employment results from the fact that causal clauses are assertive (of cause) and result clauses are typically consecutive with assertive mood (indicative). Cf. Latin, which uses *ut non* in consecutive clauses, but *ne* in final clauses, the consecutive ‘so that’ relationship being equivalent to a conjoined clause ‘and so’; the purpose clause, however, does not function in this way and is non-assertive (as to actual result).

types (see section 2.5.0, ‘General Considerations,’ for a discussion of the use of the infinitive in final, consecutive, and causal clauses).

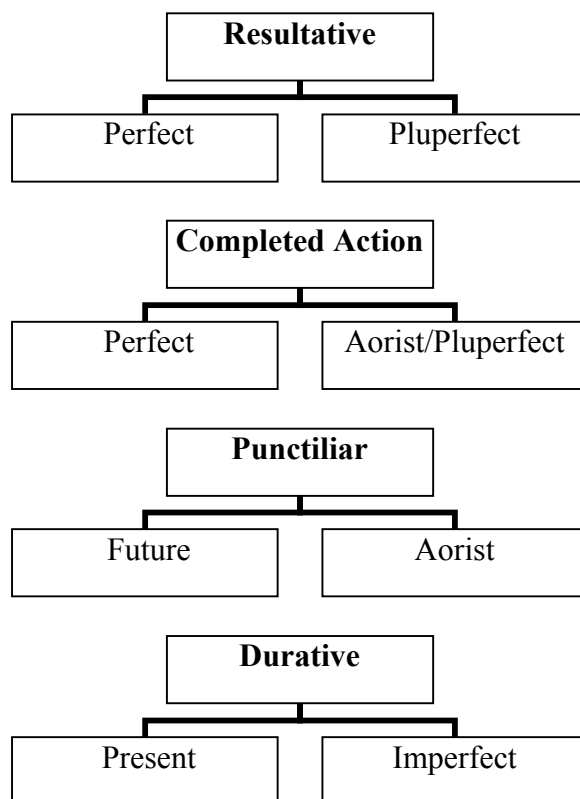
The employment of mood in the hypotactic structures we have discussed may be summarized diagrammatically as follows:



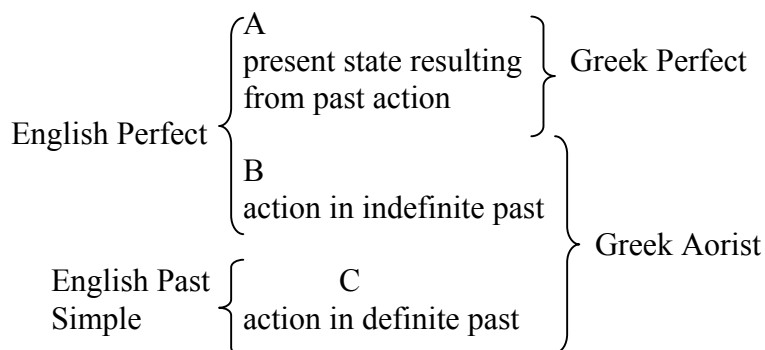
2.5.4 Aspect and tense

In purpose clauses, aspect rather than tense drives verbal morphosyntax, this effect stemming from the nature of final clause structure, which employs mainly the subjunctive in Greek. Since the subjunctive deals with the manner of action without reference to time, activity in final clauses is not a matter of when the action occurs, but rather of whether the action is perceived as continuous/repetitive or punctiliar. On the other hand, tense and aspect fully collaborate in causal and result clauses, for these clauses treat actual and not hypothetical or potential situations.¹²⁰ Hence, we may propose the following representation of aspect and tense:

¹²⁰ Naturally, there are exceptions. For example, the aorist indicative + ἄν connotes potential/hypothetical action. See the previous section (2.5.3) on mood. In addition, with respect to result clauses, there exists the distinction between actual and natural (generally inferable) result.

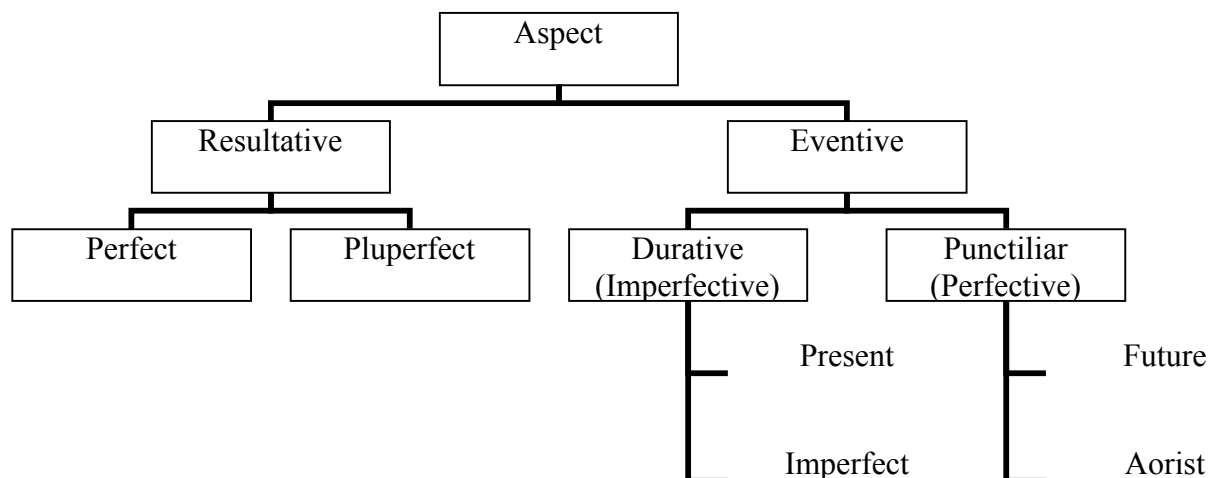


We may conclude that there exists some overlap in regard to the uses of the perfect/pluperfect and the aorist. However, this conclusion is an oversimplification and erroneously based upon an understanding of the English aspectual system and morphology and an inappropriate comparison of that system with that of the Greek. Wenham (1970: 140) gives the following as a representation of the difference between the English and Greek tense/aspect interface:



While Wenham's diagram is useful for understanding the relationship of the Greek tenses in respect to the English ones, it does not satisfactorily take into account the issue of aspect.

We may propose a more complete model as follows:



The above diagram, however, may be applicable only if we are examining the tense-aspect relationship in Greek from a diachronic, not purely synchronic, perspective. In other words, the system above is valid for Proto-Indo-European, or perhaps Proto- or Pre- Greek, but not for the κοινή of New Testament times, and only if we assume two factors of the system: 1) that the aspect system was binary; 2) that there existed a dichotomy of stative vs. eventive aspect. The first factor remains salient within the system of κοινή; the second—as *the* aspectual feature of NT Greek—is highly questionable, as made evident by the observations and comments of notable NT scholars, a number of whom, for example, have recognized that the Greek perfect tense no longer functions solely as a stative in NT Greek. Often it functions as another past tense, frequently being confused with the aorist if not disappearing in use altogether (Turner 1963: 81; Nunn 1951: 70-71).

Although it may at times function as a *past* tense, the κοινή perfect is to be classified as a *present*:

In essence, though not exactly in use, the Greek perfect tense corresponds to the English one, in that it is not a past tense but a present one, indicating not the past action as such but the present <<state of affairs>> resulting from the past action (Zerwick 2005: 96).

This ‘state of affairs’ appears to be some variation derived from the original stative function of the perfect. In other words, ‘the old intrans. perfect was giving way before the active, transitive and resultative pf.’ (Turner 1963: 83). The action may have *occurred* in the past, but the results exist in the present (Burton 1898; Moule 1984; Wallace 1996; Blass 1961).

The question concerning the perfect is whether it is a tense or an aspect, or both. Moule (1984) implies that the Greek perfect is a sub-category within the punctiliar framework. For example, he categorizes the tenses of κοινή as follows (p. 6).

βάλλω, I am throwing (‘linear’ event in the present)

ἔβαλλον, I was throwing (‘linear’ event in the past)

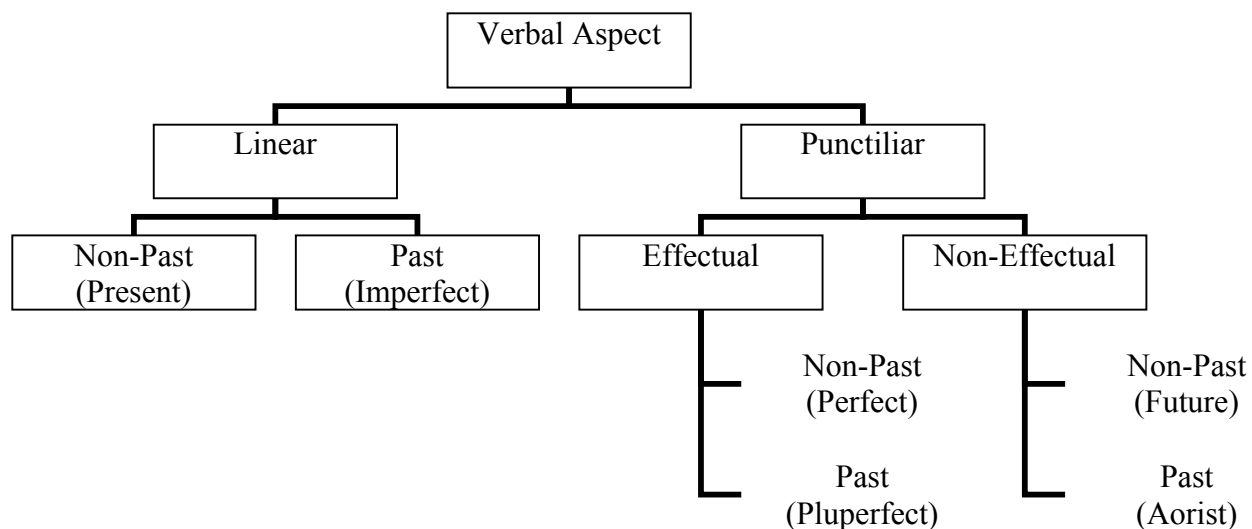
βαλῶ, I will throw (mostly ‘punctiliar’ event in the future)

ἔβαλον, I threw (‘punctiliar’ event in the past)

βέβληκα, I have thrown (‘punctiliar’ event in the past, related in its effects to the present)

ἔβεβλήκειν, I had thrown (‘punctiliar’ event in the past, related in its effects to a time itself now past)

Moule has given us a dichotomy of aspect (‘linear’ vs. ‘punctiliar’) and one of tense (non-past vs. past), a binary system of both tense and aspect being preserved. We may postulate, hence, the following model based upon Moule’s assessments.



The above diagram supports Zerwick's (2005) claim that the perfect is a non-past tense (although its function as a present is not diagrammatically clear). That being the case, nevertheless, the aspect of the perfect cannot be ignored, since the present is also a present tense. What differentiates the function and semantics of the present tense from those of the perfect (and vice-versa) in Greek is *aspect*, the same grammatical category that distinguishes the functional nuances of the non-indicative moods of the present from those of the aorist. Moule's model, therefore, seems to be an adequate and useful tool for understanding this complex tense.

Although Moule's depiction of the perfect seems to be both simple and eloquent, nevertheless, Fanning (1990) maintains that the function and semantics of the perfect are not so simple:

The perfect in the NT Greek is a complex verbal category denoting, in its basic sense, a state which results from a prior occurrence. Thus, it combines three elements within its invariant meaning: the Aktionsart-feature of stative situation, the tense-feature of anteriority, and the aspect of summary viewpoint concerning the occurrence. In individual texts one can observe degrees of emphasis on one or the other of these features due to variety of contextual factors, but some allusion to all three elements is normally preserved even if one is highlighted over the others (pp. 119-120).

Fanning is not making a new or unusual proposal concerning the perfect. All the tenses of Greek display types of actions (Aktionsart) in addition to time and aspect. His implication that the perfect uniquely exhibits the category of Aktionsart is unfounded. The perfect may have a *unique* Aktionsart, but the tense itself does not contain the category uniquely in either its function or form.

The best case against Fanning is Porter (1996, 2003, 2004). Porter (1996) acknowledges Fanning's position on the importance of verbal aspect and on its definition. Where they disagree is how the overall verbal system is to be construed. Fanning (according to Porter) proposes a traditional view in that he overly stresses the importance of *tense* in its relationship to aspect and Aktionsart. Neither is tense or Aktionsart a driving force in the Porter system, but rather it is *aspect* that determines both. In other words, time and Aktionsart are *relative* to aspect, not categories *absolute* in themselves (1996: 37-38).

I find untenable Porter's assertion that tense or time is not grammaticalized in Greek. The presence or absence of the verbal augment clearly indicates the grammatical category of

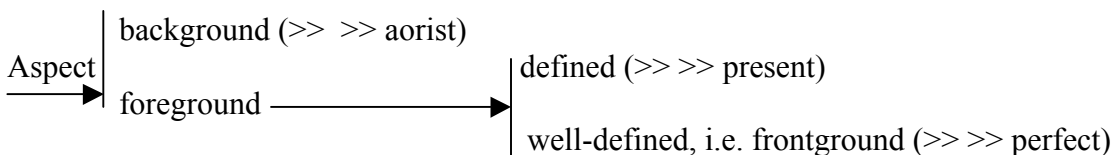
tense/time. But Porter's observation concerning the relativity of tense has merit.¹²¹ But the issue of tense in Greek is not one of past-present-future, as we shall subsequently examine.

Let us, hence, briefly summarize the Porter model in comparison with Moule's and Fanning's. In the Moule model, there is an opposition of both aspect (linear vs. punctiliar) and time (non-past vs. past) without reference to Aktionsart. Fanning maintains this system, but includes Aktionsart as a category present within the whole system, grammaticalized and contextualized in the perfect—contextualized elsewhere. Porter rejects these systems entirely, replacing them with a system that is altogether aspectually driven, where tense and Aktionsart are merely relative and subordinate to aspect. He proposes a tripartite level (or planes) of discourse which synergizes with aspect, showing more prominently the relativity of tense (1996, 2004):

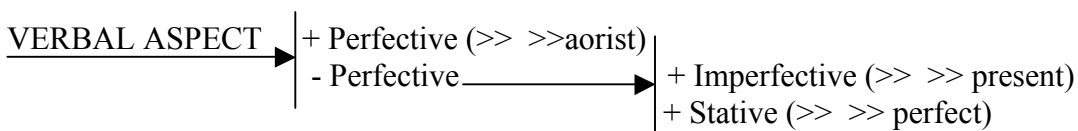
Planes of Discourse

- basis of discourse—background (or, the default aspect)—the aorist
- greater semantic difference—foreground (more heavily weighted)—present/imperfect
- greatest semantic difference—frontground (most heavily weighted)—perfect/pluperfect

We may envision Porter's planes of discourse diagrammatically as follows (2003: 93):



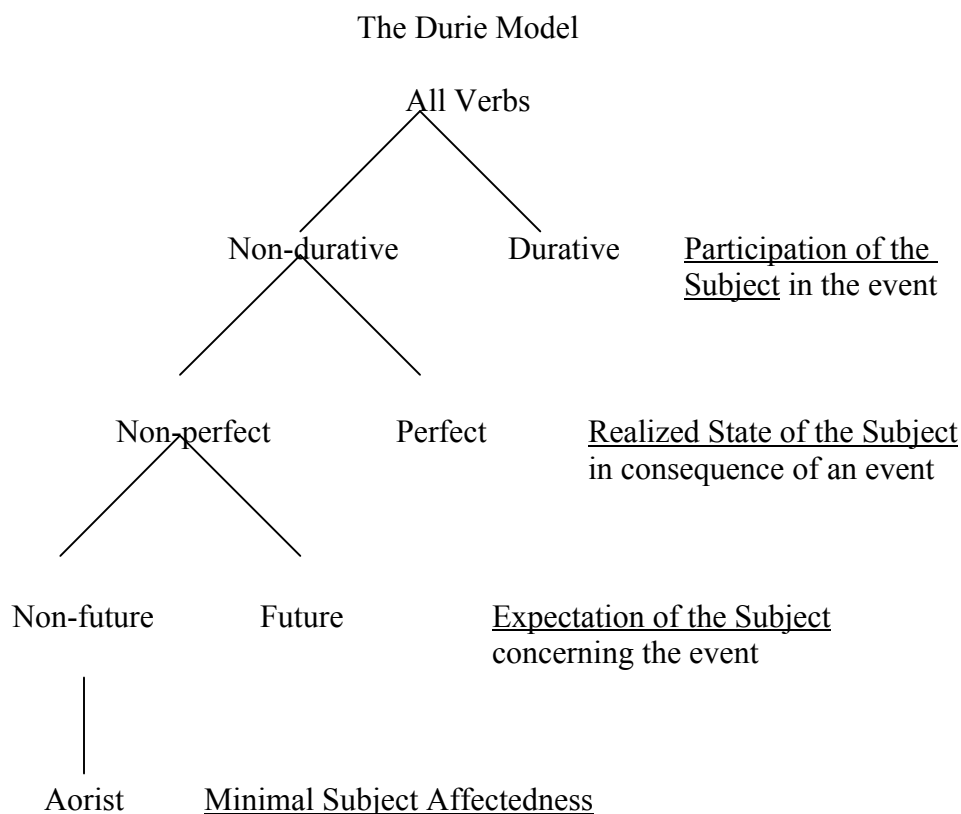
In addition to planes of discourse, Porter recognizes verbal opposition in aspect (p. 90):



¹²¹ Porter's argument is based upon the seemingly anomalous presence of several factors: 1) the historical present, 2) the gnomic aorist, 3) the stative and resultative perfects, among other factors. He convincingly stresses the importance of aspect, not tense, in each of these phenomena.

One immediately sees in the above models the contradiction with that of Moule's, namely, that Porter classifies the perfect as a sub-category of '- Perfective,' while Moule see the perfect tense as a type of punctiliar aspect. Although Porter's model is usefule in understanding discourse, it is weak in explicating the Greek verbal system as a whole, for his model completely ignores the future. Porter himself recognizes this omission, and relegates the future to the category of mood.¹²²

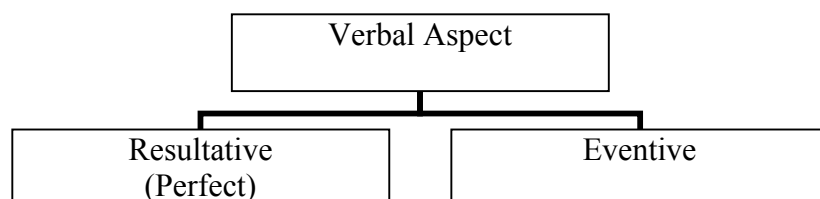
Porter's model is not the only purely aspectual representation of the Greek verbal system. Durie (1981) viewed the Greek system as having four aspects (durative, perfect, future, and aorist) (Porter 2003: 65).



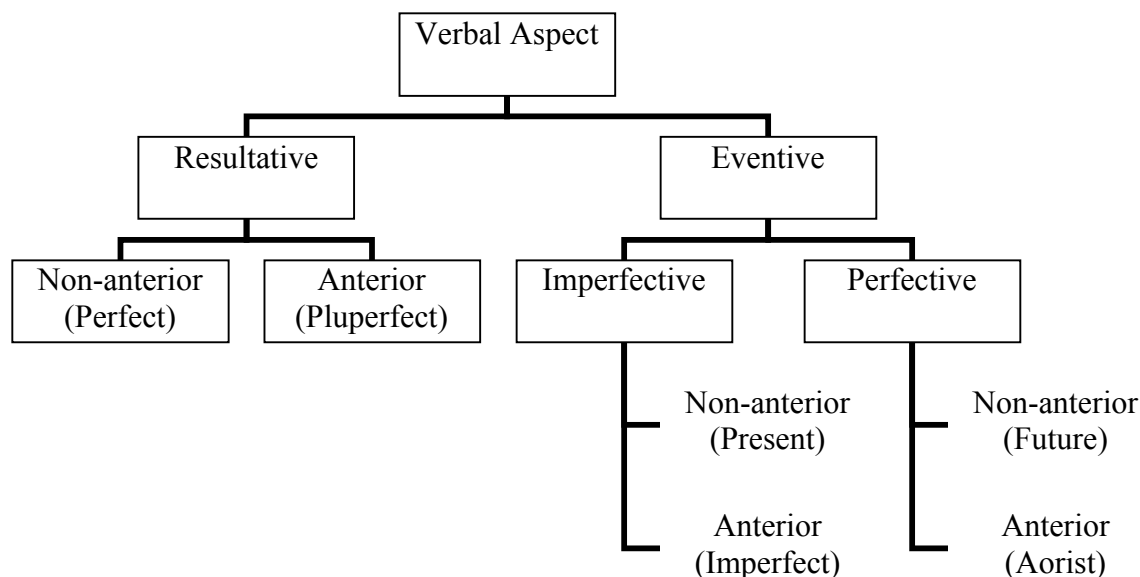
¹²² Porter fails to explain how the future, acting as a mood, can have participles, infinitives—and even an optative—in Greek.

Durie's system of aspect is based upon morphology rather than levels of discourse. Although this system, unlike Porter's, does take into account the future tense, nevertheless, because it is a purely aspectual model, it ignores the categories of time and Aktionsart.

Having examined the problem of aspect in the Greek system, we may, therefore, conclude that a more comprehensive model is needed that accounts for 1) tense, 2) aspect, and 3) Aktionsart. I do not believe that the perfect must be placed as a sub-category of either the imperfective or perfective aspects. In this, I agree with Fanning that the perfect denotes its own aspect. In regard to Porter's model of discourse levels, the perfect also functions as its own aspect. Since the perfect in NT Greek is—strictly speaking—no longer a stative but rather a resultative, its position in the diachronic model should remain as thus:



In regard to tense, the traditional designations of past-present-future, although they are adequate terms for denoting time relationship, fall short in their representation within the aspectual scheme. The dichotomy of past/non-past, a useful model in the Germanic and Anatolian verbal systems, poses a difficulty in other verbal systems within the Indo-European dialects. I concur with a number of scholars that a dichotomy exists, but it is one of anteriority vs. non-anteriority. Hence, we may posit the following model for the verbal system in NT Greek:

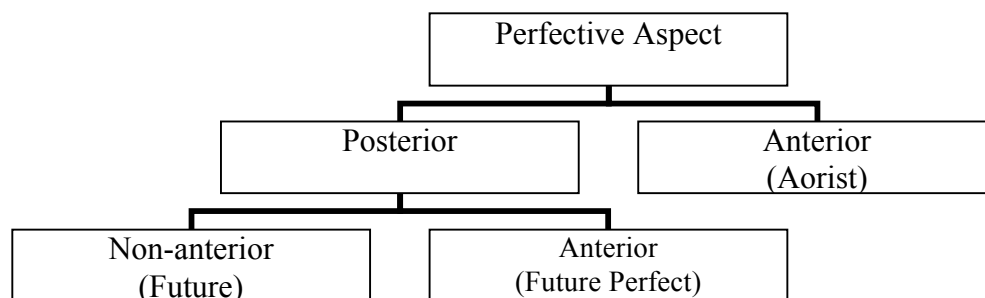


Anteriority vs. non-anteriority refers specifically to *time related* to aspect within the indicative mood. The notable exception in this paradigm, however, concerns the perfective. The other aspectual types (resultative and imperfective) have only one set of non-indicative forms that convey the semantics of both anteriority and non-anteriority. For example, in resultative aspect, there exists a perfect participle, perfect subjunctive, perfect optative, and perfect infinitive.¹²³ No non-indicative pluperfect forms exist. We may state likewise concerning imperfective aspect: there occur non-indicative present forms, but no non-indicative imperfect ones.¹²⁴

The fact, therefore, that the future in NT Greek displays the grammatical category of participle, infinitive, and—in Classical Greek—optative mood clearly indicates that the future is not simply the non-anterior tense form of the aorist, but is rather in its own right a sub-category of the perfective aspect. Hence, we may postulate the perfective as so:

¹²³ These grammatical categories refer to the system found in Classical Greek. NT Greek makes very limited use of these categories in the perfect tense.

¹²⁴ This feature of the system is a result of the fact that what distinguishes perfect from pluperfect, and present from imperfect, is tense, not aspect.



It must be noted that the future perfect does not occur in the NT Greek gospels and is rare in the Classical dialects. The *function* of a future perfect tense, however, does exist and is filled by other forms within the NT Greek aspectual system.

Although the above-given models show a relationship between aspect and tense, they leave out the important feature of Aktionsart. Porter (2004) views the relationship of Aktionsart to aspect much like he views that of tense to aspect, that is, both tense and Aktionsart are subordinate to and driven by the Greek aspectual system. I argue that aspect, tense, and Aktionsart relate synergistically to one another and that Aktionsart is a real semantic category that is both lexically and contextually driven in NT Greek. Porter examines the tenses of NT Greek, giving the range of functions and, within the tenses, the types of action (Aktionsarten) (2004: 28-45) as follows:

Tense	Range of Function	Aktionsart(en)
Present	Present Action	descriptive, progressive, conative, iterative
	Past Action	historic
	Future Action	futuristic
	Omnitemporal Action	gnomic
	Atemporal Action	timeless present, i.e. when 'time-reference ...does not occur'

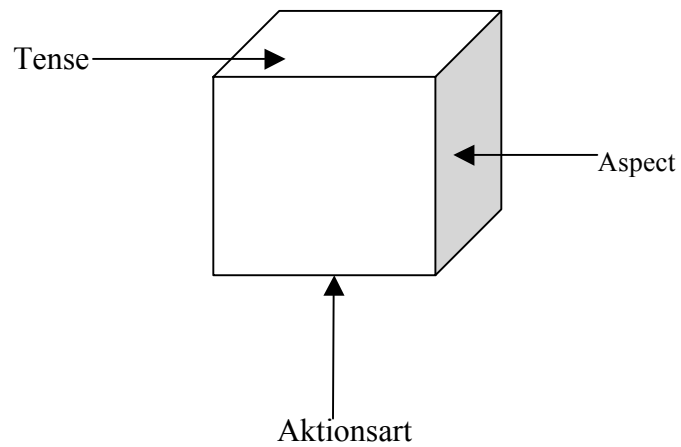
Imperfect	Past Use	progressive, descriptive, iterative
	Non-past Action	conative
Aorist	Past Action	narrative, constative, ingressive, effective, punctiliar ¹²⁵
	Present Action	dramatic
	Future Action	futuristic or proleptic
	Omnitemporal Action	gnomic
	Atemporal Action	timeless aorist, see above
Perfect	Past Use	narrative
	Present Use	stative/resultative
	Future Use	proleptic (see James 5: 2-3)
	Omnitemporal Use	gnomic
	Atemporal Use	timeless perfect
Pluperfect	Past Use	anterior to the perfect uses
Future ¹²⁶	Prospective Use	proleptic
	Commanding Use	volitive, imperative
	Omnitemporal Use	gnomic
	Atemporal Use	timeless future

The above classification is useful for understanding that a relationship of aspect-tense-Aktionsart does indeed exist in κοινή. However, Porter's system seems to impose a type of subordination

¹²⁵ Porter does not employ these categories as such for the aorist. He simply mentions the fact that the designations of these categories are employed by other grammarians. See Wallace and Fanning.

¹²⁶ Porter classifies the future as a modal form, like the subjunctive. The problems with this classification have previously been briefly discussed.

that most likely did not exist in the NT system, one that probably consisted of a synergy (as stated before) of three categories into one whole system, which I propose to be more like a three dimensional cube than a layered onion.



CHAPTER 3

HYPOTAXIS IN LATIN

3.0 Introduction

The standard grammars of Classical Latin give detailed treatment to hypotaxis (Gildersleeve 1997; Greenough 1931; Hale 1966; Kühner 1955; Mountford 2001; Woodcock 1996). Since the syntax of Vulgar Latin does not significantly differ from that of the Classical dialect,¹ few (if any) grammarians have felt the need to write a grammar discussing the syntax of the Vulgate Bible. Of the handful of works specifically devoted to the study of Vulgar Latin, the most readily available in English remains the text composed by Grandgent (2002), originally published in 1907 and ‘scanty’ (to use the author’s own expression) in its coverage of syntax. Of the few works specifically dedicated to the examination of the language of the Vulgate, most are in German and outdated.² The one known existing work in English (by Plater and White, 1997) contains little information on syntax and treats in no detail final, consecutive, or causal clauses. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed analysis of these structures in the Latin Vulgate according to a synchronic perspective. Any appeal to diachrony will be made only upon its value in determining the likely meaning of the synchronic structure found in the text.

Although hypotactic structures in Latin, as in Greek, are of two types (subordinate clauses, and modified subordinate structures or phrases), there is not always a clause-to-clause or phrase-to-phrase correspondence between the two languages. The aim of this chapter, however,

¹ That is to say, in a general sense. There exists a number of instances in which the grammar of Vulgar Latin and that found in the Vulgate Bible differ *widely* from the grammar employed by Classical authors (Plater 1997).

² See Kaulen (1904) and Roensch (1869).

is not to give a comparative analysis of telic, ecbatic, and aetiological clauses or phrases in Latin and Greek. Such an analysis has been reserved for the following chapter.

3.1 Final (purpose) clauses

There is no discernible significant difference between the structure of final clauses in Classical Latin and those in the Vulgate. The latter, like the former, employs *ut* in the affirmative and *ne* in the negative. Occasionally, *ut non* may occur in the Vulgate NT, but this is not entirely unusual, since the same structure also occurs in the writings of the Classical authors. Sometimes the conjunction *ut* may be replaced with a relative pronoun, a feature common to Classical usage.

In addition to the pure adverbial final clauses, the Vulgate contains a relatively infrequent number of substantival final clauses, designated as clauses of effort (extremely rare in the Vulgate gospels) and of caution (uncommon in occurrence). The structure of these subordinate clauses is identical to that of the adverbial ones, with *ut* introducing the affirmative clauses of effort, and *ne* the negative clauses of caution.

3.1.1 Final clauses with *ut*

The majority of final clauses in the gospels in the Latin Vulgate are introduced by the conjunction *ut*. Not only does *ut* denote a telic function, but it can also indicate an ecbatic meaning or substantival use, either as subject or direct object (Kühner 1955: 208-227; Gildersleeve 1997: 354-355). (I shall discuss the ecbatic use of *ut* in later sections of this chapter.)

By far the most frequently occurring conjunction used to introduce purpose clauses in the Latin Vulgate gospels, *ut* appears in the following passages:

Matthew (1:22; 2:8; 2:15; 2:23; 3:13; 4:1; 4:14; 5:13; 5:15; 5:16; 5:45; 6:1; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16;
 8:17; 9:6; 10:1; 11:1; 12:10; 12:17; 13:35; 14:15; 15:33; 18:16; 19:13; 19:16; 21:4;
 21:32; 21:34; 22:11; 22:15; 23:5; 23:15; 23:26; 23:35; 24:1; 24:45; 26:2; 26:4; 26:16;
 26:56; 26:58; 26:59; 27:1; 27:26) (disputed: 27:32)

Mark (1:38; 2:10; 3:2; 3:10; 3:14 (2); 4:12 (2); 4:21 (2); 4:22 (2); 5:12; 5:23; 6:36; 6:41; 6:45;
 7:9; 8:6; 9:22; 10:13; 10:17; 10:37; 10:45 (2); 11:25; 11:28; 12:2; 12:13; 12:15; 13:15;
 14:10; 14:12; 14:35; 14:55; 15:15; 15:20; 15:32; 16:1)

Luke (1:4; 1:9; 1:17; 1:74; 2:3; 2:5; 2:21; 2:22; 2:24; 2:27; 2:35; 3:7; 3:12; 4:10; 4:29; 5:15;
 5:24; 6:7; 6:18; 6:34; 6:42; 8:16; 9:1; 9:12; 9:16; 9:28; 9:51; 9:52; 11:33; 11:50; 11:54;
 12:36; 12:42; 14:10; 14:23; 15:1; 15:15; 15:29; 16:4; 16:9; 16:24(2); 16:28; 17:18; 18:10;
 18:15; 19:4; 19:15; 20:10; 20:14; 20:20 (2); 21:22; 21:36; 22:6; 22:8; 22:30 (2); 22:31;
 22:47; 23:32; 24:29; 24:45) (disputed: 5:7)

John (1:7 (2); 1:8; 1:19; 1:22; 1:31; 3:15; 3:16; 3:17 (2); 3:21; 4:8; 4:36; 5:7; 5:20; 5:23; 5:34;
 5:36; 5:40; 6:5; 6:7; 6:15; 6:28; 6:30; 6:38; 6:39; 7:3; 7:32; 8:6; 8:59; 9:3; 9:36; 9:39;
 10:10 (2); 10:17; 10:31; 10:38; 11:4; 11:11; 11:15; 11:16; 11:19; 11:31; 11:42; 11:52;
 11:55; 12:7; 12:9; 12:20; 12:23; 12:36; 12:38; 12:47 (2); 13:2; 13:15; 13:18; 13:19;
 13:24; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31; 15:2; 15:11; 15:16 (3); 15:25; 16:4; 16:24;
 16:33; 17:1; 17:2; 17:11; 17:12; 17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24 (2);
 17:26; 18:9; 18:28; 18:32; 18:37; 19:4; 19:16; 19:24; 19:28; 19:35; 19:36; 20:31 (2))
 (disputed: 6:40; 11:53; 11:57; 15:17)

John's gospel has the largest number of *ut* clauses, followed by Luke—the longest of the gospels, then Matthew, and—finally—Mark, with the least number.

Table 3.1 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by *ut*

Total # of <i>ut</i> clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
255	48	18.75	39	15.23	64	25	105	41.02

3.1.1.1 Word order in *ut* purpose clauses

Word order in the Latin Vulgate gospels may be classified according to the position of the subject (S), verb (V), or object (O) relative to that of the subordinator (here, *ut*). Hence, we shall designate the three main word-order types as S-initial, V-initial, and O-initial, with respect to the subordinating conjunction. The sub-classifications consist of the additional main arguments (subject, verb, object), if any, relative to the position of the arguments of the main/primary word-order types (see section 2.1.1.1).

In Matthew's gospel, *ut* clauses are predominantly verb-initial, with most verbs being intransitive: *ut baptizeretur ab eo* 'in order that he might be baptized³ by him' (Mt. 3:13). Although the verb in Matthew generally precedes the subject of the *ut* clause, nevertheless, a prepositional phrase may intervene between the conjunction and the verb: *ut in ore duorum testium vel trium stet omne verbum* 'in order that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand' (Mt. 18:16). A participle of attendant circumstance may also intervene between the conjunction and main verb: *ut euntes in castella emant sibi escas* 'in order that, going into the [walled] towns, they may buy food for themselves' (Mt. 14:15). Transitive verbs, like

³ Lest the reader be puzzled by the seemingly inconsistent translation of the Greek βαπτίζω as 'I immerse' but the Latin *baptizo* as 'I baptize,' the following explanation is set forth: At the time that the gospels were written and, hence, publicly read before native-Greek speakers, the term βαπτίζω itself most likely held no theological significance, any real significance of the term residing within the context of the account and not in the very term (see Liddell 1991, under the entry βαπτίζω for the Classical meaning of this word). Since the use of βαπτίζω in the Greek NT is almost exclusively employed within the context of ritual immersion, St. Jerome obviously thought the Latin word *immergo* would not hold the same theological significance and, hence, not connote the meaning of a ritual washing as effectively as the Hellenized term *baptizo*. In addition, this Greek term already was universally employed among Latin-speaking Christians in Jerome's day for the term denoting ritual bathing, at least within the term's ecclesiastical usage.

intransitive verbs, are clause-initial, following the conjunction: *ut habeam vitam aeternam* ‘so that I may have eternal life’ (Mt. 19:16). Sometimes (rarely) a transitive verb may govern a case other than the accusative: *ut crederetis ei* ‘so that you might believe him’ (Mt. 21:32).⁴ The gospel of Matthew exhibits only five instances of OV word order in purpose clauses with *ut*: *ut manus eis imponeret et oraret* ‘in order that he might put his hands upon them and pray’ (Mt. 19:13); *ut Iesum dolo tenerent et occiderent* ‘so that they might take hold of Jesus by deceit and kill [him]’ (Mt. 26:4); *ut eum traderet* ‘in order that he might betray him’ (Mt. 26:16); *ut eum morti traderent* ‘in order that they might hand him over for death’ (Mt. 26: 59; Mt. 27: 1). If a pronoun in the nominative case is considered to be an overt subject, then one such instance of SVO word order occurs in Matthew: *ut et ego veniens adorem eum* ‘in order that even I, coming, may worship him’ (Mt. 2:8).

The majority of *ut* clauses in Mark’s gospel have the verb in initial position. An adverb may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *ut et ibi praedicem* ‘so that I may preach also there’ (Mk. 1:38). A participle or participial phrase may intervene between the subordinator and verb: *ut euntes in villas et vicos in circuitu emant sibi* ‘so that, going into the towns and villages round about, they may buy for themselves’ (Mk. 6:36). An intervening prepositional phrase frequently occurs: *ut ab agricolis acciperet de fructu vineae* ‘so that he might receive from the farmers [some] of the fruit of the vineyard’ (Mk. 12:2). The object of a verb in a verb-initial clause may be not only a noun or pronoun, but also a substantival clause: *Ut autem sciatis quia potestatem habet Filius hominis in terra dimittendi peccata* ‘but so that you may know that the Son of man has the power of forgiving sins on earth’ (Mk. 2:10). One *ut* clause in Mark contains

⁴ Cf. German *glauben*, which governs the dative case like Latin *credo*. One may legitimately contest the function of *credo* as a dative-governing verb in the light that it contains an internal object and conveys the notion of ‘give credence/belief to,’ making the object of *credo* indirect. For structural purposes, however, *credo* has been treated in this work as governing the dative case, i.e. its direct object being in the dative.

VS word order, with a present contrary-to-fact conditional clause intervening between the conjunction and verb *and* a prepositional phrase between the verb and the subject: *ut, si fieri posset, transiret ab eo hora* ‘so that, if it could happen, the hour might pass from him’ (Mk. 14:35). Clauses with OV word order are uncommon: *ut traditionem vestram servetis* ‘so that you may keep your tradition’ (Mk. 7:9). SVO word order occurs only once: *ut et Pater vester, qui in caelis est, dimittat vobis peccata vestra* ‘in order that your Father, who is in the heavens, may forgive you your sins’ (Mk. 11:25). Concerning one passage, whether it should be classified as SV or simply V-initial with no overt subject or object is debatable: *ut unus ad dexteram tuam et alius ad sinistram sedeamus in gloria tua* ‘in order that we may sit, one on your right and the other on your left, in your glory’ (Mk. 10:37).⁵

In Luke’s gospel, VO or V-initial with no overt subject/object predominates: *ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam* ‘so that he may dip the tip of his finger into water’ (Lk. 16:24) (VO word order); *ut edatis et bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo et sedeatis super thronos iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel* ‘in order that you may eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom and sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel’ (Lk. 22:30) (V-initial, no overt S/O). Only four instances of VS word order occur in final *ut* clauses: *ut impleatur domus mea* ‘so that my house may be filled’ (Lk. 14:23). Likewise, there are only four occurrences of OV word order: *ut incensum poneret ingressus in templum Domini* ‘so that he might place the incense, having stepped into the temple of the Lord’ (Lk. 1:9). The final clause structure in Luke contains a syntactic feature similar to that found in the other synoptic gospels, namely the presence of elements (adverbs, participles, prepositional phrases, other types of subordinate constructions) which intervene between the subordinating conjunction and one of the main

⁵ I have treated *unus...alius* as modifiers of *sedeamus*, not as its subjects.

arguments (subject, verb, object) of the clause: *ut, cum venerit et pulsaverit, confestim aperiat ei* ‘so that, when he come and knocks,⁶ they may immediately open to him’ (Lk. 12:36).

The gospel of John contains the largest number of purpose clauses of the four gospels and shows the greatest variety of word-order possibilities. For example, a considerable number of *ut* clauses exhibit V-initial order (no overt S or O): *sed ut manifestetur Israel* ‘but so that he may be revealed to Israel’ (Jn. 1:31). A subordinate clause (circumstantial or relative) may intervene between the subordinating conjunction and verb: *ut, cum factum fuerit,⁷ credatis* ‘in order that, when it will have taken place, you may believe’ (Jn. 14:29). VS word order also occurs frequently: *sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum* ‘but that the world may be saved through him’ (Jn. 3:17). There are a large number of clauses with VO word order: *ut interrogarent eum...* ‘that they might ask him...’ (Jn. 1:19). A subordinate clause or prepositional phrase rarely intervenes between the subordinator and verb: *ut, cum turbata fuerit aqua, mittat me in piscinam* ‘so that, when the water is disturbed,⁸ he may send me into the pool’ (Jn. 5:7). Sometimes the object of the verb is a substantival clause: *ut cognoscatis et sciatis quia in me est Pater, et ego in Patre* ‘so that you may recognize and know that the Father is in me, and I in the Father’ (Jn. 10:38).

⁶ To translate these Latin future perfects as English future perfects would result in a stilted, if not unnatural, idiom. English frequently expresses future and future perfect notions by means of the present tense, where Latin would retain the future/future perfect tenses for such notions, respectively.

⁷ The form *factum fuerit* is a periphrastic future perfect of the deponent verb *feri*, often employed as the passive voice of *facio* ‘I make’ and often means ‘become, occur, take place.’ The Classical form employed in this context would be *factum erit*. That Jerome uses the future perfect of *sum* instead of the future may be due to the development of the passive voice as a periphrastic in all tenses, not just those within the perfect system, similar in structure to what is found in English. Although this scenario would adequately explain what we (uncommonly) find, nevertheless, the fact that the Vulgate gospels contain a plethora of non-periphrastic passive voice (i.e., Classical) forms indicates this explanation to be weak and oversimplistic. The more probable explanation is that the Classical, non-periphrastic forms remained true passives, while the periphrastic forms developed into two types of passive voice, similar to what is found in Modern German: 1) a true passive, in which *werden* is used with the past participle; 2) a stative/resultative passive, in which *sein* is employed. The system in the Latin Vulgate may have been thus: The true passive consists of two systems, the infectum (present, imperfect, and future) and perfectum (perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect). The infectum passive was expressed by the non-periphrastic forms; the perfectum, by the perfect passive participle + perfect forms of *sum*. The stative/resultative passive was expressed periphrastically by the perfect passive participle + the infectum of *sum* [present, imperfect, future].

⁸ Literally, *will have been disturbed*. See footnotes #6-7.

VSO word order occurs only twice, and in each case the direct object is a substantival clause: *ut cognoscat mundus quia diligo Patrem* ‘so that the world may perceive that I love the Father’ (Jn. 14:31). There is one occurrence of VOS word order: *ut traderet eum Iudas Simonis Iscariotis* ‘in order that Judas, [son] of Simon Iscariot, might betray him’ (Jn. 13:2).

Although subject-first clauses do not occur as frequently as verb-first ones, nevertheless, they are by no means rare. By far most of these clauses exhibit SV word order: *ut Scriptura impleatur...* ‘in order that the Scripture may be fulfilled...’ (Jn. 19:36). These clauses may also display an intervention between subordinator and subject: *ut ubi ego sum, et illi sint mecum* ‘so that, where I am, even those may be with me’ (Jn. 17:24). SVO word order rarely occurs: *ut et discipuli tui videant opera tua, quae facis* ‘so that even your disciples may see your works, which you are doing’ (Jn. 7:3). SOV word order occurs notably only twice: *ut vos eatis et fructum afferatis* ‘in order that you may go and bear fruit’ (Jn. 15:16); *ut unusquisque modicum quid accipiat* ‘so that everyone may receive a little something’ (Jn. 6:7).

The only type of object-initial clause, OV *ut* clauses occur with relative frequency: *ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine* ‘so that he might produce evidence concerning the light’ (Jn. 1:7). A clause or modifier may intervene between the subordinating conjunction and the object: *et ut credentes vitam habeatis in nomine eius* ‘and so that, believing, you may have life in his name’ (Jn. 20:31).

Table 3.2 Word-order types in purpose clauses with ut

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	13	20	24	19
VS	13	0	4	12
VSO	0	0	0	2
VO	17	11	32	33
VOS	0	0	0	1
SV	0	0	0	18
SVO	0	1	0	5
SOV	0	0	0	2
OV	5	7	4	13

The data of the above table show a surprising statistic, in that the SOV word order of Classical prose is non-existent in the synoptic gospels and nearly so in John. One may not see this statistic as unusual, since the word order in poetical and rhetorical texts shows a variety of word-order types (as also indicated in the above data) and often hyperbaton (Clackson 2007: 27-28). Such word-order variation, however, is generally employed for ‘effect,’ and in the standardized prose of the Classical Latin authors one sees a predictable default word order: SOV (Clackson 2007: 28). But we must grapple with, perhaps, an even greater problem, namely, that SVO word order, which—according to Clackson (2007: 28)—may have been the default word order of spoken Latin according to evidence in some sub-literary texts, also has a poor showing in the gospels. Two questions present themselves for further examination in this regard:

1) Does the word order exhibited in the Latin Vulgate gospels indicate the syntax of Latin employed by Jerome and the speakers of it in his era?

2) If yes, why has the syntax changed so radically from SOV to a more variable state by Jerome’s time? If no, then why did Jerome employ a syntax unusual or unfamiliar to his speakers and what was the source of the syntax that the Vulgate has aped?

I assert that the word order exhibited in the Vulgate gospels does not represent the typical syntax of the common speakers of Vulgar Latin in Jerome's day and that Jerome had adopted the convention used in the Old Latin version, namely, that of imitating the Greek word order of the NT gospels in order to give as literal a rendition as possible of the Greek text into the Latin vernacular. (A comparative analysis of this problem will be taken up in greater detail in the subsequent chapter.) Because Latin is a highly inflected language, such a variation in word order, albeit unusual, would not be incomprehensible to the speakers of Vulgar Latin.

In addition to the peculiar fact that SVO and SOV word order are so infrequent or non-existent, the data demonstrates a preference in the gospels for VO order, save in Mark, which prefers V(no S/O). One may assume that a large number of occurrences of VO word order would indicate a tendency toward an implied VSO (Semiticism?) or SVO (spoken Latin?). This assumption holds little validity upon statistical grounds, since the data support no preponderance of the appearance of either word-order type. Although the position of the subject in respect to VO word order is unclear, we may nevertheless assert that VO is a preference within this specific clause type.

I have labeled a small number of *ut* clauses as 'disputed,' meaning that the function of the *ut* clauses in question is either ambiguous or unclear from the context. Whether the ambiguity is intentional is speculative, yet possible. Consider Mt. 27:32, for example: *hunc angariaverunt, ut tolleret crucem eius* 'They compelled this [man], so that he might carry his cross.' This structure may indicate a final clause. However, it may also indicate an indirect command (request), in that case being translated 'They compelled him to carry his cross.' Likewise, Lk. 5:7 may be taken ambiguously: *Et annuerunt sociis, qui erant in alia navi, ut venirent et adiuuarent eos* 'And they nodded to their companions, who were in the other ship, in order that

they might come and help them’ (final clause), or ‘...they nodded to their companions...to come and help them’ (indirect command). One may notice similar structures in John’s gospel, as well: *Haec mando vobis, ut diligatis invicem* ‘These things I command you, so that you may also love one another’ (final clause), or ‘These things I command you, [namely] to love one another’ (indirect command) (Jn. 15:17); *Dederant autem pontifices et pharisaei mandatum, ut si quis cognoverit, ubi sit, indicet, ut apprehendant eum* ‘But the high priests and Pharisees had given an order, so that if anyone knew where he was, he should declare [it], that they may arrest him’ (Jn. 11:57). The multiple ambiguous structures contained in this passage add to its complexity. The phrase *[d]ederant...mandatum* followed by an *ut* clause most likely indicates an indirect command. Since two *ut* clauses follow the main clause, with these subordinate clauses not joined together by a coordinating conjunction, the question is which clause is governed by the *[d]ederant...mandatum* phrase: *ut...indicet, ut apprehendant*, or both? Since coordination does not appear in the subordinate construction, it is unlikely that both subordinate clauses are part of an indirect command. The *ut...indicet* clause shows a number of complex structures, containing a conditional clause and an indirect question. The fact that both *cognoverit* and *indicet* are morphologically ambiguous further adds to the complexity, for *cognoverit* may be either future perfect indicative or perfect subjunctive, and *indicet* may be either the future indicative of *indico*, *indicare* ‘to publish, declare publicly’ or the present subjunctive of *indico*, *indicare* ‘to indicate, proclaim, declare, inform.’⁹ Because the conjunction *ut* heads the clause, it is most improbable that *indicet* is future, since *cognoverit* belongs to the conditional clause and *sit* to the indirect question. Hence, we must conclude that *indicet* is the subjunctive of *indicare*. That being the case, *cognoverit* is most likely the perfect subjunctive of *cognosco*, if we assume no mixed

⁹ See Stelten (1995), *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*. Harden (2007) lists the verb in Jn. 11:57 as *indico*, *indicare*.

conditional construction. But since *indicet* is performing doubly as the apodosis of the *si cognoverit* clause and as the verb governed by the conjunction *ut*, it is difficult to discern whether one should perceive *cognoverit* as the protasis in a future more or less vivid construction. Regardless of the problems stemming from the complexities of this clause, one cannot consider *ut apprehendant eum* to be part of an indirect command, but rather part of a purpose clause dependent upon *indicet*. This conclusion explains why *apprehendant* is in the present subjunctive. If *apprehendant* were dependent on *[d]ederant*, it would have to be in secondary sequence and, hence, show the imperfect subjunctive form *apprehenderent*.

A clause that appears to indicate purpose can also be perceived as an object clause: *Ab illo ergo die cogitaverunt, ut interficerent eum* ‘From that day, therefore, they took thought to kill him’ (Jn. 11:53).¹⁰ A purpose clause may also be understood to be an indirect command and clause of desiring: *Haec est enim voluntas Patris mei, ut omnis qui videt Filium et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam* ‘For this is the will of my Father, so that everyone who sees the Son and believes in him may have eternal life’ (purpose)’ or ‘that everyone...may have eternal life’ (desire) (Jn. 6:40). The difference in nuance between desire and command is obviously slight.

In conclusion, the word-order types in *ut* final clauses in the Latin Vulgate gospels are not entirely predictable, although there exists a strong tendency toward V-initial clauses, following the subordinator.

3.1.1.2 Mood in *ut* purpose clauses

In accordance with what one finds in Classical Latin, the Vulgate likewise shows only the subjunctive mood in *ut* purpose clauses. In addition, as seen in the Classical idiom, the Vulgate exhibits a rigid sequence of tenses by employing the present subjunctive in *ut* clauses dependent

¹⁰ This construction seems to have a dual function. It is without doubt that *cogitaverunt* indicates a purpose or goal in view. In this case, however, the purpose itself is also the object of the verb *cogitaverunt*.

upon main clauses containing verbs in primary sequence (present, future, the ‘true’ perfect, future perfect indicative; imperative; independent subjunctive), and the imperfect subjunctive in those clauses dependent upon main clauses containing verbs in secondary sequence (imperfect, the ‘aoristic’ perfect, pluperfect, and historical infinitive). The data below indicate an

Table 3.3 Occurrences of the subjunctive mood in ut purpose clauses according to sequence of tenses¹¹

Sequence	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	22	46	20	51	27	42	81	77
Secondary	26	54	19	49	37	58	24	23

approximate 1:1 ratio of occurrences of primary to secondary sequence in the synoptic gospels, although the gospel of Luke shows a greater disparity than Matthew or Mark. John exhibits the

¹¹ The data, giving the specific occurrences by gospel, are as follows:

Matthew

Primary: 2:8; 5:13; 5:15; 5:16; 5:45; 6:1; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16; 9:6; 14:15; 15:33; 18:16; 19:16; 23:5; 23:15; 23:26; 23:35; 24:45; 26:2; 26:56.

Secondary: 1:22; 2:15; 2:23; 3:13; 4:1; 4:14; 8:17; 10:1; 11:1; 12:10; 12:17; 13:35; 19:13; 21:4; 21:32; 21:34; 22:11; 22:15; 24:1; 26:4; 26:16; 26:58; 26:59; 27:1; 27:26; 27:23.

Mark

Primary: 1:38; 2:10; 4:12 (2); 4:21 (2); 4:22 (2); 5:12; 5:23; 6:36; 7:9; 10:17; 10:37; 11:25; 11:28; 12:15; 13:15; 14:12; 15:32.

Secondary: 3:2; 3:10; 3:14 (2); 6:41; 6:45; 8:6; 9:22; 10:13; 10:45 (2); 12:2; 12:13; 14:10; 14:35; 14:55; 15:15; 15:20; 16:1.

Luke

Primary: 1:4; 1:17; 1:74; 2:35; 4:10; 5:24; 6:34; 6:42; 8:16; 9:12; 11:33; 11:50; 12:36; 12:42; 14:10; 14:23; 16:4; 16:9; 16:24 (2); 16:28; 20:14; 21:22; 21:36; 22:8; 22:30 (2).

Secondary: 1:9; 2:3; 2:5; 2:21; 2:22; 2:24; 2:27; 3:7; 3:12; 4:29; 5:7; 5:15; 6:7; 6:18; 9:1; 9:16; 9:28; 9:51; 9:52; 11:54; 15:1; 15:15; 15:29; 17:18; 18:10; 18:15; 19:4; 19:15; 20:10; 20:20 (2); 22:6; 22:31; 22:47; 23:32; 24:29; 24:45.

John

Primary: 1:22; 1:31; 3:15; 3:16; 3:17 (2); 3:21; 4:36; 5:7; 5:20; 5:23; 5:34; 5:36; 5:40; 6:5; 6:7; 6:28; 6:30; 6:38; 6:39; 6:40; 7:3; 9:3; 9:36; 9:39; 10:10 (2); 10:17; 10:38; 11:4; 11:11; 11:15; 11:16; 11:31; 11:42; 11:57; 12:7; 12:23; 12:36; 12:47 (2); 13:15; 13:18; 13:19; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31; 15:2; 15:11; 15:16 (3); 15:17; 15:25; 16:4; 16:24; 16:33; 17:1; 17:2; 17:11; 17:12; 17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24 (2); 17:26; 18:37; 19:4; 19:24; 19:35; 19:36; 20:31 (2).

Secondary: 1:7 (2); 1:8; 1:19; 4:8; 6:15; 7:32; 8:6; 8:59; 10:31; 11:19; 11:52; 11:53; 11:55; 12:9; 12:20; 12:38; 13:3; 13:24; 18:9; 18:28; 18:32; 19:16; 19:28.

greatest statistical inequality. This result can be explained for several reasons. First, since John's gospel does not belong to the synoptic tradition, and arguably derives little—if anything—from it, the composer of the fourth gospel employed his own style, word choice, emphases of events and teachings. In addition, John's gospel is more a gospel of discourses than than one of narratives, a notion which may illustrate why this gospel shows a much greater percentage of *ut* clauses in primary sequence than found in the synoptics. Finally, John's gospel may well represent both events experienced by the Johannine community and doctrines that the community held, but these events and doctrines have been presented as having occurred in the 'long ago,' or what one may call the *Gegenwart als ob einmalig* (Martyn 2003: 40).¹²

3.1.1.3 Aspect in *ut* purpose clauses

Latin does not have the verbal category of aspect, but this does not preclude aspectual functions within the Latin verbal system, a system more heavily tense-based than aspect-based. In the indicative mood, the system contains a synergistic relationship between tense and aspect. In the non-indicative moods (imperative, subjunctive) and non-finite forms (infinitives, participles), aspect plays almost no role, the exception being the perfect subjunctive used in indirect discourse. The system itself is binary and symmetrical, both in the indicative and non-indicative forms of the system.

¹² That there exists a two-layered structure to the fourth gospel has become an ever more acceptable concept to a number of Johannine scholars and, hence, can be useful in clarifying not only the structural and contextual difficulties found in the text, but also the grammatical/syntactic peculiarities that the gospel contains.

Table 3.4 Latin Verbal System (Indicative Mood)

System Type	Time		
	Present	Past	Future
Infectum	Present Tense	Imperfect Tense	Future Tense
Perfectum	Perfect Tense ¹³	Pluperfect Tense	Future Perfect Tense

Table 3.5 Latin Verbal System (Subjunctive Mood)

System Type	Time		
	Present	Past	Future
Infectum	Present Tense (primary sequence)	Imperfect Tense (secondary sequence)	Future Periphrastic ¹⁴ (primary subjunctive forms of <i>sum</i>)
Perfectum	Perfect Tense (primary sequence)	Pluperfect Tense (secondary sequence)	Future Periphrastic (secondary subjunctive forms of <i>sum</i>)

Only the present and imperfect subjunctives are relevant in *ut* purpose clauses in Latin.

Although the totality of the system is tense-based, the opposition of infectum vs. perfectum is clearly aspectual, at least in regard to the present tense vs. the (true) perfect, and the imperfect

¹³ The problem with the arrangement of this system is that the perfect tense in Latin functions both as a present, or true, perfect and as an aoristic perfect—a past tense. The arrangement given is according to tense, not necessarily according to the function of the tenses arranged.

¹⁴ The core value of the subjunctive mood is the wish/will or expectation of an action, notions occurring in future time. Although the idea of a future subjunctive is superfluous, such a construction does occur in Latin, but primarily in indirect questions and other constructions involving indirect discourse. Because Latin lacks a future subjunctive tense per se, this construction is formed periphrastically by employing the future active participle, or gerundive, with the subjunctive forms of *sum*.

Ex. (primary sequence) Scio quid faciat. 'I know what he is doing.'
 Scio quid fecerit. 'I know what he did.'
 Scio quid facturus sit. 'I know what he will do.'

(secondary sequence) Scivi quid faceret. 'I knew what he was doing.'
 Scivi quid fecisset. 'I knew what he had done.'
 Scivi quid facturus esset. 'I knew what he would do.'

tense vs. the aoristic perfect. The future, future perfect, and pluperfect tenses are time-relative and hold no purely aspectual nuances among themselves.

In light of what is known of the verbal system, one may safely conclude that aspect—both as a grammatical and functional category—plays no role in purpose clauses in Latin. The dichotomy of present subjunctive vs. imperfect subjunctive is one of sequence of tenses, not one of aspect, indicative of Latin's tense-based verbal system. The question of how Jerome dealt with the problem of rendering Greek verbal aspect in light of the lack of the verbal category of aspect in Latin in his translating from the Greek will be taken up in the subsequent chapter.

3.1.2 Relative purpose clauses

A purpose clause may sometimes be introduced by a relative pronoun instead of the conjunction *ut*. Such constructions, common in Classical Latin, are somewhat rare in the Vulgate gospels. The structure in the gospels is identical to what is found in the Classical idiom: *...quia triduo iam*¹⁵ *perseverant mecum et non habent, quod manducent* '...because they have been staying with me for three days and they do not have [anything], which they may eat' (Mt. 15:32).¹⁶

It is debatable whether all clauses introduced by a relative pronoun and containing a verb in the subjunctive mood should be treated as final clauses. Some of these clauses may well be relative clauses of characteristic:¹⁷ *Malos male perdet et vineam locabit aliis agricolis, qui reddant ei fructum temporibus suis* 'He will grievously destroy the evil [ones] and will lease the

¹⁵ The adverb *iam* here functions as a perfectum progressive marker. When *iam* is used with the present tense, the verb denotes a perfect progressive, e.g., *iam perseverant* 'they have been staying.' When it is used with the imperfect tense, the verb has the quality of a pluperfect progressive: *iam perseverabant* 'they had been staying.'

¹⁶ The following passages contain relative purpose clauses in the Latin Vulgate gospels:

<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>John</u>
15:32; 21:41	6:36; 8:1; 8:2	11:6; 17:18; 20:20	4:23

¹⁷ For the different types of relative character clauses, the reader is referred to Guildersleeve 1997: 403-405, under the heading *Relative Sentences of Tendency*.

vineyard to other farmers, who will return to him the fruit in their times’ (Mt. 21:41).¹⁸ (See also Lk. 17:18; 20:20; Jn. 4:23).

3.1.2.1 Word order in relative purpose clauses

Only two major categories of word order occur in relative purpose clauses in the Latin gospels: object-initial and subject-initial. This limiting dichotomy logically results from the fact that the relative pronoun, not a conjunction, heads the clause and typically acts as one of the major arguments within the clause (i.e., subject, direct object, indirect object). All relative purpose clauses that have object-initial word order are OV: *et non habeo, quod ponam ante illum* ‘and I do not have [anything], that I may place before him’ (Lk. 11:6). The subject-initial clauses exhibit a greater word-order variation. For example, one passage displays SV word order: *Non sunt inventi qui redirent...* ‘They were not found, that they might return...’ (Lk. 17:18). A clause of this type may show SOV word order, with an accompanying object complement (or, predicate accusative): *Et observantes miserunt insidiatores, qui se iustos simularent* ‘And those watching sent spies, that they might feign themselves just’ (Lk. 20:20). Two clauses exhibit SVO word order: *nam et Pater tales quaerit, qui adorent eum* ‘for also the Father seeks such, that they might worship him’ (Jn. 4:23; see also Mt. 21:41).¹⁹

Table 3.6 Word-order types in relative purpose clauses

Word-order Type	Frequency							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
OV	1	11.1	3	33.3	1	11.1	0	0
SV	0	0	0	0	1	11.1	0	0
SOV	0	0	0	0	1	11.1	0	0
SVO	1	11.1	0	0	0	0	1	11.1

¹⁸ As a purpose clause, the translation would be rendered: ‘and he will lease the vineyard to other farmers, that they may return to him the fruit in their times.’

¹⁹ This passage clearly exemplifies the notion of characteristic. However, one should not rule out purpose, in that the kind who *would* worship the Father is clearly the *aim* of the verb *quaerit*.

3.1.2.2 Mood in relative purpose clauses

Because relative purpose clauses are a sub-type of final constructions, the mood displayed is the same as that found in purpose clauses introduced by the conjunction *ut*: *In illis diebus iterum cum turba multa esset, nec haberent, quod manducarent...* ‘In those days, when there was again much throng, and they did not have [that] which they might eat...’ (Mk. 8:1). Relative final clauses are constructed according to sequence of tenses, the distribution being as follows:

Table 3.7 Occurrences of the subjunctive mood in relative purpose clauses according to sequence of tenses²⁰

Sequence	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	2	100	2	67	1	33	1	100
Secondary	0	0	1	33	2	67	0	0

3.1.2.3 Aspect in relative purpose clauses

Aspect plays no role in relative purpose clauses in Latin. See section 3.1.1.3 for further explication, and Clackson (2007: 18-20) for a brief treatment of the Latin verbal system compared to the PIE system—particularly in regard to the category of aspect.

3.1.3 Negative purpose clauses introduced by *ne*

Purpose clauses in Classical Latin and in the Latin of the Vulgate gospels are negated by the conjunction *ne*, which replaces the conjunction *ut* rather than being employed concurrently. Whenever a negative purpose clause contains *ut*, the negative particle used is *non*, but this is normally employed as the negator of a particular word (Gildersleeve 1997: 345)—not as a

²⁰ Below are the specific passages that occur by gospel.

<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>John</u>
Primary: 15:32; 21:41	6:36; 8:2	11:6	4:23
Secondary: N/A	8:1	17:18; 20:20	N/A

negator of the clause itself. However, in the Latin Vulgate, *ut* + *non* seems to function often as a stylistic variant of *ne*. The discussion of *ut...non* purpose clauses is to be found in section 3.1.4.

The following passages contain purpose clauses introduced by *ne*:

Matthew (4:6; 5:25; 6:18; 7:16; 13:15; 13:29; 15:32; 25:9; 26:5; 27:64)

Mark (3:9; 4:12; 13:36; 14:2)

Luke (4:11; 4:42; 8:12; 12:58; 14:8; 14:9; 14:12; 14:29; 16:28; 18:5; 24:16)

John (5:14; 6:12)

Matthew and Luke, being the longest of the four gospels, unsurprisingly have the most *ne* clauses. Although John is longer than Mark, the fourth gospel exhibits only half the number of *ne* clauses as Mark does. What also appears unusual is the paucity in number of *ne* clauses in Mark compared to the far more numerous occurrences found in Matthew and Luke, unusual in that substantial portions of Matthew and Luke are purportedly based upon Mark's gospel. This evidence does not suggest that there must be a correlation of percentages in occurrence of syntactic phenomena in order to establish source relationship. The evidence calls into question why the correlation is not as strong a might be expected. Table 3.8 below indicates the percentages by gospel in relation to the total number. To suggest that the closer

Table 3.8 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by ne

Total # of <i>ne</i> clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
27	10	37	4	15	11	41	2	7

percentage of occurrences of negative purpose clauses points to a closer relationship between the source of Matthew and Luke is fallacious, since by the same analysis one would have to conclude the existence of a close relationship between Mark and John, which—by evidence of the content of these gospels—does not exist. In addition, since these occurrences are the result

of Jerome's translation from the Greek, it is presumptuous to make any judgments concerning syntactic patterns across gospels. The subsequent comparative analysis of Greek and Latin will provide greater dividends in regard to syntax and Jerome's understanding of it in his work of translation.

3.1.3.1 Word order in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ne*

Most purpose clauses introduced by *ne* are verb-initial. None of the verb-initial types (i.e., V with no overt S/O, VS, VSO, VOS, VO) are extremely common. Matthew displays the largest number of V-initial (no overt S/O) *ne* purpose clauses: *ne videaris hominibus ieunans sed Patri tuo, qui est in abscondito* 'so that you do not seem fasting to men, but to your Father, who is in secret' (Mt. 6:18). This word-order type occurs only once in Mark: *ne quando convertantur, et dimittatur eis* 'lest they ever be converted, and it be forgiven to them [i.e., lest they be forgiven]' (Mk. 4:12). This word-order type occurs also infrequently in Luke: *ne discederet ab eis* 'so that he might not depart from them' (Lk. 4:42). No V-initial (no S/O) *ne* clauses occur in John.

One purpose clause introduced by *ne* exhibits VS word order: *ne forte veniant discipuli eius...* 'lest by chance his disciples come...' (Mt. 27:64).

Several passages containing *ne* purpose clauses show VO word order: *ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum* 'lest by chance you strike against a stone your foot' (Mt. 4:6).

Sometimes an extended element, such as a participial phrase, intervenes between the conjunction and verb: *ne forte colligentes zizania eradicetis simul cum eis triticum* 'lest by chance, while gathering together the tares, you uproot together with them the wheat' (Mt. 13:29). The intervening element may also be another subordinate clause: *ne, cum venerit repente, inveniat vos dormientes* 'lest, when he will have come suddenly, he find you sleeping' (Mk. 13:36).

Ne purpose clauses exhibiting VOS word order are extremely rare, occurring only once in the Vulgate gospels: *ne forte tradat te adversarius iudici* ‘lest by chance the adversary hand you over to the judge’ (Mt. 5:25).

Subject-initial *ne* clauses occur infrequently, most showing SV word order: *ne tumultus fiat in populo* ‘lest an uproar happen among the people’ (Mt. 26:5). SVO word order is found only in Luke: *ne...iudex tradat te exactori, et exactor mittat te in carcerem* ‘lest ...the judge hand you over to the executioner, and the executioner send you into prison’ (Lk. 12:58). SOV word order occurs twice—once in John and once in Luke: *ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat* ‘lest something worse affect you’ (Jn. 5:14);²¹ *ne forte et ipsi te reinvitent et fiat tibi retributio* ‘lest by chance even they themselves invite you in return and it become for you repayment’ (Lk. 14:12).

OV word order in *ne* purpose clauses occurs once: *ne eum agnoscerent* ‘so that they might not recognize him’ (Lk. 24:16). VS and VO word orders appear more frequently than other word-order types. VSO does not appear at all, a strange omission of a word-order type known to be commonplace in Hebrew, since the gospels are felt by a number of scholars to display elements of Semitic interference. However, it should be noted that—in respect to the placement of the verb—the word order in Aramaic, like that in Greek, displays a fair amount of variability (Johns 1972: 33), with occurrences of SVO and SOV not uncommon:

□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ (SVO)

□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ (SOV)

‘Belshazzar the king made a great feast for his thousand nobles, and he drank the wine before the thousand’ (Dan. 5:1).

²¹ SOV word order here is contingent upon taking *contingat* as a transitive verb governing the dative case. However, *contingat* may also act intransitively, with the meaning ‘to occur, happen, come to pass.’ It is possible in that scenario to perceive *tibi* not as a dative object of the verb *contingat*, but rather as either a dative of reference or a dative with the adjective *deterius*. Hence, the translation of the passage might be rendered: ‘lest something worse to you come to pass.’

Table 3.9 Word-order types in purpose clauses with *ne*

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	4	1	3	0
VS	1	0	0	0
VO	4	2	3	0
VOS	1	0	0	0
SV	1	1	1	1
SVO	1	0	3	0
SOV	0	0	1	1
OV	0	0	1	0

The most important variable that cannot be ignored, however, is that the Latin is not a translation of either Hebrew or Aramaic, but of Greek. The issue, then, is the Vulgate's relationship with the Greek gospels, and not with a theoretical Semitic Urtext.

3.1.3.2 Mood in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ne*

Because *ne* purpose clauses are a negated type of *ut* purpose clauses, the *ne* clauses exhibit the same mood and sequence of tenses as found in other final clauses in Latin: *ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis et conversi dirumpant vos* 'lest by chance they trample them with their feet and, having turned around, they break you in pieces' (Mt. 7:6). The distribution of sequence of tenses is indicated in Table 3.10 below.

Table 3.10 Occurrences of the subjunctive mood in *ne* purpose clauses according to sequence of tenses²²

Sequence	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	10	100	2	50	9	82	2	100
Secondary	0	0	2	50	2	18	0	0

3.1.3.3 Aspect in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ne*

Aspect plays no role in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ne* in the Vulgate gospels. See section 3.1.1.3 for further explication, and Clackson (2007: 18-20) for a brief treatment of the Latin verbal system compared to the PIE system—particularly in regard to the category of aspect.

3.1.4 Purpose clauses introduced by *ut* + *non*

Although negative purpose clauses containing *ut* + *non* sometimes convey a meaning similar if not identical to that of those clauses introduced by *ne*, there often exists a semantic nuance. Hence, *ut* + *non* clauses are not always a mere stylistic convention. The fact that *non* can be (albeit rarely) placed separated from *ut* attests to this difference in usage: *ut, si quis ex*

²² Below are the specific passages that occur by gospel.

Matthew

Primary: 4:6; 5:25; 6:18; 7:6; 13:15; 13:29; 15:32; 25:9; 26:5; 27:64

Secondary: N/A

Mark

Primary: 4:12; 13:36

Secondary: 3:9; 14:2

Luke

Primary: 4:11; 8:12; 12:58; 14:8; 14:9; 14:12; 14:29; 16:28; 18:5

Secondary: 4:42; 24:16

John

Primary: 5:14; 6:12

Secondary: N/A

ipso manducaverit, non moriatur ‘so that, if anyone eats²³ of it itself, he may not die’ (Jn. 6:50).

In most of these clauses, *non* immediately follows *ut*, apparently functioning as a unit in place of *ne*. Such clauses are nearly always incontestably purpose clauses. However, a number of clauses showing a separation of *non* and *ut* are contestable as to their type, and may indicate result rather than purpose. It may well be that purpose and result synergize in these clauses. Both uncontested and contested clauses will be discussed in this section.²⁴

The following passages contain purpose clauses with *ut + non*:

Matthew (7:1; 17:27; 26:41)

Mark (14:38)

Luke (8:10; 9:45; 16:26; 22:32)

John (3:16; 3:20; 4:15; 6:39; 6:50; 7:23; 12:35; 12:40; 12:42; 12:46; 16:1; 18:28; 18:36; 19:31)

The fourth gospel exhibits more *ut + non* clauses than the Synoptic gospels *combined*. It is unclear why Jerome decided to use a different stylistic convention in John’s gospel; perhaps by doing so, Jerome wanted to convey the notion that the fourth gospel is uniquely constructed, linguistically and stylistically, in addition to the uniqueness of its content. In addition, Jerome may have been attempting to calque the Greek structure. A comparative analysis of the Latin and Greek passages will determine the validity of the above arguments.

²³ Literally, ‘will have eaten.’

²⁴ The following clauses may exhibit result rather than purpose: Lk. 8:10; 9:45; 16:26, and Jn. 3:16; 12:46. Jn. 6:39 may be showing neither purpose nor result. The passage could be a clause of desire or indirect command.

Table 3.11 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by *ut + non*

Total # of <i>ut + non</i>	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
22	3	13.6	1	4.6	4	18.2	14	63.6

3.1.4.1 Word order in purpose clauses introduced by *ut + non*

Most purpose clauses introduced by *ut + non* are verb-initial. Most V-initial (no S/O) clauses are intransitive and found in John: *ut non sitiam neque veniam huc haurire* ‘so that I may not thirst nor come here to draw’ (Jn. 4:15). This intransitivity is mostly expressed through the passive voice: *ut non scandalizemini* ‘so that you may not be offended’ (Jn. 16:1). A transitive verb with no direct object may rarely be employed: *ut videntes non videant et audientes non intellegant* ‘so that—seeing—they may not see, and hearing—they may not understand’ (Lk. 8:10. See also Jn. 12:40). In the above passage, *non* occurs twice, and in each case it is intervened by a present active participle. In addition, *non* immediately precedes the finite verb, a clear indication that the construction negates the verb in each instance, not the entire clause.

Only Luke and John exhibit VS word order: *ut non deficiat fides tua* ‘so that your faith may not fail’ (Lk. 22:32); *ut non remanerent in cruce corpora sabbato* ‘so that the bodies may not remain on the cross during the Sabbath’ (Jn. 19:31). This word-order type occurs very infrequently in the Latin gospels.

Only Matthew and Luke show VO word order: *Ut autem non scandalizemus eos* ‘But so that we may not offend them...’ (Mt. 17:27); *et erat velatum ante eos, ut non sentirent illud* ‘and it had been concealed before them, so that they might not perceive it’ (Lk. 9:45). The above two passages contain the only examples of this word-order type of *ut + non* purpose clauses in the Vulgate gospels.

Luke and John display SV *ut* + *non* purpose clauses: *ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint...* ‘so that these, who wish to go across from here to you, may not be able...’ (Lk. 16:26); *ut omnis, qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat* ‘so that everyone, who believes in me, may not remain in darkness’ (Jn. 12:46).

SOV word order occurs only once in negative *ut* + *non* purpose clauses: *ut non tenebrae vos comprehendant* ‘so that the darkness may not obtain you’ (Jn. 12:35). Likewise, OV word order occurs only once: *ut omne, quod dedit mihi, non perdam ex eo* ‘so that everything, which he has given to me, I may not lose [any] of it’ (Jn. 6:39).²⁵

²⁵ There are manifold difficulties with this passage. First, the passage most likely is not a purpose clause, at least when viewed as contextually isolated. The subordinate clause is dependent upon a main clause of desire. Although no verb of desiring, wanting, wishing, or the like appears, the fact that the substantive *voluntas* ‘desire’ is a noun and not a verb does not preclude the status of the clause itself as one of desire/wish. The *ut* clause, therefore, may well be an object noun clause. Such clauses do convey purpose, albeit they are not pure final clauses. In addition, the subordinate clause may indicate result. The notion of quantity or quality need not always be expressed as an introductory indicator in the main clause in order for a result clause to occur.

When this passage has been examined from the total context, one may safely conclude that the subordinate clause denotes purpose. The previous verse undoubtedly contains a purpose clause: *quia descendi de caelo, non ut faciam voluntatem meam sed voluntatem eius, qui misit me* ‘because I have come down from heaven, not that I may do my will but his will, who sent me’ (Jn. 6:38). The noun *voluntas* is echoed in the subsequent verse, which appears clearly to couple the verses 38 and 39, at least semantically and contextually. Hence, the subordinate clause in Jn. 6:39 is most likely the end, or purpose, of the *voluntas*.

Finally, Jn. 6:39 seems to display hyperbaton—a feature common to Classical Greek usage. The prepositional phrase *ex eo* should intervene between *omne* and the relative pronoun *quod*, giving *omne ex eo, quod* ‘everything out of which...’ Since this diptych construction is so rare in NT Greek and in the Latin Vulgate, it seems unlikely that this is inherited from classical IE syntax as seen in Classical Greek (e.g., ὅς...ὁ/το), Sanskrit (*yá...sá/tá*), and Gothic (*saei...sah*), for the issue here is not the placement of the relative pronoun *quod* in respect to its antecedent *eo*, but rather the displacement of the prepositional phrase *ex eo* in respect to the substantival adjective *omne*, upon which the prepositional phrase depends. Another explanation, in addition to hyperbaton, is genuine Semitic interference. Hebrew and Aramaic lack a relative pronoun, a relative particle being employed instead. Where Greek and Latin employ the relative pronoun in grammatical cases pertinent to the pronoun’s function within its own relative clause, Hebrew and Aramaic must employ personal pronouns to function within the relative clause, except in the cases where the relative pronoun functions as the subject or object of the clause. Functioning as subject, the personal pronoun is omitted; as object, it is optional.

□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ ‘The words which he wrote are good.’ [lit. ‘Good (are) the words that he wrote them’]

In regard to the question as to whether *ex eo* is functioning in a similar way, the answer is likely ‘no,’ since John’s gospel contains numerous instances of relative clauses functioning in cases other than the nominative or accusative (see Jn. 1:27).

Table 3.12 Word-order types in purpose clauses with *ut* + *non*

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	2	1	1	8
VS	0	0	1	2
VO	1	0	1	0
SV	0	0	1	2
SOV	0	0	0	1
OV	0	0	0	1

3.1.4.2 Mood in purpose clauses introduced by *ut* + *non*

Because purpose clauses introduced by *ut* + *non* are either negative final clauses or final clauses containing a negative modifier,²⁶ these clauses employ the same mood (namely, the subjunctive) and sequence of tenses as other final clauses: *ut non deficiat fides tua* ‘so that your faith may not fail’ (Lk. 22:32, primary sequence); *ut non remanerent in cruce corpora sabbato* ‘so that the bodies might not remain on the cross during the Sabbath’ (Jn 19:31, secondary sequence). The distribution of sequence of tenses is indicated in the following table:

Table 3.13 Occurrences of the subjunctive mood in *ut* + *non* purpose clauses according to sequence of tenses²⁷

Sequence	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	3	100	1	100	3	75	10	71
Secondary	0	0	0	0	1	25	4	29

²⁶ As has been shown, these two types of clauses are semantically distinctive and do not function syntactically in exactly the same manner.

²⁷ Below are the specific passages that occur by gospel.

<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>
Primary: 7:1; 17:27; 26:41	14:38	8:10; 16:26; 22:32
Secondary: N/A	N/A	9:45

John

Primary: 3:16; 3:20; 4:15; 6:39; 6:50; 7:23; 12:35; 12:40; 12:46; 16:1
 Secondary: 12:42; 18:28; 18:36; 19:31

3.1.4.3 Aspect in purpose clauses introduced by *ut* + *non*

Aspect plays no role in purpose clauses introduced by *ut* + *non* in the Vulgate gospels. See section 3.1.1.3 for further explication, and Clackson (2007: 18-20) for a brief treatment of the Latin verbal system compared to the PIE system—particularly in regard to the category of aspect.

3.1.5 Subcategories of final clauses

According to Gildersleeve (1997: 334-356), final clauses in Latin may be classified under two main types: 1) pure final sentences (sentences of design), the rudiments of which we have thus examined under the term ‘result/final clauses;’ 2) complementary final sentences (sentences introducing verbs or expressions of will, wish, and hindrance). Gildersleeve also includes a third type: clauses of fearing.

Greenough (1931: 362) proposes a binary classification of final clauses, and under a different designation. What Gildersleeve lists as complementary final sentences, Greenough designates as substantive clauses of purpose, with clauses of fearing also classified as such (hence, no third type as proposed by Gildersleeve).

Although clauses of fearing, wishing, and desire may sometimes display a telic nuance (see section 2.2.5), it is best not to classify them under the heading of pure final clauses, since their syntax functions primarily substantively and not adverbially. However, clauses of effort (rare in the Latin gospel) and caution (a type of hindrance clause)—albeit not considered to be pure final clauses by Gildersleeve and Greenough—nevertheless display a telic nuance which justifies their being classified as a sub-group of pure final clauses. Hence, indirect commands (the primary structure that clauses of will and desire demonstrate in the Vulgate gospels) and clauses of fearing are omitted from discussion in this section.

3.1.5.1 Clauses of effort

Clauses of effort are introduced by a verb of striving, planning, exhorting, etc. (see section 2.2.5.1) in the main clause and headed by the conjunction *ut* in the subordinate clause, with the verb in the subordinate clause in the subjunctive mood. Such clauses, however, are practically non-existent in the Latin gospels, save a couple of clauses which are not introduced by *ut*, but rather by *quomodo*: *Exeuntes autem pharisaei consilium faciebant adversus eum, quomodo eum perderent* ‘But going out, the Pharisees adopted a plan against him, how they might destroy him’ (Mt. 12:14); *[v]idete ergo quomodo audiat* ‘See, therefore, how you may hear’ (Lk. 8:18).

Both the above clauses exhibit the subjunctive mood in proper sequence of tenses (secondary sequence in the passage in Matthew, primary in that of Luke). The word order shown is OV in Mt. 12:14 and V (no overt S/O) in Lk. 8:18. Concerning aspect, see section 3.1.1.3.

3.1.5.2 Clauses of caution

Clauses of caution may be undersood as negative clauses of effort and—like clauses of effort—typically contain a verb of striving, exhorting, planning etc. in the main clause (see section 2.2.5.2). The conjunction introducing the subordinate clause is always *ne*, never *ut non*: *Attendite, ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus* ‘Take heed, that you do not perform your righteousness²⁸ in the presence of men’ (Mt. 6:1).

Clauses of caution occur in the three synoptic gospels. There seem to be, however, no occurrences of them in John’s gospel. The number of occurrences determined in Matthew and Luke are equal; Mark has about half that number. Of course, a number of final clauses not listed

²⁸ This term has been commonly agreed upon to indicate the notion of almsgiving. The Latin term employed here, however, points to a much broader connotation, namely ‘a cardinal virtue whereby one gives to others that which is due to them as a matter of right’ (Stelten 1995: 312). Hence, ‘justice’ may be a better and more literal rendering of the Latin *iustitiam*.

as clauses of caution may well be interpreted as such, and a number of clauses deemed to be clauses of caution could just as well be perceived to be pure final clauses of the main designation. The clauses given and examined should not be viewed as exclusively belonging to the type classified as clauses of caution. The following clauses, therefore, are representative of the syntactic structure of these clauses as previously described.

Similar to the word-order variability found in other purpose clauses, clauses of caution exhibit verb-, subject-, and object-initial types. V-initial (no S/O) occurs only in Matthew and Luke: *Videte, ne turbemini* ‘See that you be not troubled’ (Mt. 24:6); *[v]idete, ne seducamini* ‘See that you be not led astray’ (Lk. 21:8). The subordinate clause may (rarely) precede the main clause: *Ne forte non sufficiat nobis et vobis, ite potius ad vendentes et emite vobis* ‘Lest by chance there be not enough for us and for you, go rather to [those] selling and buy for yourselves’ (Mt. 25:9).²⁹ VS word order occurs only in Luke: *Attendite autem vobis, ne forte graventur corda vestra in crapula et ebrietate et curis huius vitae et superveniat in vos repentina dies illa* ‘But take heed to yourselves, lest your hearts by chance be weighed down with intoxication, drunken excess, and the cares of this life, and that sudden day come upon you’ (Lk. 21:34). All the synoptic gospels display VO word order: *Videte, ne contemnatis unum ex his pusillis* ‘See that you do not despise one of these tiny ones’ (Mt. 18:10); *ne, cum venerit repente, inveniat vos dormientes* ‘lest, when he suddenly comes, he find you sleeping’ (Mk. 13:36);³⁰ *ne forte trahat te apud iudicem, et iudex trahat te exactori,³¹ et exactor mittat te in carcerem³²* ‘lest by chance he drag you in the presence of the judge, and the judge drag you to the tax officer, and the tax officer send you into prison’ (Lk. 12:58).

²⁹ This clause could also be one of causal implied fearing, i.e., one in which the subordinate clause complements an implied *quia veremur* ‘because we fear.’

³⁰ The clause is dependent upon *Vigilate ergo* ‘Watch, therefore,’ in the previous verse.

³¹ SVO word order.

³² SVO word order.

SV word order is quite uncommon, occurring only once in Matthew and once in Luke: *Videte, ne quis sciat* ‘See that no one knows’ (Mt. 9:30); *[v]ide ergo, ne lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sint*³³ ‘See, therefore, lest the light which is in you be darkness’ (Lk. 11:35). SOV word order occurs only in Matthew and Mark: *Videte, ne quis vos seducat* ‘See that no one lead you astray’ (Mt. 24:4; Mk. 13:5).

Only Matthew and Mark exhibit OV word order: *Attendite, ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus* ‘Take heed, that you do not perform your righteousness in the presence of men’ (Mt. 6:1); *[v]ide, ne nemini quidquam dixeris* ‘See that you tell no one anything’ (Mk. 1:44). This particular passage in Mark shows an interesting anomaly: a double negative indicating a negative, not a positive. In other gospel passages containing a negative clause introduced by *ne*, we encounter the indefinite pronoun (without the *ali-* prefix): *ne quis...* ‘so that no one...’ (Mt. 24:4; Mk. 13:5). Such usage of the double negative here cannot be the result of Jerome’s own literary and syntactic style. The answer lies in a process far less remarkable or unusual, as shall be subsequently demonstrated.

As expected, the subjunctive mood is employed throughout in clauses of caution: *orate, ne intretis in tentationem* ‘Pray, so that you may not enter into temptation’ (Lk. 22:44).³⁴ The vast majority of clauses of caution contain verbs in the primary sequence (i.e., the present subjunctive), since nearly all verbs in the main clauses are in the imperative mood, which necessitates this sequence. Verbs in secondary sequence, therefore, are uncommon but do occur: *Et vehementer comminabatur eis, ne manifestarent illum* ‘And he was threatening them

³³ If *lumen* is the subject of its own clause, why does the verb *sint* (pl.) appear and not *sit* (sing.)? One possible solution to the problem is that *sint* occurs due to a process of predicative attraction with the noun *tenebrae*. Such a phenomenon is not unusual in Classical Latin. Another possibility is that *tenebrae* is the actual subject. If that is the case, then the passage might well be rendered: ‘lest darkness be the light that is in you.’

³⁴ This could certainly be construed as a pure purpose clause. The presence of the imperative *orate*, however, seems to point to the construction’s being a clause of caution.

furiously, they they not make him known' (Mk. 3:12).³⁵ Although the present subjunctive predominantly occurs in clauses of caution, there is one instance in which the perfect subjunctive may be found: *Vide, ne nemini quidquam dixeris* 'See that you tell no one anything' (Mk. 1:44). There exists no justifiable reason to employ this tense in a final clause in Latin, at least not in a clause expressing the thoughts of a native Latin speaker. Instead of *dixeris* (2nd pers. sing. perfect subjunctive active), we should expect *dicas* (2nd pers. sing. present subjunctive active). The question remains as to whether the speaker of Latin in Jerome's day would have perceived this usage as peculiar and would have readily understood what was being expressed. The answer to both questions is a resounding 'yes,' as the discussion in the subsequent chapter makes evident.

3.2 Result (consecutive) clauses

Two types of result clauses exist in Latin:

1) pure consecutive clauses, which are adverbial, employ the conjunction *ut*, and indicate a consequence or tendency (Gildersleeve 1997: 351-353; Greenough 1931: 347);

2) complementary consecutive 'sentences,' which are substantival, employ the conjunctions *ut*, *quin*, or *ne*, depending on clausal type (Gildersleeve 1997: 353-359). Only pure result clauses are the subject of this inquiry. Actual and natural result distinctions (as well as potential/possible and inhibitive structures) exist in Latin, but the differentiation is contextual and not structural.

In positive result clauses, the structure is the same as that found in final (purpose) clauses, namely, the use of the conjunction *ut* + subjunctive mood. The sequence of tenses, however, is different in that result clauses often employ the perfect subjunctive in secondary

³⁵ One can validly argue that this clause ought to be classified as an indirect command: 'And he was threatening them furiously not to make him known.' The telic nuance of this particular clause, however, does not preclude its classification as a clause of caution.

sequence (Greenough 1931: 305): *Hortensius ardebat dicendi cupiditate sic ut in nullo umquam flagrantius studium viderim* ‘Hortensius was burning with the desire of speaking to such a degree that I have seen in no one ever a more passionate zeal’ (Cicero: *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus*, 302).³⁶ In the main clause, there occur frequently, and as a natural indication of the impending result, correlative modifiers: *ita*, *sic*, *tam* (all meaning ‘so’), *tantopere*, *tantum* (both meaning ‘so much, so greatly’), *tanto* ‘by so much,’ *adeo*, *eo*, *huc* (‘so far, to that/this degree’); *talis* ‘such,’ *tantus* ‘so great, so many,’ *tot* ‘so many,’ *is* ‘such a kind,’ *eius modi* ‘of this manner,’ etc. (Gildersleeve 1997: 351-352). Such modifiers, however, may sometimes be implied rather than explicitly stated. For example, consider the following:

a) *Celerrime cucurrit ut nemo eum deprehenderet.*

‘He ran very quickly, so that no one overtook him’ (result).

b) *Celerrime cucurrit ne quis eum deprehenderet.*

‘He ran very quickly, so that no one might overtake him’ (purpose).

Both of the above examples display the same vocabulary and forms throughout, except for the conjunction and pronoun employed in the subordinate clause. It is evident from the above examples that negative result and purpose clauses are not identical in structure and may be distinguished by the conjunction employed (*ut* + negative particle, negative pronoun, or negative adjective in result clauses; *ne* in purpose). Clearly, then, although no correlative appears in the main clause in example a), the structure of the subordinate clause indicates that the clause is to be understood as conveying result. This distinction in the structure of negative clauses is not always followed in the Vulgate gospels, as the data have heretofore demonstrated.

³⁶ See Greenough (1931: 305) and Kühner (1955: 247) for this example.

Table 3.14 Frequency of result clauses in the Latin gospels

Total # of clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
31	10	32	11	36	5	16	5	16

It can be said, then, that the structure of result clauses in the Latin NT gospels is the same as that found in Classical Latin. There is a tendency, however, for the Vulgate to prefer the adverb *ita* to other adverbial correlative modifiers and to place this modifier as close to the conjunction *ut* as possible: *Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus* ‘And behold, a great movement occurred in the sea, so that the boat was being covered by the waves’ (Mt. 8:24). Hence, except for minor tendencies expressed in the Vulgate, the structure of result clauses employed in the NT gospels is the same as the Classical usage.³⁷

3.2.1 Word order in result clauses

Verb-initial (no overt S/O) word order occurs in all NT gospels: *et congregatae sunt ad eum turbae multae, ita ut in naviculum ascendens sederet* ‘and many crowds were gathered to him, so that, climbing into a boat, he was sitting’ (Mt. 13:2); *[e]t mirati sunt omnes, ita ut conquirerent inter se...* ‘(and all wondered, so that they were asking among themselves...)’ (Mk. 1:27); *impleti sunt dies, ut pareret* ‘the days were completed, so that she gave birth’ (Lk. 2:6); *[e]xcaecavit oculos eorum et induravit eorum cor, ut non videant oculis, et intellegant corde et convertantur...* ‘he has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, so that they do not see with the eyes and understand with the heart and convert [lit. ‘are converted’]...’ (Jn. 12:40).³⁸

³⁷ The following passages contain result clauses:

Matthew (8:24; 8:28; 12:22; 13:2; 13:32; 13:54; 15:31; 15:33; 24:24; 27:14)

Mark (1:27; 1:45; 2:2; 2:12; 3:10; 3:20; 4:1; 4:32; 4:37; 9:26; 15:5)

Luke (1:43; 2:6; 5:7; 9:45; 16:26)

John (3:16; 9:2; 12:38; 12:40; 12:42)

³⁸ The ending of the clause, with *et sanem eos* ‘and I may heal them,’ seems to suggest that the passage connotes a purpose clause, despite the presence of *ut non*. Perhaps result and purpose are to be construed.

Only the synoptic gospels contain result clauses showing VS word order, most of which occur in Mark: *et facit ramos magnos, ita ut possint sub umbra eius aves caeli habitare* ‘and it makes large branches, so that the birds of the sky can live under its shade’ (Mk. 4:32). One such clause occurs in Matthew—and in Luke: *et dabunt signa magna et prodigia, ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi* ‘and they will give great signs and miracles, so that even the chosen, if it can happen, are led into error’ (Mt. 24:24);³⁹ *[e]t unde hoc mihi, ut veniat mater Domini mei ad me?* ‘and whence this to me, that the mother of my Lord comes to me?’ (Lk. 1:43).

One clause exhibits VSO word order: *Et surrexit et protinus sublato grabato abiit coram hominibus, ita ut admirarentur omnes et glorificarent Deum...* ‘And he got up and, with the mattress having been straightway lifted up, went away in the presence of the men, so that all wondered at and glorified G-d’ (Mk. 2:12).

The synoptics, furthermore, may have VO word order: *et convenit iterum turba, ita ut non possent neque panem manducare* ‘and again the crowd came together, so that they could not even eat bread’ (Mk. 3:20). The correlative adverb *ita* may be omitted: *et erat velatum ante eos, ut non sentirent illud* ‘and it [i.e., the word] was veiled before them, so that they did not perceive it’ (Lk. 9:45).⁴⁰

All the gospels except Mark exhibit SV word order: *occurrerunt ei duo habentes daemonia, de monumentis exeuntes, saevi nimis, ita ut nemo posset transire per viam illam* ‘there met him two [men] having demons, going out of the tombs, excessively violent, so that no one could cross through that way’ (Mt. 8:28); *[e]t in his omnibus inter nos et vos chaos magnum*

³⁹ Notice that the subject and verb in the result clause are intervened by another subordinate clause.

⁴⁰ It might be argued that this clause indicates purpose (‘so that they might not perceive it’). However, the fact that the passage ends with *et timebant interrogare eum de hoc verbo* strongly suggests that they did not understand the word. Otherwise, why would the disciples fear to ask Jesus about the matter had they understood it?

firmatum est, ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint, neque inde ad nos transmeare
 ‘and in all these things, there has been established between us and you a great gulf, so that these,
 who want to cross from here to you, cannot, nor [can] go across from there to us’ (Lk. 16:26);
 <<*Rabbi, quis peccavit, hic aut parentes eius, ut caecus nasceretur?*>> ‘Rabbi, who sinned, this
 [man] or his parents, that he was born blind’ (Jn. 9:2).⁴¹

If the direct quote of a verb of saying is considered to be a direct object, then SVO occurs: *et factus est sicut mortuus, ita ut multi dicerent: <<Mortuus est!>>* ‘and he became as if dead, so that many were saying “He is dead!”’ (Mk. 9:26).

OV word order occurs only once, in John: *Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret* ‘For thus did G-d love the world, that He gave His only begotten Son’ (Jn. 3:16).

Table 3.15 Word-order types in result clauses in the Latin gospels

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	2	5	1	2
VS	1	3	1	0
VSO	0	1	0	0
VO	2	1? ⁴²	2	1 ⁴³
SV	5	0	1	2
SVO	0	1	0	0
OV	0	0	0	1

From the above data, we may observe some notable tendencies. Matthew evenly distributes the number of verb-initial and subject-initial clauses. The same may be said for John. Mark and Luke, however, prefer verb-initial word order to other word-order types, in fact, by significant margins (10:1 in Mark, 4:1 in Luke). In regard to the specific word-order types, Matthew prefers SV, while Mark tends toward V-initial (no S/O) or VS. Although the data in

⁴¹ It is illogical to suppose that the blindness is the purpose of the sin rather than its result or consequence.

⁴² Mk. 3:20 (could be OV)

⁴³ One passage contains two clausal word-order types (Jn. 12:40).

Luke and John are scarce relative to that in Matthew and Mark, nevertheless it seems that Luke tends to exhibit VO word order, while John has no one particular word-order preference. The overall tendency seems to be toward V-initial clauses. Although the word order found in Greek shows tremendous variation in respect to the relative placement of subject, verb, and object, Classical Latin shows a tendency—a default order, if you will—toward SOV (subject-object-verb), and Vulgar Latin is arguably a SVO language. Why, then, do we see this variable word order and why does there exist such a tendency toward verb-initial placement? The fact that the verb is the most discourse-salient item in these clauses best accounts for this variation in word order and for the tendency toward verb-initial placement.

3.2.2 Mood in result clauses

Only the subjunctive mood occurs in result clauses in the Latin NT gospels. The sequence of tenses is strictly adhered to, but there are no occurrences of the perfect subjunctive in secondary sequence, as this occurrence has been mentioned before in the case of Classical Latin. Less than one-fourth of the result clauses shows primary sequence. The predominant occurrences of secondary sequence are probably due to the narrative discourse, which mostly describe past events.

Table 3.16 Occurrences of the subjunctive mood in result clauses according to sequence of tenses⁴⁴

Sequence	Occurrences by gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	3	30	1	9	2	40	1	20
Secondary	7	70	10	91	3	60	4	80

3.2.3 Aspect in result clauses

Aspect plays no role in result clauses in the Vulgate gospels.

3.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses in Latin often contain a semantic nuance that cannot be captured in English without resorting to some degree of periphrasis. In addition, the level of complexity of causal clause structure in the Vulgate appears to be no different from that of the idiom found in Classical Latin, mainly because the rules for the structure are predictable and consistent with what we find in Classical Latin. This section shall treat causal clauses as they appear in the Vulgate gospels and compare their structure with that found in Classical Latin.

⁴⁴ The data giving the specific sequence of tenses by gospel are as follows:

Matthew

Primary: 13:32; 15:33; 24:24

Secondary: 8:24; 8:28; 12:22; 13:2; 13:54; 15:31; 27:14

Mark

Primary: 4:3

Secondary: 1:27; 1:45; 2:2; 3:10; 3:20; 4:1; 4:37; 9:26; 15:5

Luke

Primary: 1:43; 16:26

Secondary: 2:6; 5:7; 9:45

John

Primary: 12:40

Secondary: 3:16; 9:2; 12:38; 12:42

3.3.1 Causal clauses in Classical Latin

Classical Latin employs various conjunctions to introduce causal clauses: *quia*, *quod*,⁴⁵ *quoniam*, *quando* and *quandoquidem* (both rarely occur), *quatenus* (used mainly in poetry and in late prose), and *cum* (Gildersleeve 1997: 338-339; Greenough 1931: 348-350; Hall 1966: 297; Kühner 1955: 382-387). *Quando*, *quandoquidem*, and *quatenus* are never employed as causal conjunctions in the Vulgate gospels, and the Vulgate occasionally uses a causal conjunctive phrase rarely (if ever) seen in Classical usage.

The mood of the verb in causal clauses in the Classical idiom can be either indicative or subjunctive, depending on the nuance the clause is attempting to convey, the conjunction employed, or whether the causal clause occurs within indirect discourse (*oratio obliqua*). If the writer or speaker asserts the reasons for the events within the clause, the mood of the verb is indicative. Otherwise, if the assertion is made by someone else, the verb is in the subjunctive:

a) *Amicus meus discessit quod iratus erat.*

‘My friend departed because he was angry.’ (speaker’s or writer’s assertion)

b) *Amicus meus discessit quod iratus esset.*

‘My friend departed because [as he has said] he was angry.’ (not the speaker’s reason, but his friend’s)

Causal clauses occurring in *oratio obliqua* have the verb in the subjunctive mood:

c) *Patria a barbaris relictæ est quia fames magna fuerat.*

‘The fatherland was left behind by the barbarians because there had been a great famine.’ (causal clause in indirect discourse)

⁴⁵ After verbs of emotion, *quod* means ‘that,’ not ‘because’ (Gildersleeve 1997: 341-342).

d) *Caesar dixit patriam a barbaris relictam esse quia fames magna fuisset.*

‘Caesar said that the fatherland had been left behind by the barbarians because there had been a great famine.’ (causal clause in indirect discourse)⁴⁶

Causal clauses introduced by *cum* contain verbs in the subjunctive:

e) *Sed vos, cum haec sciatis, laeti eritis, si ea feceritis.*

‘But since you know these things, you will be happy, if you do them.’

Hence, in Classical Latin we may categorize causal clauses as follows:

- 1) all causal clauses introduced by *cum* have their verbs in the subjunctive mood;
- 2) all causal clauses occurring in *oratio obliqua* have their verbs in the subjunctive mood;
- 3) all causal clauses indicating the cause or events from other than the speaker’s or writer’s assertion have their verbs in the subjunctive mood;
- 4) all causal clauses not under conditions 1-3 above have verbs in the indicative mood.

3.3.2 Causal clause structure in the Vulgate gospels

Two types of causal clause structures exist in the Latin gospels: 1) coordinate clause structures, which employ the postpositive conjunction *enim*⁴⁷ or (rarely) the conjunction

⁴⁶ I could have used active constructions in both the direct and indirect statements, rendering *barbari patriam reliquerunt* ‘the barbarians left behind their fatherland’ and *barbaros reliquisse patriam* ‘that the barbarians had left behind their fatherland.’ Although the active voice construction would have been preferable outside of indirect statement, nevertheless, Roman authors frequently preferred passive voice in *oratio obliqua* when the verb in active voice was transitive with an overt accusative object, in order to avoid ambiguity. For example, consider the following:

Brutus Caesarem cecidit ‘Brutus slew Caesar.’

Antonius dixit Brutum Caesarem cecidisse ‘Anthony said that Brutus had slain Caesar’ or ‘that Caesar had slain Brutus.’

Because both nouns in indirect statement are in the accusative case, it is impossible—outside of context—to discern the subject and object. The passive voice clarifies and eliminates this ambiguity.

Antonius dixit Caesarem a Bruto caesum esse ‘Anthony said that Caesar had been slain by Brutus.’

⁴⁷ Ex. *aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diliget* ‘for he will either hate the one and love the other’ (Mt. 6:24).

namque;⁴⁸ 2) subordinate clause structures, which use—similarly to causal clauses in Classical Latin—various conjunctions (*quia*, *quoniam*, *quod*, *eo quod*, *pro eo quod*, *cum*, *siquidem*).

The use of mood in causal clauses in the Vulgate is the same as in Classical Latin, with one notable exception. In the Vulgate, the conjunction *eo quod* sometimes appears and is *always* accompanied by a verb in the subjunctive mood: *et, eo quod non haberet radicem, exaruit* ‘and, because it did not have root, it dried up’ (Mk. 4:6). No mention of this construction has been made in the standard grammars on the classical dialect.

Table 3.17 Frequency of conjunctions employed in causal clauses in the Latin gospels

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>Quia</i>	242	77.32
<i>Quoniam</i>	34	10.86
<i>Quod</i>	11	3.51
<i>Cum</i>	11	3.51
<i>Eo quod</i>	11	3.51
<i>Siquidem</i>	2	.64
<i>Pro eo quod</i>	1	.32
<i>Unde</i>	1	.32
Total	313	

The most commonly used conjunction in NT Latin causal clauses is *quia*, which occurs in all four gospels and is comparable to Greek ὅτι. The other Latin causal conjunctions pale in comparison by frequency, and why Jerome chose *quia* over *quod* is unclear. Although *quod* occurs infrequently, it appears in all the synoptic gospels. Only Luke contains all the above conjunctions.

⁴⁸ *Namque* does not normally occur postpositively in Classical Latin. However, where it occurs in the Vulgate, *namque* is always treated as such: *Omnis namque domus fabricatur ab aliquo* ‘For every house is framed by someone’ (Heb. 3:4; see also Heb. 5:1 and 6:3).

3.3.3 Causal clause conjunctions in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

In this section, we examine whether causal conjunction variability results from semantic nuance. Let us begin by observing the frequency of these conjunctions within the individual gospels to determine if such a nuance actually exists.

Table 3.18 Frequency of Latin causal clause conjunctions employed in Matthew⁴⁹

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	% ⁵⁰
<i>Quia</i>	44	18.2
<i>Quoniam</i>	13	38.24
<i>Quod</i>	3	27.3
<i>Cum</i>	4	36.4
<i>Siquidem</i>	1	50
<i>Unde</i>	1	100

Since *quia* appears in the majority of causal clauses (approximately 68%), one may assume that this conjunction occurs mostly by default and that the appearance of other conjunctions may indicate a semantic nuance.⁵¹ Certainly there exists such a nuance as well as a structural difference in *cum* clauses, which requires the subjunctive when causal. These clauses frequently indicate attendant circumstance, and the context is not always evident as to whether one should perceive *cum* to mean ‘when’ or ‘because/since’: *Et cum cognovissent eum viri loci illius, miserunt in universam regionem illam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes* ‘And because (or, when?) the men of that place had recognized him, they sent into that whole region and

⁴⁹ The passages containing causal clauses in Matthew are as follows:

quia clauses

2:18; 5:7; 5:34; 5:35 (2); 5:36; 5:45; 7:13; 8:27; 9:36; 11:20; 11:21; 11:23; 11:25; 11:29; 12:41; 12:42; 13:5; 13:6; 13:13; 13:16 (2); 14:5; 15:23; 15:32; 16:8; 16:17; 16:23; 17:15; 20:7; 20:15; 23:10; 23:13; 23:14; 23:15; 23:23; 23:25; 23:27; 24:42; 24:44; 25:8; 25:13; 27:6

quoniam clauses

5:3; 5:4; 5:5; 5:6; 5:8; 5:9; 5:10; 5:12; 11:26; 18:32; 21:46; 24:12; 24:43

unde clause

14:7

quod clauses

5:13; 5:29; 18:17

cum clauses

1:19; 7:11 (probably concessive); 12:34; 14:35

siquidem clause

12:33

⁵⁰ Not from the total number of causal clauses, but rather from those involving the conjunction in question.

⁵¹ See Chapter 2, p. 73, footnote 85.

brought to him all [those] being sick' (Mt. 14:35). In regard to the other conjunctions employed in Matthew, it is probably best to see them as stylistic variants, for they do not deviate from the structure that one observes in *quia* clauses:

a) *quia paenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Ionae* 'because they did repentance at Jonah's preaching' (Mt. 12:41).

b) *quoniam rogasti me* 'since you asked me' (Mt. 18:32).

c) *quod*⁵² *si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur* 'because, if salt has become vapid, in what will it be salted?' (Mt. 5:13).

d) *siquidem ex fructu arbor agnoscitur* 'because from the fruit a tree is recognized' (Mt. 12:33).

All the above clauses contain the verb in the indicative mood. The only feature that could be noteworthy is word order (verb-initial clauses in *a* and *b*, verb-final in *c* and *d*). In addition, in every case in which *quod* appears as a causal conjunction in Matthew, it is followed by the conjunction *si*. None of these factors, however, seem to indicate a semantic nuance.

Being the shortest gospel, Mark contains the least number of causal clauses.

Percentagewise, *quoniam* occurs in Mark with greater frequency than in the other gospels (29%, vs. 20% in Matthew, 10% in Luke, and 2.6% in John). The problem with the small number of causal clauses in Mark has been taken up previously in section 2.4.3.

⁵² *Quod* here could also mean a very strong 'but.'

Table 3.19 Frequency of Latin causal clause conjunctions employed in Mark⁵³

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>Quia</i>	14	5.8
<i>Quoniam</i>	7	20.6
<i>Quod</i>	1	9.1
<i>Cum</i>	1	9.1
<i>Eo quod</i>	1	9.1

Luke exhibits the greatest variety of conjunctions of the four gospels, with *quia* being the most commonly occurring conjunction: *quia in potestate erat sermo ipsius* ‘because his word was in power’ (Lk. 4:32). Other conjunctions occur in Luke with far less frequency. *Quoniam*, *quod*, and *eo quod* occur with approximately equal frequency: *Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem, quae in nobis completae sunt, rerum...* ‘Since, to be sure, many have tried to set in order a report of the matters which have been completed among us...’ (Lk. 1:1); *quod nomina vestra scripta sunt in caelis* ‘because your names have been written in the heavens’ (Lk. 10:20); *eo quod esset Elisabeth sterilis, et ambo processissent in diebus suis* ‘because Elizabeth was barren, and both had advanced in their days’ (Lk. 1:7). *Cum*, *siquidem*, and *pro eo quod* rarely occur: *cum sint filii resurrectionis* ‘since they are sons of the resurrection’ (Lk. 20:36); *siquidem et ipsi dimittimus omni debenti nobis* ‘because even we ourselves forgive everyone owing [something] to us’ (Lk. 11:4); *pro eo quod non credidisti verbis meis* ‘because you have not believed my words’ (Lk. 1:20).

⁵³ The passages containing causal clauses in Mark are as follows:

quia clauses

4:41; 5:9; 6:17; 6:34; 7:19; 8:2; 8:16; 8:17; 9:38; 9:41; 12:24; 14:27; 15:42; 16:14

quoniam clauses

1:34; 3:30; 4:5; 4:29; 5:4; 8:33; 11:18

quod clause

11:23

cum clause

2:4

eo quod clause

4:6

Table 3.20 Frequency of Latin causal clause conjunctions employed in Luke⁵⁴

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>Quia</i>	79	32.6
<i>Quoniam</i>	11	32.4
<i>Quod</i>	7	63.6
<i>Cum</i>	1	9.1
<i>Eo quod</i>	9	81.8
<i>Siquidem</i>	1	50
<i>Pro eo quod</i>	1	100

John's gospel contains the greatest number of causal clauses but the smallest variety of causal conjunctions, the most commonly occurring of which is *quia*: *quia salus ex Iudaeis est* 'because salvation is from the Jews' (Jn. 4:22). Other conjunctions infrequently or rarely occur. For example, *quoniam* is found only three times in the fourth gospel, being least in frequency of all the gospels: *quoniam audisti me* 'since you have heard me' (Jn. 11:41). Of the four gospels, the greatest number of *cum* causal clauses is found in John: *Quomodo tu Iudaeus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quae sum mulier Samaritana?* 'How do you, since you are a Jew, demand [something] to drink from me, who am a Samaritan woman?' (Jn. 4:9). The conjunction *eo quod* occurs only once: *eo quod ipse nosset omnes* 'because he himself knew all [men]' (Jn. 2:24).

⁵⁴ The passages containing causal clauses in Luke are as follows:

quia clauses

1:37; 1:48; 1:49; 1:68; 2:7; 2:11; 2:30; 4:6; 4:32; 4:36; 4:41; 4:43; 5:8; 6:19; 6:20; 6:21 (2); 6:24; 6:25 (2); 6:35; 7:39; 8:6; 8:25; 8:30; 8:37; 8:42; 9:12; 9:38; 9:49; 9:53; 10:13; 10:20 (2); 10:21; 11:18; 11:31; 11:32; 11:42; 11:43; 11:44; 11:46; 11:47; 11:52; 12:15; 12:32; 12:40; 13:2; 13:14; 13:24; 13:31; 13:33; 14:11; 14:14; 14:17; 15:6; 15:9; 15:24; 15:27; 15:32; 16:3; 16:8 (2); 16:15; 16:24; 17:9; 18:5; 18:11; 18:14; 18:23; 19:3; 19:4; 19:17; 19:21; 19:43; 21:22; 23:31; 24:39 (2)

quoniam clauses

1:1; 1:13; 1:34; 1:45; 7:47; 11:6; 11:48; 12:3; 21:28; 23:29; 24:29

quod clauses

1:21; 10:20; 10:21; 11:38; 12:17; 21:5; 23:40

eo quod clauses

1:7; 2:4; 9:7; 11:8; 19:9; 19:11 (2); 19:44; 23:8

pro eo quod clause

1:20

cum clause

20:36

siquidem clause

11:4

Table 3.21 Frequency of Latin causal clause conjunctions employed in John⁵⁵

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>Quia</i>	105	43.4
<i>Quoniam</i>	3	8.8
<i>Cum</i>	5	45.5
<i>Eo quod</i>	1	50

3.3.4 Word order in causal clauses in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

Causal clauses in the Latin gospels exhibit as great a variety of word-order types as seen in other previously examined hypotactic constructions (purpose, result). This section will examine the word order of causal clauses in the Latin gospels as concerns the various word-order types and their frequency.

Matthew exhibits a fairly broad range of word-order types, nearly one-third of which are V (no overt S/O): *quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis* ‘because she [i.e., the Queen of Sheba] came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon’ (Mt. 12:42). A predicate nominative often precedes the verb: *quia thronus Dei est* ‘because it is the throne of G-d’ (Mt. 5:34). A participle may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *quia videntes non vident et audientes non audiunt neque intellegunt* ‘because seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear nor do they understand’ (Mt. 13:13).

VS word order is not common: *cum esset iustus* ‘since he was just’ (Mt. 1:19). A genitive may intervene between the subject and verb in this word-order type: *quoniam ipsorum*

⁵⁵ The passages containing causal clauses in John are as follows:

quia clauses

1:15; 1:17; 1:30; 1:50; 2:18; 2:25; 3:18; 3:21; 3:23; 4:22; 5:16; 5:18; 5:27; 5:28; 5:30; 5:38; 5:39; 6:2; 6:26 (2); 6:38; 6:41; 6:46; 7:1; 7:7 (2); 7:8; 7:22; 7:23; 7:29; 7:30; 7:35; 7:39; 8:14; 8:16; 8:20; 8:22; 8:29; 8:37; 8:43; 8:44 (2); 8:45; 8:47; 9:16; 9:17; 9:22; 10:4; 10:5; 10:13; 10:17; 10:26; 10:33; 10:36; 11:9; 11:10; 11:47; 12:6 (3); 12:11; 12:18; 12:39; 12:41; 12:49; 13:29; 14:12; 14:17 (2); 14:19; 14:22; 14:28 (2); 15:5; 15:15 (2); 15:19 (2); 15:21; 15:27; 16:3; 16:4 (2); 16:6; 16:9; 16:10 (2); 16:11; 16:14; 16:19; 16:21 (2); 16:27; 16:32; 17:8; 17:9; 17:14; 17:24; 18:2; 18:18; 19:7; 19:20; 19:42; 20:29; 21:17

quoniam clauses

11:15; 11:41; 19:31

cum clauses

4:9; 7:15; 11:49; 11:51; 13:1

eo quod clause

2:24

est regnum caelorum ‘since the kingdom of the heavens is theirs’ (Mt. 5:3. See also Mt. 5:10).

An indirect object may also intervene between the conjunction and verb: *quia vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni caelorum* ‘because to you it has been give to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 13:11).⁵⁶

VO word order in causal clauses in Matthew is fairly common: *quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis* ‘because you have hidden these things from the wise and the prudent and have revealed them to little ones’ (Mt. 11:25). The direct object may (rarely) be an implied antecedent of a relative pronoun: *quia mundatis, quod de foris est calicis et paropsidis...* ‘because you clean what is outside of the cup and dish...’ (Mt. 23:25). In this passage, the implied antecedent is probably *id* or *illud*. Such constructions are not infrequent in Classical Latin usage.

VOS word order is extremely rare, occurring only once in Matthew: *Et cum cognovissent eum viri loci illius* ‘And since the men of that place had recognized him’ (Mt. 14:35). This clause may also be construed to show temporality, i.e., ‘And when the men...’ The context of the passage supports either interpretation of the conjunction *cum*.

Subject-initial causal clauses occur in Matthew with far less frequency than verb-initial ones. Of these clauses, those containing SV word order are the most common: *quoniam ipsi consolabuntur* ‘because they themselves will be comforted’ (Mt. 5:4). A prepositional phrase may intervene between the conjunction and the subject: *siquidem ex fructu arbor agnoscitur* ‘because from the fruit a tree is recognized’ (Mt. 12:33). A relative clause, likewise, may intervene: *quia, qua nescitis hora, Filius hominis venturus est* ‘because, at what hour you do not know, the Son of man is about to come’ (Mt. 24:44). Subject-verb concord may be violated:

⁵⁶ Note that the infinitive *nosse* acts as the subject of *datum est*.

quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi ‘because flesh and blood did not reveal [it] to you’ (Mt. 16:17).⁵⁷

Other subject-initial causal clause types are uncommon in Matthew. For example, SOV occurs only three times: *Quia nemo nos conduxit* ‘Because no one has hired us’ (Mt. 20:7). SVO word order occurs only twice: *quoniam ipsi*⁵⁸ *possidebunt terram* ‘because they themselves will possess the earth’ (Mt. 5:5). The direct object may be in the dative case: *quia et venti et mari oboediunt ei* ‘because both the winds and the sea obey him [or, are obedient to him]’ (Mt. 8:27). The clause may even lack a verb altogether: *quia lata porta et spatiosa via* ‘because wide [is] the gate and broad [is] the way’ (Mt. 7:13).

A few causal clauses in Matthew contain OV word order: *quia solem suum oriri facit super malos et bonos* ‘because he makes his sun to rise over the evil and the good’ (Mt. 5:45). No other object-initial types occur in Matthew.

Mark’s gospel displays in causal clauses the least number of word-order types. Most causal clauses in Mark show VO word order: *quoniam sciebant eum* ‘because they knew him’ (Mk. 1:34). The direct object may be a direct quotation: *Quoniam dicebant <<Spiritus immundum habet>>* ‘Because they were saying, “He has an unclean spirit.”’ (Mk. 3:30). A participial phrase may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *quoniam saepe compedibus et catenis vinctus dirupisset catenas...* ‘because, having been bound with shackles and chains, he had broken asunder the chains’ (Mk. 5:4). The direct object may be an implied antecedent of a relative pronoun: *quoniam non sapis, quae Dei sunt, sed quae sunt hominum* ‘because you do not perceive the things which are G-d’s, but which are men’s’ (Mk. 8:33).

⁵⁷ It is very likely that the phrase *caro et sanguis* is to be perceived as a unit, probably meaning ‘a mortal/human being.’ That being the case, one may interpret the passage with the following rendition: ‘No human being has revealed [it] to you.’

⁵⁸ It seems that by Jerome’s time the emphatic pronoun *ipse* had begun to function as a personal pronoun. Hence, it is probably more accurate to render *ipsi* simply as ‘they’ rather than ‘they themselves.’

Other word-order types occurring in causal clauses in Mark are either relatively uncommon or rare:

V (no S/O)

quia scriptum est: "Percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oves." 'because it has been written: "I will thoroughly strike the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered"' (Mk. 14:27).

VS

quoniam adest messis 'because the harvest is present' (Mk. 4:29).

SV

quoniam universa turba admirabatur super doctrina eius 'because the entire crowd was amazed at his teaching' (Mk. 11:18).

SVO

quia et ventus et mare oboediunt ei 'because both the wind and the sea obey him' (Mk. 4:41, treating *ei* as a dative object of *oboediunt*).

OV

quia panes non haberent 'because they did not have loaves' (Mk. 8:16).

Luke's gospel contains the greatest number of causal clauses of the synoptics, even though it has fewer clausal word-order types than those found in Matthew's gospel. The most frequent word-order in causal clauses in Luke is VO (no S/O). There are more occurrences of this word-order type in Luke than in any of the four gospels: *eo quod esset de domo et familia David* 'because he was from the house and family of David' (Lk. 2:4). Different types of arguments may intervene between the conjunction and the verb. Consider the following examples:

indirect object

quia mihi tradita est ‘because it [i.e., the *potestatem*] has been handed over to me’ (Lk. 4:6).

predicate nominative (a frequent occurrence in V-initial constructions)

quia homo peccator sum, Domine ‘because I am a sinner man, oh Lord’ (Lk. 5:8).

prepositional phrase

quia in potestate erat sermo ipsius ‘because his word was in power’ (Lk. 4:32).

adverb (or adverbial phrase)

quia ideo missus sum ‘because for that reason I have been sent’ (Lk. 4:43).

VO word order occurs frequently: *quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae* ‘because he has considered the lowliness of his maid servant’ (Lk. 1:48). All V-initial word-order types seem to permit an argument’s intervention between the conjunction and verb of the clause: *quia in potestate et virtute imperat immundis spiritibus, et exeunt* ‘because in power and virtue [courage, manliness?] he orders the unclean spirits, and they go out’ (Lk. 4:36).

Clauses exhibiting VS word order are also quite common: *quoniam exaudita est deprecatio tua* ‘since your entreaty has been favorably heard’ (Lk. 1:13). Sometimes an intervening argument is a possessive. This usage and placement seem to indicate emphasis: *quia vestrum est regnum Dei* ‘because the kingdom of G-d is yours’ (Lk. 6:20).⁵⁹ An argument often intervenes between the verb and the subject: *quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum* ‘because every word will not be impossible with G-d’ (Lk. 1:37).

VSO and VOS clauses are very rare: *quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum* ‘because my eyes have seen your salvation’ (Lk. 2:30); *quia complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum* ‘because it has pleased your Father to give to you the kingdom’ (Lk. 12:32). Notice that this

⁵⁹ Such passages have been traditionally rendered ‘because yours is the kingdom of G-d.’ While this is a more literal translation, one certainly cannot suppose ‘yours,’ because of its location, to be the subject of the clause.

clause contains an infinitival phrase functioning as the subject of the verb *complacuit*. If one accepts the noun phrase *Patro vestro* to be functioning as a direct object, albeit in the dative case, then the word order must be understood as VOS. If however, *complacuit* is understood as containing within its semantic structure an internal direct object, namely, with the meaning ‘it has given pleasure,’ then the dative object of this verb is to be categorized as an indirect object and, hence, the word order must be analyzed as VS.

The most commonly occurring S-initial clause type is SV: *quod nomina vestra scripta sunt in caelis* ‘because your names have been written in the heavens’ (Lk. 10:20). Sometimes a relative clause without an overt antecedent may function as the subject of the causal clause: *Quoniam, quae in tenebris dixistis, in lumine audientur* ‘because, what you have spoken in darkness, will be heard in the light’ (Lk. 12:3). As observed in V-initial clauses, S-initial clauses may have other arguments intervening between the conjunction and the head⁶⁰ argument (here, the subject): *quia, qua hora non putatis, Filius hominis venit* ‘because, at what hour you do not suppose, the Son of man comes’ (Lk. 12:40).

Other subject-initial types are very uncommon or rare. For example, SOV word order occurs only twice in Luke: *quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet* ‘because a spirit does not have flesh and bones’ (Lk. 24:39). SVO word order (the only other S-initial type of causal clause in Luke) occurs rather infrequently: *quia dominus meus aufert a me vilicationem* ‘because my lord is taking away from me the stewardship’ (Lk. 16:3).

Object-initial clauses are infrequent in Luke, OV being the only clause type apparent: *quoniam virum non cognosco* ‘since I do not know a man’ (Lk. 1:34).

⁶⁰ ‘Head’ here indicates position within the clause in respect to other arguments. The term here does not refer to governing heads in relation to bound constituents.

John's gospel has both the largest number of causal clauses and the widest range of word-order types in these clauses. V (no S/O) occurs most frequently: *quia descendi de caelo* 'because I came down from heaven' (Jn. 6:38). Often an argument intervenes between the conjunction and verb, as the following examples indicate:

predicate nominative/adjective

quia Filius hominis est 'because he is the Son of man' (Jn. 5:27).

prepositional phrase

quia ex Deo non estis 'because you are not from G-d' (Jn. 8:47).

No other adverbial phrases/constructions intervene, except for the negative *non*, which frequently occurs.

An adversative conjunction rarely intervenes between the main conjunction and verb:

quia vero de mundo non estis 'but because you are not of the world' (Jn. 15:19).

John's gospel contains also a fairly large number of causal clauses showing VO word order: *quia vidit gloriam eius* 'because he saw his glory' (Jn. 12:41). Not only may a clause contain negation: *quia non quaero voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem eius, qui misit me* 'because I do not seek my own will, but his will, who sent me' (Jn. 5:30), but also the entire clause may be negated: *Quaeritis me non quia vidistis signa* 'you are looking for me, not because you saw signs' (Jn. 6:26). As in the other gospels, the direct object may be a direct (or indirect) statement: *quia dixisset: <<Ego sum panis, qui de caelo descendi>>* 'because he had said, "I, who have come down from heaven, am the bread."' (Jn. 6:41).⁶¹ Intervention of an argument

⁶¹ It seems more logical to expect *descendit* rather than *descendi*. Instead of a subordinate, relative clause, the Greek employs a participial phrase: ὁ καταβὰς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 'the one having come down out of heaven.' A knowledge of the Greek construction does not bring a solution as to why Jerome chose *descendi* over *descendit*. The Greek does not favor one Latin rendering over the other, since the Greek aorist participle in this passage—being masculine nominative singular—may modify either the subject ἐγώ or the complement ὁ ἄρτος. The Sixto-Clementine edition of the Vulgate prepared by Wordsworth and White (which I have examined from a reprint of the 1889 edition) indicates no alternate rendering. The Gothic rendering, being closer to the Greek, shows an active participle, but is

between the conjunction and verb rarely occurs in VO causal clauses in John: *quia nobis manifestaturus es te ipsum et non mundo?* ‘because you are about to reveal yourself to us and not to the world?’ (Jn. 14:22). Other than negation, this passage is the only one with VO word order in which intervention of this type occurs.

Other verb-initial causal clause types are either infrequent (i.e., VS) or rare (VSO, VOS):

VS

quia natus est homo in mundum ‘because a man has been born into the world’ (Jn. 16:21). The majority of these clauses concern the coming of Jesus’ hour, e.g., *venit hora* or *venerat hora*.

VSO

quia iterum dixit Isaias ‘because again Isaiah has said...’ (Jn. 12:39). The quote that follows *Isaias* is the direct object of the verb *dixit*.

VOS

quia quaerebant eum Iudaei interficere ‘because the Jews were looking for him, to kill [him]’ or ‘because the Jews were seeking to kill him’ (Jn. 7:1).

Subject-initial causal clauses do not occur as frequently as verb-initial ones in John. SV is the most commonly occurring word-order of this type: *quia aquae multae erant illic* ‘because many waters were there’ (Jn. 3:23). Intervention between the conjunction and subject is rare in SV causal clauses in John: *quia frequenter Iesus convenerat illuc cum discipulis suis* ‘because Jesus frequently had come together there with his disciples’ (Jn. 18:2). The subject and verb, however, are often intervened, mostly by a prepositional phrase: *quia lex per Moysen data est* ‘because the law was given through Moses’ (Jn. 1:17). Although a genitival relationship may intervene between the subject and verb, this perhaps may not be a true intervention since the

also ambiguous in its modification. The Old English is closer in structure to the Latin, but it, too, exhibits ambiguity due to the morphology of the Germanic strong preterite, whose 1st and 3rd persons are identical.

argument in the genitive is dependent upon its head noun and the entire construction acts as a unit.⁶² *quia princeps mundi huius iudicatus est* ‘because the ruler of this world has been judged’ (Jn. 16:11). In this passage, one may categorize *princeps mundi huius* as a unit.

Other subject-initial causal clauses in John occur infrequently: *quia hic homo multa signa facit* ‘because this man is doing many signs’ (Jn. 11:47, SOV); *et quia tu, homo cum sis, facis teipsum Deum* ‘and because you, although you are a human being, are making yourself G-d’ (Jn. 10:33, SVO).

Object-initial causal clauses in John are uncommon or rare:

OV

quia haec faciebat in sabbato ‘because he was doing these things on the Sabbath’ (Jn. 5:16).

OVS

quia loculos habebat Iudas ‘because Judas used to have the bags’ (Jn. 13:29).

OSV

quia, quem misit ille, huic vos non creditis ‘because you do not believe this [one], whom he [the Father] has sent’ (Jn. 5:38).⁶³

The data in table 3.22 below indicates a tendency toward verb-initial clauses across the gospels. Although only Mark prefers VO over V-initial (no overt subject or object), this preference is incidental. In addition, only Mark seems to prefer object-initial over subject-initial clauses. It is unclear whether this preference is genuine, since the Markan corpus is more limited in its scope than the other gospels. From a synchronic and non-comparative perspective, it is unclear as to why a certain gospel displays word-order patterns and their frequency differently

⁶² I consider the genitival argument an intervention because relative clauses and their antecedents also act as units, as well as adverbs, adverbial phrases, and prepositional phrases when modifying verbs (or nouns).

⁶³ This word order type is rare and the result of the pragmatic construction *quem...huic*.

from what we observe in the others. Jerome obviously wanted to maintain the style and structure as exhibited by the Greek Vorlage as closely as the constraints of the Latin idiom would permit.

Table 3.22 Word-order types in causal clauses in the Vulgate NT⁶⁴

Word-order type	Frequency by gospel			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VS	5	2	16	7
VO	17	11	23	26
VSO	0	0	1	1
VOS	1	0	1	1
V-initial (no S/O)	24	5	40	35
SV	9	2	19	19
SOV	3	0	2	5
SVO	2	1	6	8
S-initial (no V/O)	1	0	0	0
OV	6	4	6	12
OVS	0	0	0	2
OSV	0	0	0	1

Hence, one may speculate that Jerome's translation process was not only known by a number of ancient translators, but also greatly influenced the translation process employed in a number of subsequent ancient versions.

⁶⁴ The status of certain clauses in Matthew and Luke is unclear. Some clauses containing *quod*, *quia*, or *quoniam* in Matthew (*quia* in Luke) may best be understood as being headed by coordinating rather than subordinating conjunctions. In all these cases in which the status of the conjunction is in doubt, the conjunction in question is followed by a conditional clause introduced by the conjunction *si* (introducing the protasis of the condition). The causal conjunctions in this environment should probably be translated as a strong 'but': *Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum* 'But if your right eye makes you stumble, pluck it out' (Mt. 5:29. See also Mt. 5:13; 11:21; 11:23; 18:17; 24:43. Also Lk. 10:13; 12:15; 23:31).

In addition to the previously mentioned constructions, one construction in Matthew seems problematic in that, although the subordinate clause is not introduced by a causal conjunction, the adverbial conjunction seems to have causal force: *unde cum iuramento pollicitus est ei dare, quodcumque postulasset* 'whence with an oath he promised to give her whatsoever she would have demanded' (Mt. 14:7). *Unde* may be employed as a causal link between sentences, but only in the sense that the previous sentence (or clause) is the cause for the subsequent one. In regard to the passage in question, Salome's dancing before Herod and his advisors pleased him; for that reason, 'whence,' Herod made the promise. The latest edition (2007) of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* gives examples of this usage from Classical authors.

A small number of clauses are ambiguous as to their clausal type. For example, some *cum* clauses, in addition to being causal, may be temporal or concessive: *Et cum non possent offerre eum illi prae turba* 'And when (or, because?) they could not bring him to him (i.e., Jesus) before the crowd (Mk. 2:4); *cum sitis mali* 'although you are evil' (Mt. 7:11). In addition to introducing causal clauses, *quia* and *quod* may introduce indirect statements: *Sed haec locutus sum vobis, ut, cum venerit hora eorum, reminiscamini eorum, quia ego dixi vobis* 'But I have spoken these things to you, so that, when their hour will have come, you may remember them, that I have told you' (Jn. 16:4). This usage of *quia* and *quod* is avoided by Classical authors.

3.3.5 Mood in causal clauses in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

Causal clauses in the Latin gospels may contain the finite verb in either the indicative or subjunctive mood. One clause (Mt. 7:13) contains no verb. If we accept Mt. 5:29 and 18:17 as exhibiting causal clauses (which is doubtful), then we may assert that two causal clauses contain the imperative. Let us assume, on the other hand, that these three examples are aberrations and not typical of Latin causal clause structure. From this point, we may conclude that our opening statement is accurate, namely, that only the indicative and subjunctive mood occur in causal clauses in the Latin gospels.

The indicative mood predominates in every gospel. It may occur in causal clauses introduced by any causal conjunction except *cum* and *eo quod*. These clauses indicate facts or events as perceived through the viewpoint of the writer or speaker. Consider the following examples.

Matthew

- 1) *quoniam sicut prophetam eum habebant* ‘since they held him as a prophet’ (21:46) (writer’s viewpoint).
- 2) *quia panes non habetis* ‘because you do not have loaves’ (16:8) (speaker’s viewpoint, the speaker being Jesus).

Mark

- 1) *quia erant sicut oves non habentes pastorem* ‘because they were just as sheep not having a shepherd’ (6:34) (writer’s viewpoint).
- 2) *quoniam non habebat altitudinem terrae* ‘because it did not have depth of earth’ (4:5) (speaker’s viewpoint). The causal clause belongs to part of a parable in which Jesus is the speaker.

Luke

1) *quia in potestate erat sermo ipsius* ‘because his discourse was in power’ (4:32) (writer’s viewpoint).

2) *pro eo quod non credidisti verbis meis* ‘because you did not believe my words’ (1:20) (speaker’s viewpoint, being the declaration of the angel Gabriel to Zacharias).

John

1) *sed quia fur erat* ‘but because he [Judas] was a thief’ (12:6) (writer’s viewpoint as to why Judas criticized the anointing of Jesus and carried the money-bag).

2) *Quia vidisti me, credidisti* ‘Because you have seen me, you have believed’ (20:29) (speaker’s [Jesus’] assertion as to why Thomas made his declaration of faith).

We may tabulate the predominance of the indicative mood in causal clauses in the Latin gospels as follows:

Table 3.23 Frequency of the indicative mood in causal clauses in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

Gospel	# of clauses	%
Matthew	55	20
Mark	21	8
Luke	91	33
John	107	39
Total	274	

Clauses indicating facts or events perceived from the viewpoint of other than the writer/speaker contain verbs in the subjunctive mood, regardless of the conjunction employed:

quia non egissent paenitentiam ‘because they had not done repentance’ (Mt. 11:20).⁶⁵

Sometimes this rule is not clearly evident, as the following passage indicates:

⁶⁵ The assertion is from Jesus’ viewpoint, but he is not the narrator or speaker.

Et venerunt trans fretum maris in regionem Gerasenorum. Et exeunte eo de navi, Statim occurrit ei de monumentis homo in spiritu immundo, qui domicilium habebat in monumentis, et neque catenis iam quisquam eum poterat ligare, quoniam saepe compedibus et catenis vinctus dirupisset catenas et compedes comminuisset, et nemo poterat eum domare.

‘And they came across the strait of the sea into the region of the Gerasene. And While he was going out from the boat, immediately there met him from the tombs a man in an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling in the tombs; and no longer could anyone bind him with chains, since—often bound with fetter and chains—he had burst apart the chains and had broken the fetters in pieces, and no one could tame him’ (Mk. 5:1-4).

There appears to be no one in the passage, at least overtly, who is making an assertion concerning why no one could keep the demoniac bound. Hence, it is safe to assume that the viewpoint is the narrator’s. If that is the case, then we should expect to see the pluperfect indicative (*diruperat* and *comminuerat*) and not the pluperfect subjunctive, which actually appears. The appearance of the subjunctive seems to contradict the rule for mood in Latin causal clauses, namely, that the mood of the verb must be indicative when the events of the clause are perceived from the narrator’s viewpoint. I, however, do not see a violation here, for I believe that the viewpoint is not the narrator’s, but rather the assertion comes from those unable to bind the demoniac. We may, then, understand the narrator to be saying ‘and no longer could anyone bind him with fetters and chains, since...(as they—not I, the narrator—say) he had burst apart the chains and had broken the fetters in pieces.’

The mood of a number of causal clauses is not determined by viewpoint, but by the introductory conjunction, often indicating the attending circumstances as well as the cause. In the Vulgate gospels, only *cum* and *eo quod* consistently introduce clauses containing verbs in the subjunctive. *Cum* and *eo quod* clauses are employed with near equal frequency, and clauses with *cum* are frequently ambiguous, indicating the attending circumstances ('when/while') and the reason/cause ('since/because'): *Quomodo hic litteras scit, cum non didicerit* 'How does this [man] know letters, when (or, since) he has not learned?' (Jn. 7:15).

Why *eo quod* clauses always require the subjunctive is not clear. Unlike *cum* clauses, they do not indicate attending circumstances and are purely causal in meaning. In addition, most *eo quod* clauses relate events from the viewpoint of the narrator, which normally requires the indicative mood: *et quando exortus est sol, exaestuavit et, eo quod non haberet radicem, exaruit* 'and when the sun arose, it was scorched and, because it did not have root, it withered' (Mk. 4:6). It is illogical to suppose that the viewpoint is not the narrator's, since the passage gives no other possible viewpoints except for that of the sower or the sun. The only possibility (other than the narrator, who here is Jesus) is the sower, but this is unlikely. One would be hard-pressed, I think, to conclude that the sun has made the assertion! The best solution is to see *eo quod* as a conjunction that simply requires the verb in its clause to be in the subjunctive mood.⁶⁶

A few clauses (four in Matthew and one in Luke) contain verbs in the subjunctive, but not due to the presence of a certain conjunction (such as *cum* or *eo quod*), nor because the assertion is not the narrator's. All these clauses contain conditional sentences that are contrary-to-fact: *quoniam si sciret pater familias qua hora fur venturus esset, vigilaret utique et non sineret perfodi domum suam* 'because if the father of the family knew at what hour the thief was

⁶⁶ Is it possible that the *eo* of *eo quod* has an objectifying function which removes it from the realm of the speaker's impression to just some notion 'out there'?

about to come, he would certainly watch and not allow his home to be dug through' (Mt. 24:43, present contrary-to-fact condition); [*q*]uia si in Sodomis factae fuissent virtutes, quae factae sunt in te, mansissent usque in hunc diem 'because if in Sodom mighty works had been done, which were done in you, it would have remained up until this day' (Mt. 11:23, past contrary-to-fact condition). It is probably best to take the entire condition as subordinate to the causal conjunction.

Table 3.24 Frequency of the subjunctive mood in causal clauses in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels according to clausal types

Clausal type	Frequency by gospel			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Non-narrator's assertion	1	1	5	1
<i>Cum</i> clause	4	1	1	5
<i>Eo quod</i> clause	0	1	9	1
Subordinate conditional clause	3	0	1	0

3.3.6 Aspect/Tense in causal clauses in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

Although aspect as a grammatical category does not occur in Latin, aspectual functions do occur and are closely tied with the Aktionsarten of the various tenses. For example, the three tenses built upon the stem of the infectum (present, imperfect, and future) connote actions that are incomplete, in progress, in commencement, or yet to occur. The tenses built upon the stem of the perfectum (perfect, pluperfect, future perfect) indicate activity or events that are complete, resultative, or in anticipation of completion. Hence, by way of example, we may describe the features of the Latin imperfect tense as follows:

Tense = past

Aspect = imperfective, incomplete, durative

Aktionsart = habitual, repetitive, inchoative, etc.

Since causal clauses in Latin may contain verbs in both the indicative and subjunctive mood, both moods must be considered in the study of aspect/tense in such clauses. The grammatical category mood, however, having previously been treated, will not be discussed in detail in this section except as it related to the function(s) of tense/aspect. This section, therefore, will examine the occurrences of the tenses in causal clauses in the Latin gospels, as well as the frequency of the tenses relative to one another, in light of their types of action (Aktionsart).

All four gospels contain causal clauses with verbs in the present tense: *quia nescitis diem neque horam* ‘because you do not know the day nor the hour’ (Mt. 25:13); *quia non scitis Scripturas neque virtutem Dei* ‘because you do not know the Scriptures nor the power of G-d’ (Mk. 12:24); *quia non capit*⁶⁷ *prophetam perire extra Ierusalem* ‘because it is not fitting for a prophet to perish outside of Jerusalem’ (Lk. 13:33); *quia sciunt vocem eius* ‘because they know his voice’ (Jn.10:4). The present tense in causal clauses frequently signifies various types of action (Aktionsart). Consider the following examples of present types:

Instantaneous Present

*Quia dicitis*⁶⁸ *in Beelzebul eicere me daemonia* ‘Because you say that I cast out demons through Beelzebul’ (Lk. 11:18). This present indicates action completed at the moment of speaking.

Progressive Present

quia lampades nostrae exstinguuntur ‘because our lamps are being quenched’ (Mt. 25:8). This present indicates action in progress.

Iterative Present

quia clamat post nos ‘because she keeps on shouting after us’ (Mt. 15:23). This present indicates repeated activity.

⁶⁷ When employed impersonally, *capio* means ‘is fitting’ or ‘is possible.’

⁶⁸ This example is ambiguous and could also denote a present iterative.

Customary Present

quia mundatis, quod de foris est calicis et paropsidis ‘because you clean what is outside of the cup and dish’ (Mt. 23:25). This present indicates action habitually performed. It is only perfunctorily different in meaning from the iterative present (Wallace 1996), the functions of the two presents frequently overlapping in the same clause: *siquidem et ipsi dimittimus omni debenti nobis* ‘because even we ourselves forgive everyone owing [something] to us’ (Lk. 11:4). Here, we may construe an activity that is both iterative (repetitive) and customary (habitual).

Gnomic Present

siquidem ex fructu arbor agnoscitur ‘because from the fruit a tree is recognized’ (Mt. 12:33). This present indicates an activity that is a general truth occurring at all times.

Resultative (or Perfective) Present

quia ab initio mecum estis ‘because you are with me from the beginning’ (Jn. 15:27). This present indicates present activity or a present state resulting from past action. In the given passage, one could justifiably translate *estis* ‘you are’ as ‘you have been.’ The resultative present may also have the connotation of a historical present: *non quia ex Moyse est sed patribus* ‘not because it is from Moses, but from the fathers’ (Jn. 7:22). Neither Moses nor the fathers (or ancestors) are living at the time that this passage is spoken. Therefore, the reference is to a past activity (namely, circumcision). Circumcision is still a current practice in Jesus’ day, hence the use of the present tense (past activity with results in the present). The activity, however, is to be seen also as historic, i.e., an activity that has occurred in past time as part of a narrative. The use of the present tense, in this case, is employed for vividness.

Conative Present

Quid faciam, quia dominus meus aufert a me vilicationem ‘What am I to do, because my master is taking away from me the stewardship’ (Lk. 16:3). This present indicates an action that is being attempted. The action may also be volitional or tendential.

Futuristic Present

quia, qua hora non putatis, Filius hominis venit ‘because, at what hour you do not suppose, the Son of man is coming’ (Lk. 12:40). This present indicates an action that is yet to occur.

The imperfect tense also occurs in all four gospels: *quia non habebant altitudinem terrae* ‘because they did not have depth of earth’ (Mt. 13:5); *quia erant sicut oves non habentes pastorem* ‘because they were just as sheep not having a shepherd’ (Mk. 6:34); *eo quod esset prope Ierusalem* ‘because he was near Jerusalem’ (Lk. 19:11); *quia non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et Patrem suum dicebat Deum* ‘because not only was he breaking the Sabbath, but was saying [that] his Father [was] G-d’ (Jn. 5:18). The imperfect tense frequently signifies various types of action (Aktionsart). Consider the following examples of imperfect types:

Aoristic Imperfect

quia non habebant radicem ‘because they did not have root’ (Mt. 13:6). This imperfect indicates a simple past activity. It is difficult to conceive the above passage as connoting other than a punctiliar action.

Progressive Imperfect

quia videbant signa ‘because they were seeing signs’ (Jn. 6:2). This imperfect indicates a past action occurring in progress from the narrator’s viewpoint.

Inchoative Imperfect

quia multi propter illum abibant ex Iudaeis et credebant in Iesum ‘because many on account of him began to go away from the Jews and began to believe on Jesus’ (Jn. 12:11). This imperfect indicates the commencement of an action and its subsequent continuation.

Iterative Imperfect

quia virtus de illo exibat et sanabat omnes ‘because power kept on going out from him and it was healing everyone’ (Lk. 6:19). This imperfect indicates repeated past activity which is not customary.

Customary Imperfect

eo quod...et illi existimarent quod confestim regnum Dei manifestaretur ‘because they also were thinking that the kingdom of G-d would be revealed immediately’ (Lk. 19:11). This imperfect indicates action that habitually occurs in past time. The first verb in the above passage shows the customary action of ‘thinking,’ namely, that it was the custom of the Pharisees to believe in the immediacy of the kingdom of G-d. The second verb, although it does not occur in a causal clause but rather is part of an embedded clause, exhibits another type of imperfect: the conative. This imperfect indicates an action in past time that was almost about to happen.

Pluperfective Imperfect (see Wallace 1996: 549)

quod tardaret ipse in templo ‘because he had delayed in the temple’ (Lk. 1:21). This imperfect indicates a past action occurring prior to another past action. The above passage may be interpreted as containing this type of imperfect because the context requires a delaying to have occurred before the people wonder (*mirabantur*). However, it can also be argued that the action of delaying and wondering overlap and occur simultaneously. Notice also that the action in the past is durative, not punctiliar.

The future tense in the Latin gospels occurs in causal clauses mostly in Matthew and Luke, rarely in John, and never in Mark: *quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur* ‘because they will be called the sons of G-d’ (Mt. 5:9); *quia multi, dico vobis, quaerent intrare et non poterunt* ‘because many, I say to you, will seek to enter and will not be able’ (Lk. 13:24); *quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit vobis* ‘because he will receive from [what is] mine, and he will announce to you’ (Jn. 16:14). All occurrences of the future tense in these clauses are predictive future. Other types of futures (i.e., imperative future, deliberative future, and gnomic future) do not occur.⁶⁹

A tendential type of action may be conveyed through the use of periphrasis by employing the future active participle in conjunction with the verb *sum*. Hence, both present and imperfect tendentiality may be expressed in Latin causal clauses. Such constructions, however, occur infrequently: *quia, qua nescitis hora, Filius hominis venturus est* ‘because, at what hour you do not know, the Son of man is about to come’ (Mt. 24:44) (tendential present); *quia inde erat transiturus* ‘because he was about to go across from there’ (Lk. 19:4) (tendential imperfect). The above passages are the only extant occurrences of this construction in Latin causal clauses in the synoptic gospels. John’s gospel also exhibits only one example of this verbal construction: *quia nobis manifestaturus es teipsum et non mundo* ‘because you are about to reveal yourself to us and not to the world’ (Jn. 14:22).

The perfect tense in Latin signifies two main types of action: aoristic (or punctiliar) and resultative (true perfect). These types of action are made evident and distinguished by the context and often by the tense of the subjunctive mood in a dependent clause. Further nuances of

⁶⁹ For an explanation with examples of these types of futures as it pertains to their usage in NT Greek, see Wallace 1996: 568-571.

action may occur within the two main uses of the perfect. The following passages exemplify these uses:

Aoristic Perfect

quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis ‘because she (i.e., the Queen of Sheba) came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon’ (Mt. 12:42). This perfect indicates a simple past action without reference to the action’s internal effects. It is primarily punctiliar in scope and is the most commonly occurring perfect in the Vulgate.

Resultative Perfect

quia scriptum est: “Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves ‘because it is written: “I will thoroughly strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered”’ (Mk. 14:27). This perfect indicates the results or present state effected by a past action. The English present perfect or present tense connotes this Latin perfect.

Consummative Perfect

Mirabantur ergo Iudaei dicentes: <<Quomodo hic litteras scit, cum non didicerit?>> ‘The Jews, therefore, were amazed, saying, “How does this [man] know letters, since he has not learned?”’ (Jn. 7:15). This perfect indicates ‘the completed action of a past action or process from which a present state emerges’ (Wallace 1996: 577). This type of perfect is commonly rendered into English by the English present perfect.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ The difference between the resultative and consummative perfect is one that is of a slight nuance. Both perfects indicate past action resulting in present time. The difference in nuance, however, lies in the emphasis that each perfect makes. The resultative emphasizes the present state; the consummative, the completed act in the past.

Perfect with Present Force

quia non noverunt vocem alienorum ‘because they do not know the voice of strangers’⁷¹ (Jn. 10:5). A small number of Latin verbs, when they occur in the perfect, have present meaning; the most common of these is *nosco* ‘I get to know, become acquainted with.’ In the perfect tense, *nosco* means ‘I have become acquainted with, have come to know,’ hence, ‘I know (now)’ *novi*.

Dramatic (Immediate Past) Perfect

quia inveni drachmam, quam perdideram ‘because I have [just now] found the drachma, which I had lost’ (Lk. 15:9). This perfect indicates recently completed action and highlights the vividness of the activity.

Gnomic Perfect

qui autem non credit, iam iudicatus est, quia non credidit in nomen Unigeniti Filii Dei ‘but he who does not believe, has already been judged, because he has not believed in the name of the Only-begotten Son of G-d’ (Jn. 3:18). This perfect does not indicate a specific occurrence in time, but rather describes a generic or proverbial occurrence that is valid for all times and situations.

Proleptic Perfect

quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebi suae ‘because he has visited and made redemption for His people’ (Lk. 1:68). This perfect indicates a resultative or completed action occurring in future time.

⁷¹ Literally, ‘the voice that belongs to others.’ Obviously, the ‘others’ are those who are unfamiliar to the sheep and whom the sheep are to avoid.

Allegorical Perfect

quia lex per Moysen data est ‘because the Law was given through Moses’ (Jn. 1:17). This perfect indicates that an event in the distant past has current relevance and application (Wallace 1996: 581-582).

The pluperfect tense occurs infrequently in NT Latin causal clauses and primarily indicates completed past action without reference to its effects in the present or a present state. In light of this explanation, one may state that the pluperfect is the past time referent of the perfect, analogous to the relationship of the imperfect to the present tense. The pluperfect has a relatively narrow range of types of action, mainly exhibiting consummative force and rendered into English as the English past perfect (‘had’ + past participle). The following examples are indicative of pluperfect uses in the Latin gospels:

Consummative Pluperfect

quia his, qui viderant eum resuscitatum, non crediderant ‘because they had not believed those who had seen him raised up’ (Mk. 16:14). This pluperfect indicates a completed past action without emphasis upon its present (or any subsequent) results.

Resultative Pluperfect

quia hic filius meus mortuus erat et revixit, perierat et inventus est ‘because this my son had died (i.e., was dead) and has lived again, he had perished and has been found’ (Lk. 15:24). This pluperfect indicates an action in prior past time with effects in subsequent past time. For a more detailed explication of this pluperfect in regard to Greek usage, see Wallace 1996: 584-585.

Customary Pluperfect

quia frequenter Iesus convenerat illuc cum discipulis suis ‘because Jesus had frequently come together there with his disciples’ (Jn. 18:2). This pluperfect indicates habitual action in past time

that occurs previous to another referred past action. This pluperfect is the past tense of the customary perfect, which does not occur in causal clauses in the Vulgate gospels. It may also be construed to be the past tense of the customary imperfect. The difference between perfect and imperfect customary activity is one of results, and not exclusively of time. For example, consider the following differences among the three customary action types:

1) *cotidie epistolam scribebam* ‘I was (habitually) writing a letter everyday’

(customary imperfect, with no indication that the action exhibited effects into present time)

2) *cotidie epistolam scripsi* ‘I have written (habitually) a letter everyday’

(customary perfect, with implication of present resultative action)

3) *cotidie epistolam scripseram* ‘I had written (habitually) a letter everyday’

(customary pluperfect, with implication that the habitual action in the past indicates resultative action in subsequent past time)

Pluperfect with Simple Past Force

eo quod ipse nosset omnes ‘because he himself knew all [men]’ (Jn. 2:24). This pluperfect is the past tense of the perfect with present force. This type of pluperfect is limited in use exclusively with the verb *nosco* ‘I get to know.’

The Latin pluperfect tense apparently displays a relationship to two Latin tenses: the imperfect and the perfect. The pluperfect indicates an action having occurred prior to that expressed by either of these two tenses, regardless of whether or not the prior action contains resultative action.

The future perfect does not occur in causal clauses in the Latin gospels, at least not as the main verb of the clause. The one occurrence of the future perfect tense in causal clauses is found

in Mt. 18:17, but belongs to the protasis of an embedded conditional construction. Hence, we should not consider this passage as relevant to our study.

In conclusion, we may indicate the frequency of tense through the following table:

Table 3.25 Frequency of tense in causal clauses in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

Tense	Frequency							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Present	36	27	9	7	42	31	47	35
Imperfect	7	12.3	10	17.5	18	31.6	22	38.6
Future	7	32	0	0	13	59	2	9
Future Periphrastic	1	33.3	0	0	1	33.3	1	33.3
Perfect	10	12.7	2	2.5	32	40.5	35	44.3
Pluperfect	4	19	3	14.3	7	33.3	7	33.3
Future Perfect	1?	100?	0	0	0	0	0	0

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter will conclude with a recapitulation of subordinating conjunctival usage, word-order configuration, mood, and tense (aspect/Aktionsart) employment in telic, ecbatic (i.e., consecutive), and aetiological hypotaxis as displayed in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels.

3.4.0 General Considerations

The overall structure of telic, ecbatic, and aetiological clauses in the Latin Vulgate gospels closely corresponds to that employed in the corresponding clausal types found in the Classical idiom. There exist, however, some notable and—with certain structures—rare exceptions. For example, although purpose is expressed in the Vulgate NT by employing *ut/ne* with the subjunctive mood (this construction also being in accordance with the Classical usage), the infinitive also may be used to express purpose in the Latin gospels: *quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis* ‘because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon’ (Mt. 12:42). The corresponding Greek passage also contains an infinitive (ἀκοῦσαι). Hence, the Latin infinitive of purpose most likely in this case is a calque of the Greek

construction. The Classical Latin would not make such use of this infinitive, but would prefer instead to employ *ut* + subjunctive (*ut audiret*), corresponding to Greek ἵνα + subjunctive (ἵνα ἀκούσῃ). The Latin infinitive of purpose also corresponds to the Greek articular infinitive with the genitive case:

a) ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν

b) *Ecce exit, qui seminat, seminare*

‘Behold, he who sows went out to sow’ (Mt. 13:3).

The Vulgate gospels also express purpose through *ad* + the gerund: *Omnis, qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam moechatus est eam in corde suo* ‘Everyone, who sees a woman to lust after her, already has committed adultery with her in his heart’ (Mt. 5:28). Sometimes, out of imitation of the Greek future participle, the present active participle is employed in the Vulgate to denote purpose: *Sine, videamus an veniat Elias liberans eum* ‘Let it be, let us see whether Elijah comes to free him’ (Mt. 27:49).⁷² Sometimes the preposition *in* with a substantive in the accusative indicates purpose: *praedicans baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum* ‘preaching the baptism of repentance for the pardon of sins’ (Mk. 1:4). Hence, we may conclude that 1) *there is no standard, uniform manner to express purpose in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels.*

2) *Result clause structure in the Vulgate gospels does not deviate from the structure found in Classical Latin.*

3) *Causal clause structure in the Vulgate gospels does not deviate from the structure found in Classical Latin.*

⁷² Why Jerome elected not to use the future active participle *liberaturus* is perplexing. Both Tacitus and Livy have employed the future active participle to denote purpose, albeit infrequently (*Consul Larisam est profectus, ibi de summa belli consultaturus* ‘The consul set out for Larisa, to weigh in there concerning the important matter of war’ Livy XXXVI. 14, 5). Perhaps Jerome’s use of the present participle indicates inferential rather than actual purpose (Gildersleeve 1997:428).

4) *Subordinating conjunctions may introduce a number of different clausal types, and a particular clausal type may be introduced by various conjunctions.*

5) *Causal clauses may exhibit more than one finite mood.*

6) *Tense in Latin is based upon a tripartite system of past, present, and future; aspect synergizes with tense in a binary system of *infectum* vs. *perfectum*. Aktionsart stems from the synergy of these two systems.*

7) *In subordinate clauses, the verb tends to move closest to the subordinating conjunction, with the subject being as close as possible to its verb, by either immediately preceding or following it.*

The following sections will recapitulate earlier discussions of subordinating conjunctions, mood, word order, and tense-aspect as these syntactic features relate to the overall scheme of hypotaxis.

3.4.1 Use of subordinating conjunctions in the Latin (Vulgate) gospels

This investigation is not exhaustive, but only treats briefly those conjunctions previously treated and those situations containing overlap in usage or variable conjunctive employment.

3.4.1.1 Uses of *ut*

As a subordinating conjunction, *ut* may introduce purpose or result clauses. In addition, it may head certain types of substantival clauses (i.e., consecutive noun clauses, negative fearing clauses,⁷³ indirect request/command), but never indirect discourse:

a) *sed haec dico, ut vos salvi sitis* ‘but I say these things, so that you may be saved’ (Jn.

5:34). (purpose)

b) *quis peccavit...ut caecus nasceretur* ‘who sinned...that he was born blind’ (Jn. 9:2).

(result)

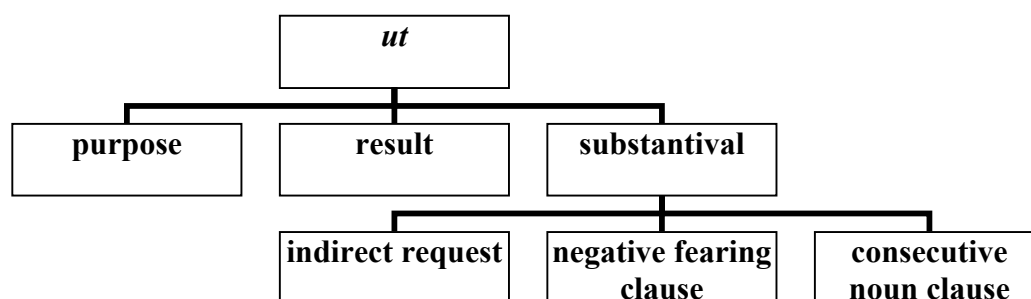
⁷³ Positive fearing clauses are introduced by *ne*.

c) *rogabat, ut descenderet et sanaret filium eius* ‘he asked, that he come down and heal his son’ (Jn. 4:47). (substantival: indirect request)

d) *Accidit autem, ut sacerdos quidam descenderet eadem via* ‘But it happened that a certain priest was coming down by the same way’ (Lk. 10:31). (consecutive noun clause)

Although negative fearing clauses introduced by *ut* are common in the Classical idiom, they do not occur in the Vulgate. However, positive fearing clauses introduced by *ne* do occur, but are relatively rare:

e) *timebant enim populum, ne lapidarentur* ‘for they were fearing the people, lest they be stoned’ (Act. 5: 26).



Fearing clauses are substantival purpose clauses; consecutive noun clauses, substantival result clauses. We may also observe that *ut* shares purpose, result, and substantival usage with other conjunctions or non-finite constructions. Examples of these finite and non-finite purpose constructions are given below:

f) *renuntiate mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum* ‘report back to me, so that even I—coming—may worship’ (Mt. 2:8). (purpose clause introduced by *ut* + subjunctive)

g) *...in manibus tollent te, ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum* ‘they will bear you in [their] hands, lest by chance you strike your foot against a stone’ (Mt. 4:6). (negative purpose clause introduced by *ne* + subjunctive)

h) *Nolite iudicare, ut non iudicemini* ‘Do not judge, so that you may not be judged’

(Mt. 7: 1). (negative purpose clause introduced by *ut non* + subjunctive)

i) *...et vineam locabit aliis agricolis, qui reddant ei fructum temporibus suis* ‘...and he will hire out the vineyard to farms, who may give back to him the fruit in their times’

(Mt. 21: 41). (relative purpose clause)

j) *et tradent eum gentibus ad illudendum et flagellandum et crucifigendum* ‘and they will hand him over to the nations for mocking, beating, and crucifying’ (Mt. 20: 19). (*ad* + gerund of purpose)

k) *venimus adorare eum* ‘we have come to worship him’ (Mt. 2:2). (infinitive of purpose)

l) *...videamus an veniat Elias liberans eum* ‘let us see whether Elijah comes to free him’ (Mt. 27: 49). (present active participle of purpose)

The future active participle of purpose does not occur in the Vulgate gospels.

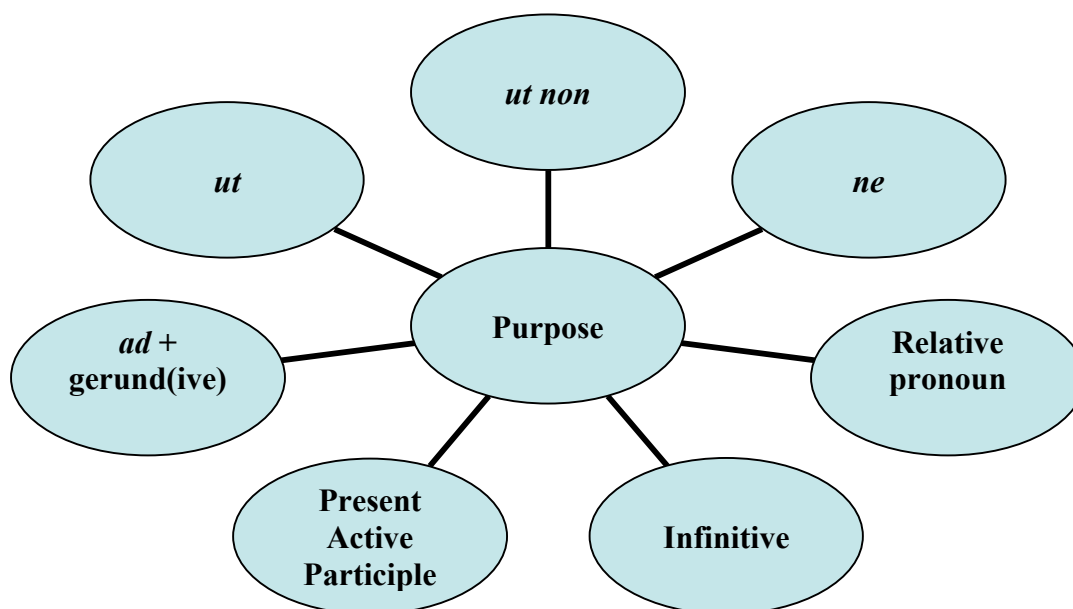


Figure 6 Telic Constructions in Latin

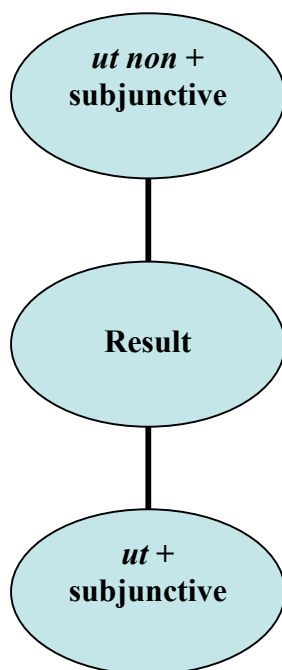


Figure 7 Result Clause Conjunctions in Latin

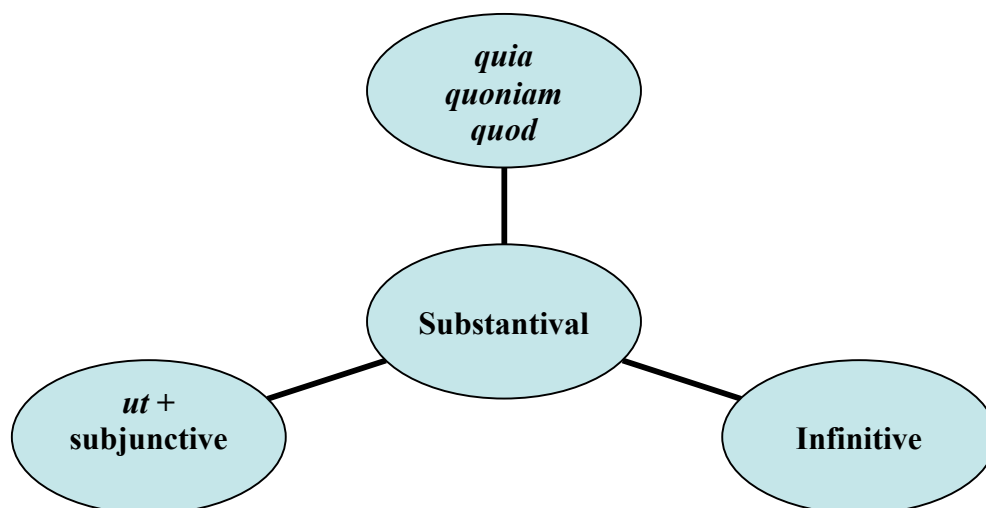


Figure 8 Substantival Constructions in Latin

The infinitive may function substantivally: *bonum tibi est ad vitam ingredi debilem vel claudum* ‘it is better for you to enter life weak or lame’ (Mt. 18:8). For an example of *ut* + subjunctive functioning as a substantival clause, see c) and d) above. For examples of *quia* and *quoniam* as conjunctions heading substantival clauses, see section 3.4.1.2 below. For an example of *quod* as a conjunction heading a substantival clause, see section 3.4.1.3.

3.4.1.2 Uses of *quia* and *quoniam*

Like *ut*, *quia* and *quoniam* have multiple hypotactic uses. They function primarily as the head of a causal or substantival clause.

- a) *quia nescitis diem neque horam* ‘because you do not know the day nor the hour’ (Mt. 25:13). (causal)
- b) *quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis* ‘because your reward is abundant in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:12). (causal)
- c) *Audistis quia dictum est: “Non moechaberis.”* ‘You have heard that it has been said: “You shall not commit adultery”’ (Mt. 5:27). (substantival)
- d) *Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere Legem aut Prophetas* ‘Do not think think I have come to dissolve the Law or the Prophets’ (Mt. 5:17). (substantival)

In addition to exhibiting multiple uses, *quia* and *quoniam* share these uses with a number of other conjunctions.

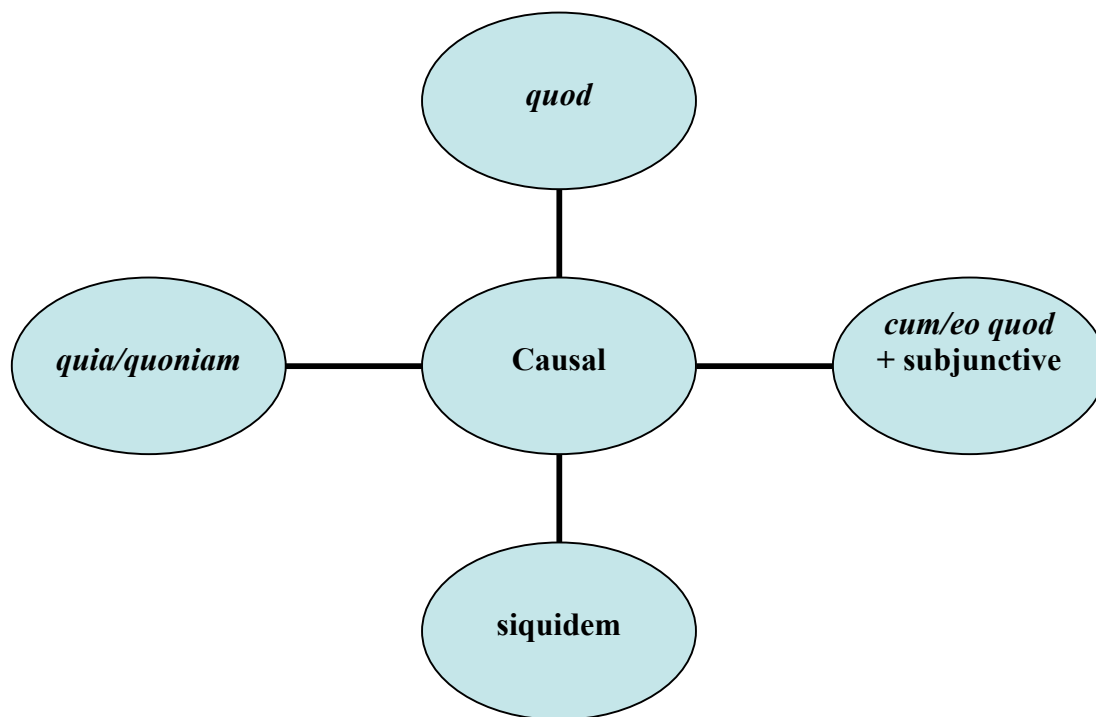


Figure 9 Causal Clause Conjunctions in Latin

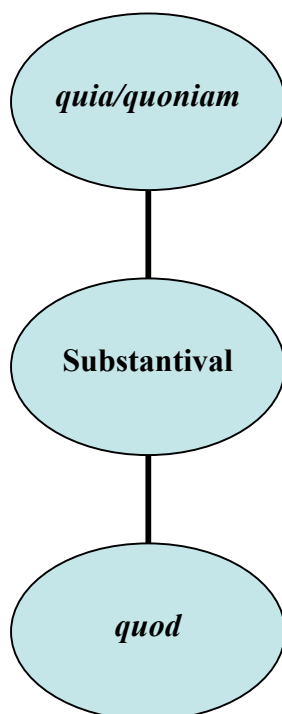
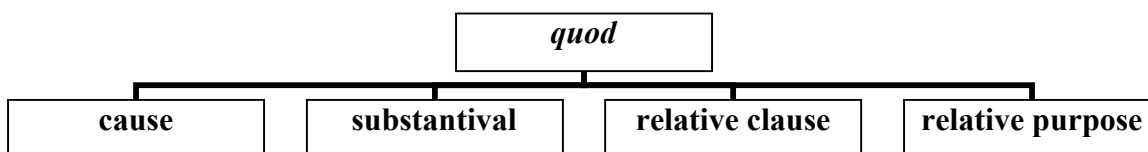


Figure 10 Substantival Clause Conjunctions in Latin

3.4.1.3 Uses of *quod*

Quod may be employed as a conjunction or a relative pronoun. As a conjunction, it may head both causal and substantival clauses. As a relative pronoun, it may head adjectival clauses or relatives purpose clauses:

- a) *quod tardaret ipse in templo* ‘because he himself was delaying in the temple’ (Lk. 1:21). (causal)
- b) *Cum autem audisset quod Ioannes traditus esset* ‘But when he had heard that John had been handed over’ (Mt. 4:12). (substantival)
- c) *Si ergo lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sunt, tenebrae quantaerunt* ‘If, therefore, the light which is in you is darkness, how great will the darkness be!’ (Mt. 6:23). (relative clause)
- d) *et non habent, quod manducent* ‘and they do not have [anything] which they may eat’ (Mt. 15:32). (relative purpose clause)



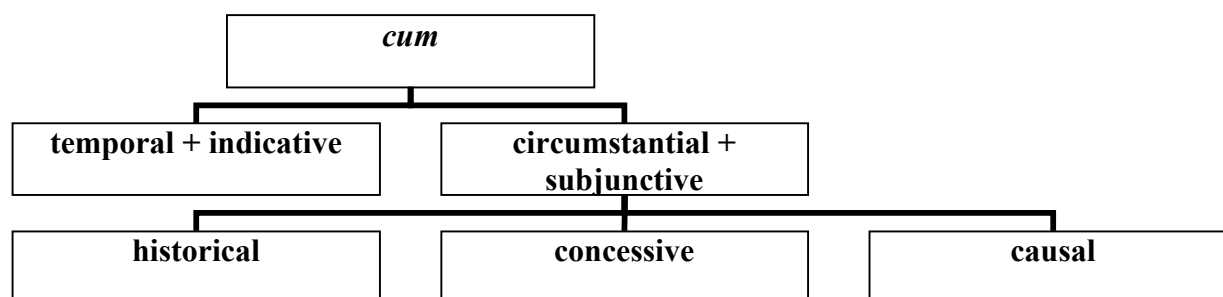
3.4.1.4 Uses of *cum*

In addition to functioning as a preposition mainly indicating accompaniment and manner, *cum* functions as a conjunction heading temporal or circumstantial clauses. When *cum* is employed as a temporal conjunction, the verb is in the indicative mood: *et cum inveneritis renuntiate mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum* ‘and when you find [him], report to me, so that I also, coming, may worship him’ (Mt. 2:8). When denoting attending circumstances, the *cum* clause will contain the verb in the subjunctive mood. This type of *cum* clause connotes the following functions (Gildersleeve 1997: 371):

1) Historical *cum*. *Cum autem natus esset Iesus in Bethlehem Iudaeae in diebus Herodis regis* ‘But when Jesus had been born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king’ (Mt. 2:1).

2) Concessive or adversative *cum*. *Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nostis dona bona dare filiis vestris* ‘If, therefore, you—although you are evil—know to give good gifts to your sons’ (Mt. 7:11).

3) Causal *cum*. *...filii sunt Dei, cum sint filii resurrectionis* ‘they are sons of G-d, since they are sons of the resurrection’ (Lk. 20:36).



3.4.2 Word order in the Vulgate gospels

Final, consecutive, and causal clauses in the Latin gospels exhibit similar statistical patterns and percentages (comparable to the Greek) in respect to word-order types. For example, these three hypotactic types tend to display V-initial constructions, i.e., constructions in which the verb precedes the subject, direct object, or both.

Table 3.26 Comparison of word-initial types in Latin hypotactic structures

Argument type	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
V-initial	248	74	22	69	216	66.66
S-initial	50	15	9	28	77	23.77
O-initial	36	11	1	3	31	9.57

The three categories of hypotaxis which I have examined show a majority of occurrences of V-initial constructions, occurring more than the other two head types combined. S-initial constructions are second most common in occurrence, and O-initial clauses occur comparatively the least.

Without a comparison with the Greek, it is a matter of conjecture as to why V-initial clauses predominate in Latin subordination in the Vulgate gospels. Devine and Stephens (2006: 79) have demonstrated through their examination of ample data that the default (or neutral) word order exhibited in the Classical idiom is as follows:

Subj. DO IO/Obl. Adj. Goal/Source Nonref.-DO V

The explication of the above formula is as follows:

Subj. = Subject

DO = Direct Object

IO = Indirect Object

Obl. = Oblique Argument⁷⁴

Adj. = Adjunct

Goal/Source = Goal or Source Argument

Nonref.-DO = Nonreferential Direct Object

V = Verb

Seeing that the word order displayed in the Vulgate differs greatly from the default word order of Classical Latin, let us examine briefly some factors that might affect word order in Latin and whether these factors have any bearing on word order in the Vulgate.

⁷⁴ Any argument covering other than the subject, direct object, indirect object (Devine 2006: 112). Since this definition seems to include adjuncts (non-obligatorily projected arguments, Devine 2006: 12) as well as goal/source, Devine and Stephens leave the specifications and differences of these three arguments unclear.

Pinkster (1990: 163-213) has grappled with the issue of Latin word order, laying the foundation for subsequent study that has culminated in the monumental work on the subject undertaken by Devine and Stephens (2006). Pinkster discusses three major factors influencing word order:

1) *Syntactic and pragmatic factors*. Word order usually comes to mind when one thinks of syntax. Such a view, however, is far too narrow. Lexical categories, and their grammatical functions, drive the word order in Latin—not vice versa. Like English, Latin tends to place subjects in initial position in sentences/clauses. However, because of pragmatic factors, such word order is frequently violated in Latin, often due to the process of topicalization.⁷⁵

2) *Lexical and constituent factors*. The lexical category of a word, exclusive of its grammatical function, may influence the word order of a Latin sentence. For example, the pairs of the following conjunctions in Latin have particular word order constraints:

sed/autem *nam/enim* *itaque/igitur*

The pairs are semantically similar, if not identical, e.g., *sed* and *autem* are nearly—if not practically—synonymous, both meaning ‘but,’ or at least exhibiting some adversative function. The difference in the pairs lies in the possible placement of the individual lexemes within the sentence/clause. The first item in each pair has a greater flexibility in regard to where each may be placed within a clause, but normally *sed*, *nam*, and *itaque* are put at the head of the sentence/clause. On the other hand, *autem*, *enim*, and *igitur* normally cannot head a clause, but must be placed postpositively. The internal structure of constituents may also affect word order. For example, *causa* + gerundive generally precedes the finite verb, while *ut* + subjunctive

⁷⁵ Topics are not necessarily subjects, although often they are. The topic is previously given information. Ex. *Romani Gallos insequébantur. Hi mox defessi facti sunt.* ‘The Romans were pursuing the Gauls; soon they (i.e., the Gauls) became tired.’ The demonstrative *hi* in the second sentence is the topic.

follows the finite verb. Both constructions indicate purpose, but their word order is determined by their internal structure.

3) *Sentence type and distinction of main sentence/subordinate clause.* This factor seems to be most pertinent to our study. By sentence type, Pinkster means whether the sentence in Latin is declarative (verb-final), **OR** interrogative, imperative, and concessive (verb-initial). Although clausal type (main/subordinate) affects word order in Dutch and German, it has a seemingly negligible effect on word order in Latin. Devine and Stephens (2006: 185) mention the phenomenon of auxiliary raising in subordinate clauses in Latin as an example of non-verb-final position. However, a large number of the verbs raised to initial position in subordinate clauses in the gospels are not auxiliaries. Therefore, this particular rule does not seem to be applicable to our study of Latin word order. In addition, Devine and Stephens maintain that raising in subordinate clauses is prevented by an intervening focus.⁷⁶ This would explain why the auxiliary is not always raised to initial position. Perhaps because much of the information in subordinate clauses is salient, and the new information is contained within the verb, the verb itself is the focus and, hence, tends to occupy initial position in the gospels.

Panhuis (2006: 185-196) gives a somewhat different explanation concerning the mechanics of Latin word order. Rather than viewing Latin word order as the result of a complex interaction of lexical categories, grammatical functions, sentence types, internal constituent structure, pragmatic factors, and clausal type (i.e., main/subordinate, declarative vs. imperative, interrogative, concessive), Panhuis sees a simplified dichotomy of *theme* (the subject⁷⁷ talked

⁷⁶ A focus is an argument that indicates new, salient information.

⁷⁷ Subject here does not mean grammatical subject, but rather the main argument being discussed. That being the case, a theme may be either a *topic* or a *focus*. The rheme, on the other hand, seems limited to being a *focus* or perhaps even a *presentative* argument.

about) and *rheme* (what is said about the theme), which offers relevant information about the theme.

Panhuis recognizes that multiple themes and rhemes may occur in a sentence. One theme and one rheme, however, are proper, with the other themes and rhemes being subordinate.

Hence, there exists, according to Panhuis, the following hierarchy (2006: 186):

$$Tp - T - \dots R - Rp$$

Where Tp = theme proper, T = theme, R = rheme, and Rp = rheme proper. Themes, then, are in initial position and rarely, if ever, are preceded by rhemes. Themes may be either substantives or verbs. The following are typical themes (187).

- a) speaker and addressee in a dialogue
- b) an element from a preceding sentence
- c) an element supposed to be known or self-evident from the context
- d) a new theme
- e) a setting element of place or time

Why certain verbs are in initial position could be the result of their being themes. However, Panhuis realizes that verbs may head clauses, not because they are necessarily themes, but likely because they indicate ‘velocity’ or ‘agitation,’ i.e., the swiftness or urgency in which an action occurs.

Although it is possible that the previously discussed factors may have some degree of influence on word order in subordinate clauses in the Latin gospels, it is highly unlikely that they are the driving factors, for they do not explain why so few clauses contain neutral (default) verb-final word order. We may conclude, therefore, that word order given in the Latin subordinate

clauses in the gospels stems from elsewhere, namely, as a result of Jerome's attempt to preserve in his Latin translation the word order exhibited in the Greek Vorlage.

The following table gives a comprehensive statistical view of the data concerning word order as discussed previously in this chapter, the purpose of the table being to recapitulate what has already been corroborated.

Table 3.27 Word-order types in hypotactic clauses in Latin

Word-order type	Clausal type					
	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
VS	34	10.18	5	15.625	30	9.26
VO	107	32.04	6	18.75	77	23.77
VSO	2	.6	1	3.125	2	.62
VOS	3	.9	0	0	3	.93
V-initial (no S/O)	102	30.54	10	31.35	104	32.10
SV	30	8.98	8	25	49	15.12
SOV	8	2.4	0	0	10	3.09
SVO	8	2.4	1	3.125	17	5.25
S-initial (no V/O)	0	0	0	0	1	.31
OV	40	11.98	1	3.125	28	8.6
OVS	0	0	0	0	2	.62
OSV	0	0	0	0	1	.31
Total	334	N/A	32	N/A	324	N/A

3.4.3 Mood in the Vulgate gospels

Final and consecutive clauses must be constructed with the verb in the subjunctive mood. Causal clauses also contain the verb in the subjunctive mood if the event is given from other than the narrator's/speaker's viewpoint.

a) **final clause:** *ut et discipuli tui videant opera tua, quae facis* (Jn. 7:3)

‘so that even your disciples may see your works, which you are doing’ (present subjunctive)

b) **consecutive clause:** *Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret*

(Jn. 3:16)

‘For G-d so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son...’ (imperfect subjunctive)

c) **causal clause:** *quia non egissent paenitentiam* (Mt. 11:20)

‘because they had not done repentance’ (pluperfect subjunctive, not the narrator’s/speaker’s viewpoint)

The indicative mood occurs in causal clauses when the cause of the events are given from the narrator’s/speaker’s viewpoint.

d) *quia non credunt in me* (Jn. 16:9)

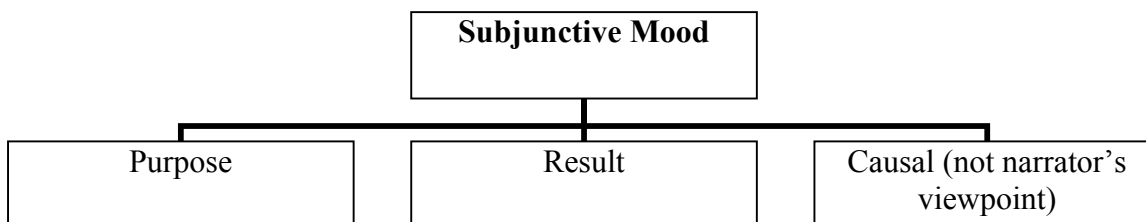
‘because they do not believe in me’ (present indicative, reason given is the speaker’s)

The indicative mood never occurs in final or consecutive clauses in the Vulgate gospels. This rule of exclusive use of the subjunctive is valid only for constructions employing finite verbs.

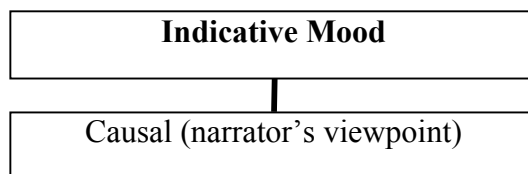
Purpose, as stated beforehand, may be expressed with the infinitive, gerund(ive) + *causa*

(Classical idiom; not attested in the Vulgate gospels), *ad* + gerund(ive), present active or future active participle (fut. act. part. of purpose not attested in the Vulgate gospels), and the supine.⁷⁸

The employment of mood in the hypotactic structures just discussed may be summarized diagrammatically as follows:



⁷⁸ The supine is a rarely employed construction in the Latin Vulgate, and it is debatable whether it actually occurs in the gospels. See Plater and White (1926: 114-116) for a fuller discussion.



3.4.4 Aspect and tense

Because in Latin aspect and tense are so intricately connected to each other that one cannot be separated from the other, aspect per se does not exist as a separate grammatical category in Latin. That having been said, a discussion of aspect in Latin can only be comprehensible within the context of the functions and semantics of tense, which certainly applies within the parameters of the indicative mood. In the non-indicative moods (i.e., imperative and subjunctive), however, aspect appears as a non-entity and a non-factor.

The fact that Latin contains four tenses of the subjunctive is inconsequential to the notion of aspect, nor an indication that it exists. The four tenses of the subjunctive are what they are—tenses, and as such are time-referentially driven formations, not aspectually driven. Purpose and result clauses in Latin may contain only two tenses of the subjunctive—present or imperfect—and the tense of the verb in the subordinate clause is determined by the tense of the verb in the main clause. Hence, the system is based upon the sequence of tenses, not upon the aspect of the verb. Such a system differs greatly from that found in the Greek; for, whether the Greek exhibits the present or aorist subjunctive is of no consequence in Latin, which may correspond to either Greek aspectual form with the verb in the imperfect subjunctive.

Causal clauses in Latin containing verbs in the subjunctive do not have their structure based upon the rule concerning the sequence of tenses. Such clauses are comparable in construction to causal clauses with verbs in the indicative mood. Tense in causal clauses is determined by time reference, with the element of aspect being closely synergistic. Although in this case the presence of the subjunctive (or indicative) mood is determined by specific factors,

the tense of the verb in the main clause does not limit the tense of the verb in the subjunctive.

Hence, one may state that the tense of the verb in causal clauses is not syntactically, but rather semantically determined.

CHAPTER 4

SYNCRISIS OF LATIN AND GREEK HYPOTAXIS

4.0 Introduction

A comparison of the classical languages is not a new undertaking. Buck's once standard volume (1962) and Sihler's exhaustive and monumental revision (1995) of Buck's work are strong in the area of comparative diachronic phonology and morphology; their treatment of syntax, however, is non-existent. The work of Meillet and Vendryes (1948) gives adequate discussion of syntax, but the treatment is far from exhaustive. Moore (1999) has devoted a useful and succinct little volume strictly to comparative syntax. All these works, among many others, share the virtue of comparatively analyzing selected features of the classical languages. Little, if any, work has been undertaken concerning a comparative analysis of the κοινή dialect and Vulgar Latin. Perhaps it is assumed that little significant information can be gleaned from such an analysis. After all, NT Greek and the Vulgar Latin are what they are.

A closer inspection of these two languages, however, may yield some unexpected insights through comparative examination, since one is a close translation of the text of the other. Such is the undertaking of this chapter in regard to selected hypotactic structures (telic, ecclastic, aetiological) in the four gospels.

4.1 Syncritical analysis of purpose clauses

This section will comparatively examine purpose clauses in the Latin and Greek gospels. Three types of purpose constructions will be examined: 1) direct telic clausal-to-clausal correspondence; 2) telic clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence; 3) telic clausal-to-non-telic-clausal correspondence.

4.1.1 Telic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

This section examines the correspondences of Latin and Greek purpose clauses in regard to the conjunctions employed, the similarity/dissimilarity of word order (i.e., to what extent Latin exhibits the word order of the Greek Vorlage), and the use of mood and aspect/tense.

4.1.1.1 Conjunctions

This section examines the correspondence of conjunctions used in Latin and Greek purpose clauses. The Latin conjunction *ut* generally corresponds to a variety of Greek conjunctions. There are some notable exceptions, as the following sub-sections indicate.

4.1.1.1.1 *Ut* : ἵνα

This is the most frequent correspondence involving purpose clauses in the four gospels. One may safely categorize this as the default correspondence for purpose clauses in the affirmative:

a) Matthew 1:22

ut adimpleretur...

ἵνα πληρωθῇ

b) Mark 1:38

ut et ibi praedicem

ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω

c) Luke 1:4

ut cognoscas...

ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς...

d) John 1:7

ut testimonium perhiberet...

ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ...

In table 4.1 below, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel, with Mark and John (the shortest gospels in length) exhibiting the most correspondences.

Table 4.1 Frequency of *ut* : *ἵνα* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	16	33	25	95
% of Total	9.5	19.5	14.8	56.2

4.1.1.1.2 *Ut* : ὅπως

The Greek conjunction ὅπως functions primarily as a stylistic variant of ἵνα. This is evident by the fact that Jerome employs the Latin conjunction *ut* to translate ὅπως in every purpose clause occurrence, except one (Mt. 12:14), and in this case it is debatable whether the construction genuinely denotes purpose. The following examples are representative of this conjunctival correspondence.

a) Matthew 2:8

ut et ego veniens adorem eum

ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ

b) Luke 16:28

ut testetur illis

ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς

c) John 11:57

ut apprehendant eum

ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν

The gospel of Mark contains no correspondences of this type. Table 4.2 below indicates the frequency of this correspondence.

Table 4.2 Frequency of *ut* : ὅπως correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	12	0	1	1
% of Total	86	0	7	7

4.1.1.1.3 *Ut* : ὅπως ἄν

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels:

Luke 2:35

ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes

ὅπως ἄν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί

It is unclear whether there exists a semantic nuance with ἄν. The Latin contains no correspondence to this Greek particle. Hence, ὅπως ἄν seems to be a stylistic variant of ὅπως/ἵνα.

One explanation for the presence of ἄν, in addition to its being part of a stylistic variant, is that the particle's employment indicates vividness or emphasis, perhaps to heighten the drama of the sword piercing through Mary's own soul.

4.1.1.1.4 *Quomodo* : ὅπως

This correspondence, occurring only once in the four gospels, may not indicate purpose, but rather be an indirect question:

Matthew 12:14*quomodo eum perderent*ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν

The construction may, indeed, function as an indirect question in Latin, but this explanation poses a problem for Greek, since Greek does not normally employ the subjunctive mood in indirect questions, preferring instead the mood of the original direct question or the optative (optionally) in secondary sequence. With the optative being rare in NT Greek, however, the subjunctive often assumes the various functions of the optative. Therefore, the presence of the subjunctive mood in this particular case could be the result of its functioning as an optative. Note that the tense of the verb in the main clause (ἔλαβον) is in secondary sequence. On the other hand, if the Greek clause indicates purpose, the Latin clause becomes problematic, for *quomodo* normally does not head purpose clauses in Latin.

4.1.1.1.5 Sed : ἀλλά

Whenever a pair of thoughts occurs, one adversative to the other, the second thought may be introduced by an adversative coordinating conjunction instead of the subordinating one. The gospel of John exhibits two such occurrences:

a) John 3:16*sed habeat vitam aeternam*ἀλλ' ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιονb) John 18:28*sed manducarent Pascha*ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα

The above two passages contain purpose clauses introduced by a negative subordinating conjunction (in Latin, *ut non*; in Greek, ἵνα μὴ). A positive purpose clause is connected to each negative clause by an adversative coordinating conjunction (in Latin, *sed*; in Greek, ἀλλά), the affirmative subordinating conjunction being elliptical.

4.1.1.1.6 *Ut non* : ἵνα μὴ

Instead of the conjunction *ne*, *ut* may frequently be employed in the Vulgate to indicate negation of an argument within the clause. The presence of *ne* itself indicates negation of the entire clause rather than an element within it. The Greek correspondence does not exhibit this nuance lexically, but Greek can indicate this subtlety through proximity of the negative particle to the argument that it modifies. The conjunction μὴ typically precedes the modified argument.

Below are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 7:1

ut non iudicemini

ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε

b) Mark 14:38

ut non intretis

ἵνα μὴ ἔλθετε

c) Luke 22:32

ut non deficiat fides tua

ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπη ἡ πίστις σου

d) John 3:16

ut omnis...non pereat

ἵνα πᾶς...μὴ ἀπόλεται

The frequency of the correspondences by gospel is given in the following table.

Table 4.3 Frequency of *ut non* : *ἵνα μὴ* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	3	2	2	12
% of Total	16	10.5	10.5	63

4.1.1.1.7 *Ne* : *ἵνα μὴ*

This correspondence is surprisingly uncommon in occurrence, in that one would expect this to be the default negative construction. This unexpected lack in frequency is inexplicable.

The following are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 26:5

ne tumultus fiat in populo

ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος γένηται ἐν τῷ λαῷ

b) Mark 3:9

ne comprimerent eum

ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν

c) Luke 22:46

ne intretis in tentationem

ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν

d) John 6:12

ne quid pereat

ἵνα μὴ τι ἀπόληται

The following table exhibits the frequency of this correspondence by gospel.

Table 4.4 Frequency of ne : ἵνα μή correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	1	1	4	2
% of Total	12.5	12.5	50	25

4.1.1.1.8 Ne : ὅπως μή

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels. It is unclear whether the Greek correspondence holds any semantic nuance. Jerome apparently perceived none and treated ὅπως μή as the negative of ὅπως, hence the former being a stylistic variant of ἵνα μή.

Matthew 6:18

ne videaris hominibus ieiunans...

ὅπως μή φανῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων...

4.1.1.1.9 Ne : ἵνα μήποτε

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels. The semantic nuance of the Greek probably conveys the English notion ‘lest ever,’ with the Latin indicating no corresponding nuance. An interesting feature of the passage containing this correspondence is that, where Latin has an embedded temporal clause, Greek shows a genitive absolute:

Luke 14:29

ne, postquam posuerit fundamentum et non potuerit perficere, omnes, qui vident, incipiant illudere ei

ἵνα μήποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ισχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι πάντες οἱ

θεωροῦντες ἄρξονται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίζειν

Lacking a perfect active participle, Latin is compelled to express the corresponding Greek genitive absolute with a temporal clause.¹

4.1.1.1.10 *Ne* : μήποτε

This correspondence indicates a clear semantic nuance in the conjunction μήποτε. The Latin attempts to imitate this nuance through the use of additional lexemes, such as *forte* and *quando*. Through comparative analysis, therefore, with the Latin construction, the Greek conjunction μήποτε appears to have the force of ‘lest ever, lest at any time, lest by chance, lest perhaps,’ i.e., an accompanying degree of uncertainty present in the semantics of the particle.

Below are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 4:6

ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum

μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου

b) Mark 4:12

ne quando convertantur...

μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν...

c) Luke 14:8

ne forte honoratior te sit invitatus ab eo

μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ἢ κεκλημένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ

The gospel of John contains no passages with this correspondence.

¹ The first part of the Greek genitive absolute may be rendered into a Latin ablative absolute: *fundamento posito*. The problem, however, lies in how to render the second part of the Greek absolute construction. No perfect participle exists for the verb *posse* ‘to be able,’ although the adjective *potens* certainly could work (*et eo non potente perficere*). Jerome’s translate is a more accurate rendering of the Greek sense, even though it is not a literal translation of the Vorlage.

The correspondence of Greek μήποτε with Latin *ne + forte/quando* is entirely consistent and without exception. The following table indicates the frequency of this correspondence by gospel.

Table 4.5 Frequency of ne : μήποτε correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	8	2	5	0
% of Total	53.33	13.33	33.33	0

4.1.1.1.11 *Ne : μή*

The correspondence exclusively represents clauses of caution. In every case, regardless of whether the construction is in Latin or Greek, the main clause governing the subordinate clause contains a verb of perception.² The following examples are representative of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 18:10

Videte, ne contemnatis unum ex his pusillis

Ὁρᾶτε μή καταφρονήσητε ἐνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων

b) Mark 13:5

Videte, ne quis vos seducat

Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ

c) Luke 11:35

Vide ergo, ne lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sint

σκόπει οὖν μή τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν

The gospel of John contains no passages with this correspondence. The following table indicates the frequency of this correspondence by gospel.

² The verb employed in these constructions connotes by nature *mental* perception. However, verbs of physical perception, in particular those of ‘seeing,’ often denote mental perception as well.

Table 4.6 Frequency of ne : μή correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	3	2	2	0
% of Total	42.86	28.57	28.57	0

4.1.1.1.12 Nemo : μηδείς

Occurring only once in the four gospels, this correspondence is actually a variant of *ne* : μή, being a contraction of the negative conjunctive particle and an indefinite pronoun (in Latin, *homo*; in Greek, εἷς):³

Mark 1:44

Vide, nemini quidquam dixeris

ὄρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἶπης

4.1.1.2 Word order

It is assumed that the Vulgate slavishly imitates the word order of the Greek Vorlage. This assumption is generally true, but there are notable exceptions. Deviations in the word order of the Vulgate from that of the Greek NT are relatively minor in most instances. For example, often an adverbial modifier is displayed in Latin in a location different from that in the Greek:

a) Matthew 13:15

ne quando oculis videant

μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

In the above example, the instrumental substantive occurs *before* the verb in Latin, but *after* the verb in Greek.

³ *Homo* in Latin typically functions as a noun (meaning ‘man, human being’) and εἷς in Greek as a numeral (‘one’).

Other modifiers (i.e., adjectives, demonstratives) may not correspond in word order:

b) Matthew 18:10

Videte, ne contemnatis unum ex his pusillis

Ὅρατε μὴ καταφρονήσητε ἐνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων

Sometimes the placement of an embedded subordinate clause may not correspond:

c) Luke 1:4

ut cognoscas eorum verborum, de quibus eruditus es, firmatum

ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν

In the Latin example above, the relative clause follows the antecedent (here, *verborum*) of the relative pronoun (*quibus*). In Greek, on the other hand, the relative clause precedes the antecedent (λόγων) of the relative pronoun (ὧν).

The placement of a postpositive conjunction/particle may also not correspond:

d) Matthew 9:6

Ut sciatis autem...

ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε...

For other examples of minor word order differences see Mk. 6:36; Lk. 9:12; 14:10; 22:30.

Some deviations from the word order of the Greek Vorlage should be considered major in that a major argument of the clause (subject, verb, object, indirect object) may be placed differently in the Latin from that in the Greek. For example, clauses that are OV in Greek may be VO in Latin:

e) Matthew 5:25

ne forte tradat te adversarius...

μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδικος...⁴

(see also Mk. 10:13, 14:10; Lk. 12:58, 14:29 [dative object in both languages])

The placement of the indirect object may also not correspond:

f) Matthew 19:13

ut manus eis imponeret... (I.O. precedes the verb)

ἵνα τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθῇ αὐτοῖς (I.O. follows the verb)

(see also Lk. 14:12 for an example of indirect object word-order discrepancy).

A clause that is VO in Greek may be OV in Latin:

g) Mark 9:22

ut eum⁵ perderet

ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν

(see also Lk. 14:12).

A clause containing a copula + noun in Greek may show a noun + copula in Latin:

h) Mark 14:2

ne forte tumultus fieret populi (notice the hyperbaton in Latin)

μήποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ

⁴ Although the Greek pronoun *σε* is an enclitic whereas the Latin pronoun *te* is not, this has no bearing upon the position of the Latin pronoun, since *te* may precede or follow the verb. Hence, the fact that Latin *te* follows the verb whereas the corresponding Greek *σε* precedes it is an important and significant deviation.

⁵ The preverbal position of *eum* may be due to its functioning as an enclitic.

The position of a prepositional phrase in respect to the verb may not correspond:

i) Mark 4:22

ut in palam veniat (P.P. before the verb)

ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν (P.P. after the verb)

A verb-final clause in Greek may appear as a verb-initial clause in Latin:

j) John 13:18

sed ut impleatur Scriptura

ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ

(see also John 14:16).

An entire complement not belonging to a purpose clause in Greek may be located within such a clause in Latin. Consider the following passage in Latin (Jn. 6:15):

Iesus ergo, cum cognovisset quia venturi essent, ut raperent eum et facerent eum regem...

‘Jesus, therefore, when he had learned that they were about to come in order that they might take him and make him king...’

Note that *raperent* is a finite verb in the imperfect subjunctive, seeing that it is a main verb in the purpose clause. Also note that *raperent* is coordinated with a second verb, *facerent*. Now, consider the Greek Vorlage:

Ἰησοῦς οὖν γινούς ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάζειν αὐτὸν ἵνα ποιήσωσιν βασιλέα...

‘Jesus, therefore, having known that they were about to come and seize him, in order that they might make [him] king...’

Notice that ἀρπάζειν is in the present active infinitive and not part of the subordinate purpose clause. A literal, slavish translation of the Greek Vorlage into Latin would expectedly yield *...quia venturi et rapturi essent eum, ut facerent regem...*, which does not occur. The question, then, is whether Jerome's translation of this passage is from our own received text or from a different Greek Vorlage.

This problem of word-order discrepancy concerns not only the above passage, but all passages in which there exists no direct word-for-word correspondence. Why does Jerome translate the way he does, especially when the Latin can adequately express the corresponding Greek ideas? These discrepancies in word order may be explained in two ways:

- 1) Jerome was working with a Greek Vorlage slightly different from our own.
- 2) Jerome perceived the word order in some Greek passages as stylistically unappealing in Latin. Therefore, he made appropriate adjustments for the sake of style and smoothness of reading.

The fact that there exists a large number of manuscripts with variant readings does not preclude the first possibility; that Jerome's translation philosophy was to render the text into Latin as literally as possible without violating the conventions of Latin does not preclude the second.

4.1.1.3 Mood

In the vast majority of passages involving purpose clauses, the Latin and Greek have the corresponding verb in the subjunctive mood. There exists a small number of cases, however, in which there is no direct mood-to-mood correspondence. These anomalies belong exclusively to the Greek Vorlage, as the Latin always exhibits the subjunctive. Hence, in addition to the subjunctive mood, the Greek may exhibit in purpose clauses the indicative mood of either the future or present tenses.

These anomalous passages in Greek may be categorized into two types: 1) those showing the subjunctive rather than the indicative mood in certain manuscripts; 2) those showing the indicative mood in all the most reliable manuscripts. The following are representative examples of the first type:

a) Matthew 7:6

ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis et conversi dirumpant vos

μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ρήξουσιν ὑμᾶς

(some manuscripts have καταπατήσωσιν)

Notice that in Latin the subjunctive occurs in both verbs; but in Greek, only the second verb is in the subjunctive, the first verb being in the future indicative.

b) Mark 14:2

ne forte tumultus fieret populi

μήποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ (some manuscripts have γένηται)

Here, the Latin imperfect subjunctive *fieret* corresponds to the Greek future indicative ἔσται.

c) Luke 14:10

ut...dicat tibi

ἵνα...ἔρῃ σοι (some manuscripts have εἴπῃ)

The Latin present subjunctive corresponds to the Greek future indicative.

d) John 9:3

ut et discipuli tui videant opera tua

ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα (some manuscripts have θεωρήσωσιν)

The Latin present subjunctive corresponds to the Greek future indicative.

The following passages are indicative of the second type:

e) Matthew 13:15

ne quando oculis videant...et sanem eos

μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς... καὶ ιάσομαι αὐτούς

All verbs in the Latin passage are in the subjunctive mood, as are all the verbs in the corresponding Greek—save one: ιάσομαι, which is future indicative. The Greek manuscript evidence indicates no alternate reading; therefore, one may safely conclude that ιάσομαι not only is the intended form, but also may not belong to the subordinate purpose clause. Jerome, however, did not reach this conclusion, but instead understood ιάσομαι to belong to the subordinate clause, this being indicated by his translation of ιάσομαι (a Greek future) as *sanem* (a Latin subjunctive). Had Jerome perceived ιάσομαι as independent of the subordinate clause, one would expect the future indicative form *sanabo* rather than the present subjunctive *sanem*. See also Jn. 12:40 for a near exact comparable passage.

f) Luke 11:35

Vide ergo, ne lumen...tenebrae sint

σκόπει οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς...σκότος ἔστιν

The Latin present subjunctive here corresponds to the Greek present indicative. Why the Greek displays the indicative ἔστιν rather than the subjunctive ᾗ is unclear, especially in light of the fact that the clause is introduced by μή, which normally requires the subjunctive. Perhaps the indicative form occurs to indicate vividness, or a level of certitude.

4.1.1.4 Aspect/tense

Since Latin lacks the notion of aspect as a separate grammatical category, the existence of a direct aspect-to-aspect correlation might seem impossible. In a general sense, this is true,

especially in regard to purpose clauses, seeing that these clauses primarily contain verbs in the subjunctive mood, the issue of tense being peripheral if non-existent. Tense in the Greek subjunctive is a matter of aspect, not time. Although tense does concern time in the Latin subjunctive, the time indicated is not independent, but dependent upon that of the main verb; hence, tense in the Latin subjunctive indicates *sequential* time or, more accurately, *time concord*. The contrast between the Greek and Latin verb systems in purpose clauses may be underscored as follows:

NT Greek System	Latin Vulgate System
Aspect driven	Tense driven
Sequentially independent	Sequence based
Multiple moods possible	Subjunctive mood only
Consistent grammatical nuance ⁶	Inconsistent lexical nuance ⁷

It must be noted that aspect is not entirely absent from Latin; it simply does not exist as a separate identifiable grammatical category, being intricately connected to tense. For example, the Latin subjunctive contains two primary and two secondary tenses. The difference between the two primary tenses (present and perfect subjunctive), as well as that between the two secondary ones (imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive) is one not merely of *tense* but of *aspect*, the present and imperfect denoting imperfective, and the perfect and pluperfect denoting perfective aspect.

The correspondences of mood between Latin and Greek telic constructions are complex and reflect the peculiarities of the hypotactic structure of each language. The following correspondences will be examined:

⁶ This refers to the dichotomy of present vs. aorist aspect, which the Greek consistently indicates grammatically either by a variation of the stem, inflectional suffix, or both.

⁷ The Vulgate rarely attempts to calque the Greek aspectual dichotomy of present vs. aorist. To do so, however, Latin must employ lexical rather than grammatical means. Even in these rare instances, the Latin usage is inconsistent, as this section will subsequently make apparent.

Greek	Latin
Present subjunctive	Present subjunctive
Present subjunctive	Imperfect subjunctive
Aorist subjunctive	Present subjunctive
Aorist subjunctive	Imperfect subjunctive
Aorist subjunctive	Perfect subjunctive
Perfect subjunctive	Present subjunctive
Present indicative	Present subjunctive
Present imperative	Present subjunctive
Future indicative	Present subjunctive
Future indicative	Imperfect subjunctive

4.1.1.4.1 Greek present subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

In the Synoptic gospels, this correspondence is closely connected to verbs of being or perception (either physical or mental). Since the notion of an aorist of the verb εἰμί in Greek is a logical impossibility, the absence of the aorist subjunctive of this verb is neither unusual nor unexpected. The presence of the Latin present subjunctive is purely based upon the rule for sequence of tenses, with the verb in the main clause being in a primary tense and mandating the primary sequence of tenses, as the following example shows:

a) Matthew 6:4

ut sit eleemosyna tua in abscondito

ὅπως ᾗ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ

Verbs of both physical and mental perception are frequent and may even occur within the same clause:

b) Mark 4:12

ut...audientes audiant et non intellegant

ἵνα...ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν

In John's gospel,⁸ verbs of emotion, excitement or wonder often occur with this correspondence:

c) John 4:36

ut et qui seminat, simul gaudeat et qui metit

ἵνα ὁ σπείρων ὁμοῦ χαίρῃ καὶ ὁ θερίζων

In addition, verbs indicating spiritual or theological significance (i.e., *believe, trust, remain, possess eternal life, know truth*, etc.) are common in this correspondence:

d) John 3:15

ut omnis, qui credit, in ipso habeat vitam aeternam

ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον

4.1.1.4.2 Greek present subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This correspondence, found mostly in Mark's gospel, is comparatively rare in occurrence, the following being representative examples:

a) Mark 3:9

ne comprimerent eum

ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν

b) Luke 18:15

ut eos tangeret

ἵνα αὐτῶν ἅπτηται

c) John 8:6

ut possent accusare eum

ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ

⁸ The majority of clauses containing this correspondence belong to John's gospel.

The present subjunctive of the Greek indicates durative aspect; the imperfect subjunctive of the Latin, secondary tense sequence. This correspondence clearly exemplifies the contrast in the verbal systems between the two languages.

4.1.1.4.3 Greek aorist subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

This is the most commonly occurring Latin-Greek mood correspondence in purpose clauses in the gospels. It occurs with near equal frequency in the Synoptics, and—compared to the Synoptics—with more than double frequency in John. The following passages are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 6:2

ut honorificentur ab hominibus

ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

b) Mark 5:12

ut in eos introeamus

ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθωμεν

c) Luke 6:34

ut recipiant aequalia

ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν τὰ ἴσα

d) John 1:22

ut responsum demus...

ἵνα ἀπόκρισιν δῶμεν

The Greek aorist subjunctive indicates punctiliar aspect or a view of the action as a whole; the Latin present subjunctive indicates primary tense sequence.

4.1.1.4.4. Greek aorist subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This is the second most commonly occurring Greek-Latin mood correspondence in the gospel purpose clauses, the Greek aorist subjunctive indicating punctiliar aspect, and the Latin imperfect subjunctive conforming to the secondary tense sequence. The following passages are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 12:10

ut accusarent eum

ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ

b) Mark 3:10

ut illum tangerent

ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται

c) Luke 20:20

ut caperent eum in sermone

ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου

d) John 1:19

ut interrogarent eum

ἵνα ἐρωτήσωσιν αὐτόν

4.1.1.4.5 Greek aorist subjunctive : Latin perfect subjunctive

This correspondence occurs only once in purpose clauses in the four gospels. Consider the following:

Mark 1:44

Vide, nemini quidquam dixeris

ὄρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἶπης

If this clause genuinely denotes purpose, then we should expect *dicas*. The presence of the perfect subjunctive in Latin may be explained as an attempt by Jerome to express the perfective aspect of the Greek aorist. In other clauses of caution containing the aorist subjunctive in Greek, no attempt is made to express the Latin as here in Mk. 1:44. For example, in Lk. 21:8 we have in Greek the following:

βλέπετε μὴ πλανηθῆτε

One might have expected Jerome to render the Greek into Latin as follows:

Videte, ne seducti sitis

However, the actual Latin is: *Videte, ne seducamini*. Hence, if *dixeris* in Mk. 1:44 is the result of an attempt by Jerome to calque the aspect of the Greek aorist, it is an inconsistent one.

4.1.1.4.6 Greek perfect subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence occurs only in the Synoptic gospels and treats the same Greek lexeme: οἶδα. The correspondence is rare, occurring only once in each of the Synoptics, the three occurrences closely relating the same narrative:

Matthew 9:6 (see also Mk. 2:10 and Lk. 5:24)

Ut sciatis autem...

ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε...

The verb οἶδα, although it is morphologically perfect, is semantically present. Recognizing this, Jerome employs the Latin present subjunctive (*sciatis*), thereby demonstrating his understanding of this usage and meaning of οἶδα.

4.1.1.4.7 Greek present indicative : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence is rare in the gospels and occurs with clauses of caution.

Luke 11:35

Vide ergo, ne lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sint

σκόπει οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἔστί

4.1.1.4.8 Greek present imperative : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence is rare in the gospels and occurs with clauses of caution.

Matthew 24:6

Videte, ne turbemini

ὁρᾶτε μὴ θροεῖσθε

4.1.1.4.9 Greek future indicative : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence, albeit rare, occurs in every gospel except Mark's. That Jerome made no attempt to calque the Greek future in these clauses attests to his adherence to the constraints of Latin syntax. The following are examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 7:6

ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis...

μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν...

b) Luke 22:30

ut...sedeatis super thronos...

ἵνα...καθήσεσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων...

c) John 7:3

ut et discipuli tui videant opera tua...

ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα...

4.1.1.4.10 Greek future indicative : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This correspondence is rare and occurs only in Mark and Luke. What aspectual nuance is being conveyed by the Greek future is unclear, although the future tense in these clauses seems to connote an aspectual nuance closer to that of the aorist than of the present.

a) Mark 14:2

ne forte tumultus fieret populi

μήποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ

b) Luke 20:10

ut de fructu vineae darent illi

ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν αὐτῷ

4.1.1.4.11 Summary observations

Latin clearly lacks a grammatical means to render adequately the notion of aspect as found in Greek. This inadequacy becomes more evident under the examination of clauses which in Greek contain verbs in both the present and aorist. In every case, the Latin must be rendered according to its own syntactic constraints. Consider the following:

a) Mark 4:12

ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν... ‘so that, seeing, they may see and not see...’

Notice that the verb βλέπωσιν is in the present subjunctive, but the verb ἴδωσιν is in the aorist subjunctive.⁹ Now, consider the Latin rendering of this passage:

b) *ut videntes videant et non videant*

The clear distinction in aspect in Greek is lost in the Latin translation, which shows the present subjunctive for both verbs.

⁹ Another interesting feature of this passage should be noted: βλέπωσιν and ἴδωσιν are not different aspects of the same lexeme (the aorist of βλέπωσιν is βλέψωσιν); ἴδωσιν is actually the suppletive aorist subjunctive of the verb ὁράω.

It is not conclusive that Jerome failed to indicate, at least in some passages, an aspectual nuance in imitation of the Greek Vorlage. For example, consider the following:

c) John 10:38

ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε ‘that you may know and continue to know’

Here, we see the same lexeme being employed both in the aorist and present subjunctive, the passage indicating a clear contrast in aspect. But consider the following Latin rendering:

d) *ut cognoscatis et sciatis*

Latin employs two different lexemes in an attempt to bring about a nuance of the Greek aspectual dichotomy. For the most part, Jerome’s use of *cognosco* is a consistent rendering of the aorist of the Greek verb γινώσκω. However, the usage is not entirely consistent:

e) John 17:23

ut cognoscat mundus...

ἵνα γινώσκη ὁ κόσμος...

Here, *cognoscat* does not correspond to the Greek aorist subjunctive, but to the Greek present subjunctive. Perhaps *sciat* should be the expected form, based upon the evidence of the correspondence in Jn. 10:38. The overall statistics of frequency concerning aspect/tense are given in the table below.

Table 4.7 Frequency of aspect/tense correspondence in purpose clauses

Mood correspondence	Frequency							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greek pres. sub. : Latin pres. sub.	1	2	2	5	7	16	34	77
Greek pres. sub. : Latin impf. sub.	0	0	5	71.4	1	14.3	1	14.3
Greek aor. sub. : Latin pres. sub.	26	20	20	16	24	19	58	45
Greek aor. sub. : Latin impf. sub.	17	30	12	21	6	10.5	22	38.5
Greek aor. sub. : Latin perf. sub.	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
Greek perf. sub. : Latin pres. sub.	1	33.33	1	33.33	1	33.33	0	0
Greek pres. ind. : Latin pres. sub.	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0
Greek fut. ind. : Latin pres. sub.	1	25	0	0	2	50	1	25
Greek fut. ind. : Latin impf. sub.	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0

4.1.2 Telic clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence

Not all the Greek and Latin passages exhibit upon comparison a direct purpose clause-to-purpose clause correspondence. A number of purpose clauses in Latin correspond to infinitival phrases in Greek, which may contain either the plain or articular infinitive. In rare occurrences ὥστε or ὡς + the infinitive may be employed.

The articular infinitive to express purpose in Greek may employ either εἰς or πρὸς τὸ + infinitive, or τοῦ + infinitive. Consider the following examples:

a) Matthew 26:2 (εἰς τὸ + infinitive)

καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ‘and the Son of Man is being given over to be crucified’

et Filius hominis traditur, ut crucifigatur ‘and the Son of Man is handed over, that he may be crucified’

b) Matthew 6:1 (πρὸς τὸ + infinitive)

Προσέχετε [δὲ] τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς ‘Be careful not to do your righteousness in the presence of men to be viewed by them’

Attendite, ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus ut videamini ab eis ‘Give heed, lest you do your justice in the presence of men, in order that you may be seen by them’

c) Matthew 3:13 (τοῦ + infinitive)

Τότε παραγίνεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ‘Then Jesus comes from Galilee upon the Jordan to John to be ritually immersed by him’

Tunc venit Iesus a Galilaea in Iordanem ad Ioannem, ut baptizaretur ab eo ‘Then Jesus came from Galilee into the Jordan to John, so that he might be baptized by him’

The conjunction ὥστε or ὡς may be used with the infinitive to denote purpose. The usage is not common. Consider the following:

d) Matthew 27:1

πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης συμβούλιον ἔλαβον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν ‘And with the morning having occurred, all the high priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus so as to put him to death.’

Mane autem facto, consilium inierunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores populi adversus Iesus, ut eum morti traderent ‘But when early morning happened, all the chiefs of the priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus, so that they might hand him over to death.’

It is possible, if not probable, that the Greek may connote a probable or natural result as well as a purpose. The Latin, however, does not seem to have such connotation of result, especially in light of the fact that the typical indicators of a result clause, i.e., *tam*, *tantus*, *ita*, *sic*, etc., are noticeably lacking in the main clause.

Now consider another example:

e) Luke 4:29

καὶ ἀναστάντες ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ’ οὗ ἡ πόλις ὠκοδόμητο αὐτῶν ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν ‘And having stood up, they threw him outside of the city and led him as far as a brow of the hill upon which their city had been built so as to throw him off the cliff.’

Et surrexerunt et eiecerunt illum extra civitatem et duxerunt illum usque ad supercilium montis, supra quem civitas illorum erat aedificata, ut praecipitarent ‘And they arose and threw him outside the city and led him as far as the brow of the mountain upon which their city had been built, so that they might cast him headlong.’

This passage seems clearly to indicate a purpose construction in both cases, for Jesus was not actually thrown from the precipice. That being the case, it is illogical for either of these constructions to denote result.¹⁰

The bare infinitive may also signify purpose. Consider the following examples:

f) Matthew 4:1

Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου

Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu, ut tentaretur a Diabolo

¹⁰ There is only one passage in the four gospels with ὥς + the infinitive in Greek that corresponds to a Latin purpose clause: ὥς ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ ‘to prepare for him’ (Lk. 9:52; cf. the corresponding Latin: *ut pararent illi*).

g) Mark 13:15

ὁ [δὲ] ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω μήδε εἰσελθάτω ἄραί τι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ

qui autem super tectum, ne descendat nec introeat, ut tollat quid de domo sua

h) Luke 2:3

καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν

Et ibant omnes, ut profiterentur, singuli in suam civitatem

i) John 13:24

νεύει οὖν τούτῳ Σίμων Πέτρος πυθέσθαι τίς ἂν εἴη περὶ οὗ λέγει

Innuit ergo huic Simon Petrus, ut interrogaret: <<Quis est, de quo dicit?>>

Rare examples exist in which a participial phrase in Greek (obviously denoting purpose) corresponds to a Latin purpose clause:

j) Luke 20:20

Καὶ παρατηρήσαντες ἀπέστειλαν ἐγκαθέτους ὑποκρινομένους ἑαυτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι

Et observantes miserunt insidiatores, qui se iustos simularent

The relative purpose clause may also be construed to be a relative clause of characteristic. The noun *insidiatores* clearly substantiates this interpretation. The construction in Jn. 4:23 provides a similar explication, in which the Latin relative clause *qui adorent eum* ‘who may worship him’ corresponds to the Greek participial phrase τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτόν. The Latin hypotactic construction may either denote a relative clause of purpose or a clause of characteristic. Corresponding to Greek τοιούτους, the Latin qualitative adjective *tales* in the main clause seems to suggest the latter.

4.1.3 Telic to non-telic clausal correspondence

A number of telic clauses in Latin correspond to non-telic clauses in Greek, which may denote the following:

- 1) coordination
- 2) imperative
- 3) deliberative question
- 4) relative clause
- 5) manner
- 6) ambiguity (purpose, result, or indirect request)
- 7) substantival clause

The following examples are given for comparative examination:

a) Matthew 5:15

καὶ λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ‘and it shines for all those in the house’ (coordination in Greek)

ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt ‘so that it may shine for all who are in the house’ (purpose clause in Latin)

b) Matthew 9:30

ὁρᾶτε μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω ‘see, let no one know’ (3rd pers. imperative)

Videte, ne quis sciat ‘See that no one knows’ (clause of caution)

c) Matthew 15:32

καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν ‘and they do not have what they are to eat’ (indirect deliberative question)

et non habent, quod manducent ‘and they do not have [anything] which they may eat’ (relative purpose clause)¹¹

d) Matthew 21:41

καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐκδώσεται ἄλλοις γεωργοῖς, οἵτινες ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν ‘and he will lease the vineyard to other farmers, who will deliver to him the fruits in their seasons’ (relative clause with the verb in the future indicative)

et vineam locabit aliis agricolis, qui reddant ei fructum temporibus suis ‘and he will lease the vineyard to other farmers, so that they may return to him the fruit in its times’

(relative purpose clause or relative clause of characteristic)

e) Matthew 22:15

Τότε πορευθέντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον ὅπως αὐτὸν παγιδεύσωσιν ἐν λόγῳ

‘Then, having departed, the Pharisees took counsel how they might trap him in a word’

(ambiguous, either a purpose clause with the conjunction ὅπως, or a clause of manner)

Tunc abeuntes pharisaei consilium inierunt, ut caperent eum in sermone

‘Then, departing, the Pharisees took counsel, so that they might take him in a word’

(purpose clause)

¹¹ It is unlikely that the Latin passage is an indirect question, for Latin normally requires an interrogative to introduce the subordinate clause. Although *quod* may function as an interrogative, it is usually limited to adjectival usage (ex. *quod templum* ‘which temple?’ *quod corpus* ‘which body?’). The use of *quod* to introduce a relative purpose clause is not without precedent: *faenum condito quod edint boves* ‘thou shalt store hay that the oxen may eat’ (Cato *R. R.* 53. Example taken from Woodcock 1959: 109). The issue concerning Mt. 15:32 is the antecedent of *quod*, which must be implied and indefinite in order for this passage logically to denote purpose.

f) Matthew 27:32

Ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ εὗρον ἄνθρωπον Κυρηναῖον ὀνόματι Σίμωνα, τοῦτον ἠγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ ‘But going out, they found a Cyrenian man, Simon in name; this [one] they forced so that he might take up his cross’ (difficult to classify the clausal type, although it appears to be a purpose clause)

Exeuntes autem invenerunt hominem Cyrenaeum nomine Simonem; hunc angariaverunt, ut tolleret crucem eius ‘But going out, they found a Cyrenian man, Simon in name; this [one] they forced to take up his cross’ (without a comparison with the Greek Vorlage, the Latin strongly suggests an indirect request)

g) John 6:50

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνων, ἵνα τις ἐξ αὐτοῦ φάγῃ καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ‘This is the bread, the one coming down out of heaven, that anyone may eat of it and not die’ (could be an explanatory clause giving additional information concerning the role of the heavenly bread, perhaps as a heightened contrast with the manna of the desert)

Hic est panis de caelo descendens, ut, si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur ‘This is the bread coming down from heaven, so that, if anyone will have eaten of the very [bread], he may not die’ (Latin purpose clause)

Greek clauses which may be designated as substantival clauses and corresponding to Latin purpose clauses are found solely in John’s gospel.

One final note concerning telic clausal correspondences needs to be made. One clause that is clearly a final clause in Greek is an independent clause with the main verb in the jussive subjunctive in Latin:

h) Mark 14:49

καθ' ἡμέραν ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων καὶ οὐκ ἐκρατήσατέ με· ἀλλ' ἵνα
πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί 'Everyday I was in your presence teaching in the temple and you
 did not take hold of me; but in order that the Scriptures may be fulfilled'

Cotidie eram apud vos in templo docens et non me tenuistis ; sed adimpleantur

Scripturae 'Everyday I was among you teaching in the temple and you did not restrain
 me; but let the Scriptures be fulfilled'

It may be argued that a careless scribe omitted *ut* after *sed*. The presence of *ut* would certainly produce a purpose clause, but with one crucial problem: a violation of the sequence of tenses. Although there are a number of anomalies in regard to clausal correspondence in purpose clauses between Latin and Greek (e.g., word order, clausal type, mood), there is one aspect of final clause construction that Jerome refuses to violate, namely, the sequence of tenses rule. In addition, given the number of textual variants, one might expect a manuscript to exist with the presence of *ut*. No such manuscript is attested. Hence, the argument for scribal error is extremely weak.

4.2 Syncritical analysis of result clauses

4.2.1 Ecclastic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

One of the more problematic issues concerning ecclastic hypotaxis is determining whether there exists an actual clausal-to-clausal correspondence between the Latin and Greek constructions. If one examines the Greek in comparison with the Latin, the answer is a resounding 'no.' A number of Latin clauses, read apart from a comparison with the Greek Vorlage, strongly suggest result, not purpose: *et erat velatum ante eos, ut non sentirent illud* 'and it had been veiled before them, so that they did not perceive it' (Lk. 9:45). The hypotactic

construction appears to be a consecutive clause; the presence of the negative particle *non* (and not *ne*) supports this view, since *non* does not normally occur in purpose clauses. The Greek Vorlage, on the other hand, points to a kind of construction different from what is seen in the Latin: καὶ ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό ‘and it had been concealed from them, so that they might not perceive it.’ The conjunction ἵνα is normally employed to denote purpose in Greek, non result. If the above Greek subordinate clause denoted result, we would expect ὥστε with either the indicative (actual result) or the infinitive (natural result).

This conclusion is not to say, however, that ἵνα in Greek can never indicate result. Consider the following: ῥαββί, τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ ‘Rabbi, who sinned, this [one] or his parents, that he was born blind?’ (Jn. 9:2). Although it is not an impossibility, it is unlikely that parents would willfully sin in order to have a blind son. Hence to interpret every ἵνα clause as denoting purpose can lead to awkward ethical or moral interpretations. That Latin contains *ut caecus nasceretur* does not linguistically settle the matter, for such a Latin construction can signify either a purpose or a result clause. Let us assume, therefore, that contextual sense rather than rigid syntactic rules indicates better the semantic and intended syntax of the clause. That having been stated, the following passages have been categorized as having clausal-to-clausal correspondence:

Luke (1:43; 9:45; 16:26)

John (3:16; 9:2; 12:38; 12:40; 12:42)

4.2.1.1 Conjunctions

There exists no one set conjunction-to-conjunction correspondence in ecclastic clauses in Latin and Greek. We have already examined *ut* : ἵνα (Jn. 9:2) and *ut non* : ἵνα μή (Lk. 9:45) correspondences. Other conjunctival correspondences are:

a) *ut non* : ὅπως μή

Et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint, neque inde ad nos transmeare

καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἐνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν (Lk. 16:26)

b) *ut* : ὥστε

Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret

οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν (Jn. 3:16)

The above passage from John clearly indicates result, as the conjunction ὥστε attests. The construction in Lk. 16:26 above is ambiguous, indicating either purpose or result. It could be agreed that, perhaps, the author intended both constructions (telic and ecbatic) to be understood.

4.2.1.2 Word order

In this correspondence, the Latin word order slavishly imitates the Greek Vorlage. One minor exception exists in which the Latin conjunction *ut* and the negative particle *non* are intervened by the prepositional phrase *de synagoga*: *sed propter pharisaeos non confitebantur, ut de synagoga non eicerentur* ‘but on account of the Pharisees they would not confess, so that they were not being thrown out from the synagogue’ (Jn. 12:42). In the Greek, however, the conjunction and negative particle are contiguous: ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς Φαρισαίους οὐχ ὁμολόγουν ἵνα μὴ ἀποσυνάγωγοι γένωνται. This apparent discrepancy can be best explained as a result of a lack of direct correspondence of expressing the notion of excommunication. Greek expresses this concept with an adjective + copulative (here, the verb γένωνται, aorist subjunctive middle of γίνομαι, ‘become’). Latin employs a transitive verb (in the imperfect subjunctive passive) + prepositional phrase. The position of the negative particle indicates the argument that is to be

negated. In Greek, that argument is the adjective ἀποσυνάγωγοι; in Latin, it is the verb *eicerentur*.

4.2.1.3 Mood

The mood correspondence in result clauses is almost always the Greek subjunctive corresponding to the Latin subjunctive. However, there are a couple of clauses in which the Latin subjunctive corresponds to a Greek verb in the indicative, as the following indicate:

a) John 3:16

ut Filium suum unigenitum daret (imperfect subjunctive)

ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν (aorist indicative)

Latin result clauses require the verb in the subjunctive mood. In result clauses in Greek, however, the verb typically occurs in the infinitive (natural result) or in the indicative (actual result), a distinction in result clauses that Latin does not make. The presence of the aorist indicative in the above clause in Greek clearly signifies *actual result*.

b) John 12:40

ut non videant oculis, et intellegant corde et convertantur, et sanem eos (present subjunctive)

ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν, καὶ ιάσομαι αὐτούς (future indicative)

When viewed non-comparatively, the Greek verb *ιάσομαι* ought to be understood as being within a coordinate—not subordinate—clause. On the other hand, unless one takes the Latin verb *sanem* to be a type of hortatory subjunctive (i.e., ‘let me heal’), the corresponding Latin construction must be understood as part of the subordinate clause, for the verb *sanem* is in the subjunctive. The entire passage should probably be interpreted as a purpose clause in Greek, but

in Latin it may well indicate result, especially in light of the fact that the negative particle of the subordinate clause in Latin is *non* and not *ne*, a distinction that frequently differentiates result from purpose.

4.2.1.4 Aspect/tense

The Greek-Latin correspondence of aspect/tense in result clauses is similar to that in purpose clauses, with one notable exception. In purpose clauses in Greek, aspect—not tense—plays the major role. The same may be said in regard to those passages analyzable as result clauses which exhibit the subjunctive mood. Clauses in Greek, however, introduced by the conjunction ὥστε employ the indicative mood. Hence, tense becomes an important factor in the construction of such clauses. Only one passage in the four gospels (John 3:16) exhibits the correspondence Greek ὥστε : Latin *ut*.

Since there are by far fewer result clauses in Greek and Latin than purpose clauses, there are fewer correspondences as well as correspondence types. The following correspondences of result clauses will be examined comprehensively:

Greek	Latin
Present subjunctive	Present subjunctive
Aorist subjunctive	Present subjunctive
Aorist subjunctive	Imperfect subjunctive
Future indicative	Present subjunctive
Aorist indicative	Imperfect subjunctive

4.2.1.4.1 Greek present subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

Only one passage in the gospels exhibits this correspondence:

Luke 16:26

Et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint, neque inde ad nos transmeare

καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ
θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
διαπερῶσιν

In the Greek passage, the presence of μή + the subjunctive seems to indicate purpose. In the Latin passage, however, *ut non* + the subjunctive normally indicates result. Either purpose or result would make sense here. The present subjunctive in the Latin subordinate clause shows that the verb *firmitum est* must be taken as a true present perfect and not as an aoristic perfect. The corresponding Greek verb ἐστήρικται (perfect tense) further substantiates this claim. The present subjunctive of the Greek verb δύνωνται signifies aspect rather than tense.

4.2.1.4.2 Greek aorist subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence is structurally identical to that found in the purpose clauses: the Greek aorist underscoring aspect; the Latin present, that of tense concord. Although the Greek subordinate clause in the following passage clearly indicates purpose, the corresponding Latin subordinate clause is ambiguous, as was the Latin clause seen in the previous section (4.2.1.4.1):

John 12:40

*Excaecavit oculos eorum et induravit eorum cor, ut non videant oculis, et
intellegant corde et convertantur...*

Τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν ἵνα μὴ
ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν...

4.2.1.4.3 Greek aorist subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This is the most common of the result clausal-to-clausal correspondences. The Greek clauses most likely are intended to express purpose, but the Latin clauses are ambiguous and,

according to their structure, may well indicate both purpose and result. Consider the following example:

Luke 9:45

et erat velatum ante eos ut non sentirent illud

καὶ ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό

The Latin imperfect subjunctive indicates secondary tense sequence; the Greek aorist subjunctive reflects aspect.

4.2.1.4.4 Greek future indicative : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence, which occurs in Jn. 12:40, has already been mentioned in section 4.2.1.2. This passage shows not only the contrast of Greek aspect and Latin tense concord, but also the discrepancy in the two languages in regard to mood:

et sanem eos

καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς

As stated earlier, the apparent discrepancy could be the result of these verbs belonging in their respective languages to different clausal types (coordinate clause in Greek, subordinate clause in Latin). If that is the case, then not only is this an infelicitous example, but it also poses the question of why Jerome chose to translate the clause subordinately (i.e., with the verb in the subjunctive), and not coordinately (with the verb probably in the indicative, namely, *sanabo*).

4.2.1.4.5 Greek aorist indicative : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This is the only correspondence in which the Greek exhibits ὥστε + finite verb to indicate result where the corresponding Latin clearly also signifies result. Consider the following:

John 3:16

Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret (the adverb *sic* and the context in the main clause clearly indicate result)

οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν

(the structure of the subordinate clause clearly points to result)

The above Greek Vorlage underscores the synergy of tense and aspect in the verb ἔδωκεν (aorist indicative). The corresponding Latin employs the imperfect subjunctive in accordance with the rules for sequence of tenses.

4.2.2 Ecclatc clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence

The majority of ecclatc clauses in Latin correspond in the gospels to Greek infinitival phrases, the greatest part of which are introduced by the conjunctive particle ὥστε. The Latin constructions are almost always introduced by *ita ut* with one exception, in which the quantitative adjective *tantus* occurs. The following examples are representative of this type of correspondence:

a) Matthew 8:24

Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus ‘And behold, a great movement happened on the sea, so that the boat was being covered by waves’

καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων

Here, we see *ita ut* corresponding to ὥστε, and the finite imperfect subjunctive in Latin (*operiretur*) corresponding to the Greek infinitive (καλύπτεσθαι).

b) Mark 3:20

et convenit iterum turba, ita ut non possent neque panem manducare ‘and a crowd again came together, so that they could not even eat bread’

καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν [ὁ] ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ¹² ἄρτον φαγεῖν

c) Matthew 15:33

Unde nobis¹³ in deserto panes tantos, ut saturemus turbam tantam? ‘From where do we have in the desert so many loaves, that we may satisfy so large a crowd?’

Πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρεμίᾳ ἄρτοι τοσοῦτοι ὥστε χορτάσαι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον;

As in the case of clausal-to-clausal correspondence, this correspondence as well underscores the verbal system featured by each language: sequence of tenses in Latin;¹⁴ aspect in Greek, indicated by the aorist infinitive *χορτάσαι*.

Only Matthew and Mark exhibit this clausal-to-clausal correspondence. There are, however, two similar correspondences in Luke (2:6 and 5:7) that appear to exhibit this type of correspondence. Consider the following:

d) *impleti sunt dies, ut pareret* (Lk. 2:6)

Although the subordinate clause may well be interpreted as denoting purpose (i.e., ‘the days were fulfilled, so that she might give birth’), result seems to be a more logical connotation (‘the days were fulfilled, so that she gave birth’). The corresponding Greek, however, does not show the conjunction *ὥστε*, either with the indicative or the infinitive. Instead, the Greek employs the articular infinitive in the genitive case: ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν. The articular

¹² Μηδὲ and corresponding *neque* are here problematic. The manuscript evidence, however, strongly supports the text as given, except for a minor variant in some manuscripts of codex Sinaiticus which have μήτε instead of μηδέ.

¹³ Both the Latin and the Greek here display the dative of possession with an elliptical verb ‘to be’ (perhaps in the subjunctive if the passage is to be understood as a deliberative question, the Latin rendering *sit*, the Greek ᾗ; if not a deliberative question, then the verb would be in the indicative, the Latin being *est/erit*, the Greek ἐστίν/ἔσται).

¹⁴ Since the verb *saturemus* in the subordinate clause is in primary tense sequence, the elliptical verb in the main clause must also be in a primary tense.

infinitive in the genitive case, not being the object of a preposition governing the genitive, often denotes purpose, but can (rarely) signify result (Blass 1961: 206). Hence, the articular infinitive as used here in Lk. 2:6 does not preclude its being employed to denote result.

The other passage in Luke (5:7) also employs the articular infinitive in the genitive case, corresponding to the Latin *ut* + subjunctive.

4.2.3 Ecbatic-to-non-ecbatic clausal correspondence

This correspondence contains passages in Greek which may be understood as consecutive clauses denoting actual result. In all these examples except one (Mt. 14:7, which contains a consecutive coordinating particle in Greek, see Turner 1963), the corresponding Latin contains a coordinated main clause. Consider the following:

a) Matthew 12:12

πόσῳ οὖν διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος προβάτου ὥστε ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν καλῶς ποιεῖν¹⁵

‘By how much, therefore, is a man worth [more] than a sheep, so that it is lawful to do well on the Sabbaths’

The corresponding Latin clearly shows two independent clauses:

b) *Quanto igitur melior est homo ove! Itaque licet sabbatis bene facere* ‘Therefore, how much better is a man than a sheep! Therefore, it is permitted to do well on the Sabbaths’

The Latin clearly denotes a separate main clause, for the indicative mood of the verb *licet* precludes that the construction should denote result.

¹⁵ The Nestle-Aland 27th edition punctuates with a period following προβάτου, making the ὥστε clause a separate independent entity. However, the fact that punctuation is a later convention indicates that this is a judgment on the part of the editor(s). Hence, the above interpretation that I have proposed is not necessarily precluded.

4.3 Syncritical analysis of causal clauses

This section will analyze *mutatis mutandis* the structure of Latin and Greek aetiological clauses.

4.3.1 Aetiological clausal-to-clausal correspondence

4.3.1.1 Conjunctions

4.3.1.1.1 *Quia* : ὅτι

This is the most frequent causal correspondence in the four gospels. One may safely categorize this as the default correspondence for causal clauses:

a) Matthew 2:18

quia non sunt

ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν

b) Mark 5:9

quia multi sumus

ὅτι πολλοί ἐσμεν

c) Luke 1:48

quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae

ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ

d) John 1:15

quia prior me erat

ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν

In table 4.8, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel, with Luke (the longest gospel) and John exhibiting the most correspondences.

Table 4.8 Frequency of quia : ὅτι correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	41	12	70	95
% of Total	18.8	5.5	32.1	43.6

4.3.1.1.2 Quia : ἐπεὶ

The Greek conjunction ἐπεὶ seems to function in the NT as a stylistic variant of ὅτι. This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Matthew and once in John:

a) Matthew 27:6

quia pretium sanguinis est

ἐπεὶ τιμὴ αἱματός ἐστιν

b) John 13:29

quia loculos habebat Iudas

ἐπεὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν Ἰούδας

Because this correspondence has so rare a frequency, a statistical table is not necessary.

4.3.1.1.3 Quia : διότι

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels, the Greek conjunction διότι being a stylistic variant of ὅτι:

Luke 2:7

quia non erat eis locus in deversorio

διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι

4.3.1.1.4 Quoniam : ὅτι

The Latin conjunction *quoniam* often functions as a stylistic variant of *quia*. This correspondence with Greek ὅτι is the second most frequent one in causal clauses in the gospels. The following examples are representative of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 5:3

quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum

ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν

b) Mark 1:34

quoniam sciebant eum

ὅτι ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν

c) Luke 7:47

quoniam dilexit multum

ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ

d) *quoniam audisti me*

ὅτι ἤκουσάς με

Table 4.9 below gives the frequency statistics of this correspondence.

Table 4.9 Frequency of *quoniam* : *ὅτι* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	9	4	4	2
% of Total	47	21	21	11

4.3.1.1.5 *Quoniam* : διότι

This correspondence occurs only twice in the four gospels and only in Luke, διότι being a stylistic variant of ὅτι. Any semantic nuance exhibited by διότι is difficult to discern since the frequency of this conjunction is extremely small. The examples of this correspondence are given below in its entirety:

a) Luke 1:13

quoniam exaudita est deprecatio tua

διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου

b) Luke 21:28

quoniam appropinquat redemptio vestra

διότι ἐγγίξει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν

4.3.1.1.6 *Quoniam* : ἐπεὶ

This correspondence occurs infrequently and never in Mark's gospel. Below are examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 18:32

quoniam rogasti me

ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσάς με

b) Luke 1:34

quoniam virum non cognosco?

ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω;

c) John 19:31

quoniam Parasceve erat

ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν

The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 4.10 Frequency of *quoniam* : ἐπεὶ correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	2	0	1	1
% of Total	50	0	25	25

4.3.1.1.7 *Quoniam* : ἐπειδή

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels, ἐπειδή being a stylistic variant of ἐπεί:

Luke 11:6

quoniam amicus meus venit de via ad me, et non habeo, quod ponam ante illum

ἐπειδή φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ

4.3.1.1.8 *Quoniam* : ἐπειδήπερ

Like the previous correspondence, this correspondence occurs also only once in the four gospels. It is quite probable that ἐπειδήπερ is an emphatic form of ἐπεί or ἐπειδή, as the example below indicates:

Luke 1:1

Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem, quae in nobis
completae sunt, rerum...

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν
πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων...

Notice that Latin shows a flavoring particle *quidem* ('indeed') lacking a lexical correspondent in the Greek Vorlage. I maintain, however, that the Greek does demonstrate this nuance through the conjunction ἐπειδήπερ itself. Jerome certainly appears to have perceived this nuance, otherwise his inclusion of the particle *quidem* is inexplicable.¹⁶

4.3.1.1.9 *Quoniam* : ἀνθ' ὧν

This correspondence occurs also once in the four gospels and, again, only in Luke. The presence of ἀνθ' ὧν in the Greek clearly indicates an imitation of classical usage and is

¹⁶ Also note that ἐπειδήπερ refers to a fact already known (Blass 1961: 238).

indicative of Luke's refined Greek style. Jerome apparently lacks a means to calque effectively this polished style into Latin:

Luke 12:3

Quoniam, quae in tenebris dixistis, in lumine audientur

ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ἀκουσθήσεται

4.3.1.1.10 *Quod* : ὅτι

This correspondence occurs only three times in the gospel corpus, all in Luke (10:21; 12:17; 23:40), the Latin conjunction *quod* being a stylistic variant of *quia* and *quoniam*:

Luke 10:21

quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis

ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις

4.3.1.1.11 *Eo quod* : καθότι

This correspondence occurs only in Luke's gospel (1:7 and 19:9), καθότι being a stylistic variant of ὅτι. Jerome's use of *eo quod* is an obvious attempt to indicate this variation in Latin:

Luke 19:9

eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahae

καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν

4.3.1.1.12 *Eo quod* : ἀνθ' ὧν

This correspondence occurs in the gospels only once, in Lk. 19:44:

eo quod non cognoveris tempus visitationis tuae

ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνως τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου

Note that *eo quod* may also correspond to καθότι.

4.3.1.1.13 *Pro eo quod* : ἀνθ' ὧν

This correspondence is found solely in Luke's gospel:

Luke 1:20

pro eo quod non credidisti verbis meis

ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου

If Jerome employs (*pro*) *eo quod* as a calque to indicate stylistic variation occurring in the Greek, he does so inconsistently. Consider the following correspondences:

<u>Latin</u>	<u>Greek</u>
<i>eo quod</i>	καθότι
(<i>pro</i>) <i>eo quod</i>	ἀνθ' ὧν
<i>quoniam</i>	καθότι
	ἀνθ' ὧν
	ἐπεὶ
	ἐπειδὴ
	ἐπειδήπερ
	διότι
	ὅτι

Hence, no one-to-one correspondence occurs, even to indicate stylistic variation.

4.3.1.1.14 *Unde* : ὅθεν

It is debatable whether this correspondence should be classified as indicating cause. It probably denotes some nuance of result, although causal result might be a possible semantic property of this ecclastic relative adverbial conjunction. Its sole occurrence is found in Mt. 14:7:

unde cum iuramento pollicitus est ei dare, quodcumque postulasset

‘whence [or, for which reason/as a result of which] with an oath he promised to give her whatever she had demanded’

ὅθεν μεθ’ ὅρκου ὡμολόγησεν αὐτῇ δοῦναι, ὃν ἐὰν αἰτήσῃται

Unde : ὅθεν may indicate cause in one sense: as heading an elliptical clause, the information itself residing in the main clause. Hence, *unde* may indicate a *quia die natalis Herodis saltavit...*, and ὅθεν a γενεσίῳ δὲ γενομένοις τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὅτι ὤρχησατο...

4.3.1.2 Word order

In most cases, the word order of the Vulgate slavishly follows that of the Greek Vorlage; this element of syntax is observable regardless of clausal type, whether it be independent or dependent. There are notable exceptions, however, often stemming from basic differences in the Latin and Greek idioms as well as from the syntactic parametrical limitations of each language. The discrepancies in word order may be classified as follows:

- 1) discrepancies resulting from differences in idiomatic expressions;
- 2) minor discrepancies involving the placement of adverbs, prepositional phrases, possessives (possessive adjectives and genitival constructions), and demonstratives;
- 3) discrepancies due to the presence or absence of a word or phrase in the Latin that differs from the Greek;
- 4) discrepancies resulting from hyperbaton in Greek;
- 5) major discrepancies involving the placement of subject, verb, and object.

Let us briefly examine in succession each classification.

In a number of clauses, Latin exhibits VO or OV word order where the Greek correspondence contains an intransitive verb. Notice the following:

a) Matthew 5:7

quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur (SOV) ‘because they themselves will obtain mercy’

ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται (SV, intransitive verb) ‘because they themselves will be shown mercy’

b) Matthew 11:20

quia non egissent paenitentiam (VO) ‘because they had not performed repentance’

ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν (intransitive verb) ‘because they did not repent’

In the above examples, Jerome wavers in his choice of OV or VO, an indecisiveness based upon the lack of precise one-to-one correspondence in the above Greek idioms (ἐλεηθήσονται and μετενόησαν). In spite of this vacillation of word order, the Latin idiom clearly indicates native syntax and not a mere imitation of the Greek (see also Mt. 12:41; Lk. 11:32; Jn. 7:7, 39; 15:15). In one passage, contrary to the majority of instances where the Greek displays univertation but the Latin does not, the Latin shows a univertated idiom corresponding to a multi-worded Greek expression:

c) Luke 24:29

quoniam advesperascit et inclinata est iam dies

‘since it grows towards evening and the day has already been bent’

ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ κέκλινεν ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα

‘because it is toward evening and the day already has drawn to a close’

Sometimes the Latin and Greek do not correspond in their placement of adverbs, possessives, and demonstratives. Consider the following examples:

d) Matthew 15:32 (see also Jn. 2:25)

quia triduo iam perseverant mecum (adverb immediately precedes verb)

ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι (adverb immediately precedes noun phrase)

e) Matthew 5:34 (see also Mk. 7:19; Lk. 19:9; Jn. 9:17; 10:5; 15:15)

quia thronus Dei est (possessive precedes verb)

ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ (possessive follows verb)

f) Luke 16:8 (see also Lk. 16:24; Jn. 11:9)

quia filii huius saeculi... (demonstrative precedes modified noun)

ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου... (demonstrative follows modified noun)

In regard to placement of possessives, the Latin construction (whether a genitival construction or a possessive adjective) always *follows* the element possessed; the Greek, which always employs a genitive, almost always shows the possessed element preceding, i.e., in those cases where the two languages diverge in word order. Concerning demonstratives, whereas in Greek demonstratives follow the modified elements, they tend to precede them in Latin. In Jn. 16:11, however, Latin calques the structure of the Greek by placing the demonstrative *after* the modified noun: *quia princeps mundi huius iudicatus est* ‘because the prince of this world has been judged’ (cf. the Greek ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτου κέκριται). Jerome clearly prefers to place demonstratives before the modified elements. Why in the above passage he has chosen to ape the Greek syntax is unclear. Although it may be safely stated that the Greek Vorlage exhibits a freer word order in certain constructions, with the Latin mostly displaying a greater resistance to such variability, nevertheless this is only a general observation.

There is one passage in which the placement of a prepositional phrase does not correspond:

Luke 16:3

quia dominus meus aufert a me vilicationem

ὅτι ὁ κυριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

The reason for this discrepancy is unclear. Consider, however, the following:

John 19:20

quia prope civitatem erat locus (prope here functions as the head of a prepositional phrase preceding the verb erat)

ὅτι ἐγγύς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως (ἐγγύς here is an *adverb* preceding the verb ἦν)

The discrepancy in this passage is not in the placement of the adverbial particles (*prope*/ ἐγγύς), but in their function. This in itself has led to the discrepancy in the placement of the word for ‘city’ (in Latin, immediately following the preposition *prope*; in Greek, immediately following the noun phrase ὁ τόπος).

The Latin may (rarely) insert a copula that the Greek only implies:

g) Matthew 5:12

quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis

ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (no copula present)

On the other hand, Latin may omit a pronoun present in the Greek Vorlage:

h) Matthew 5:9

quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur

ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται

These omissions create differences in sentence type, the Latin omission in h) exhibiting predicate + verb (no overt subject); the Greek in g), subject + predicate (no overt verb) word order (see also Lk. 16:15).

Greek occasionally exhibits hyperbaton where Latin resists it:

i) John 11:47 (see also Jn. 12:18)

ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ ποιεῖ σημεῖα

quia hic homo multa signa facit

Passages occur (somewhat frequently) in which the position of the subject, verb, and object (or predicate nominative/adjective) does not exactly correspond:

j) Matthew 23:10 (see also Lk. 4:41)

quia Magister vester unus est, Christus (predicate precedes verb)

ὅτι καθηγητὴς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν εἷς ὁ Χριστός (predicate follows verb)

k) John 18:2

quia frequenter Iesus convenerat illuc cum discipulis suis (subject precedes intransitive verb)

ὅτι πολλάκις συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ (subject follows intransitive verb)

l) Matthew 8:27

quia et venti et mare oboediunt ei (dative object follows verb)

ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν (dative object precedes verb)

m) Mark 6:17

quia duxerat eam (direct object follows verb, i.e., VO word order)

ὅτι αὐτήν ἐγάμησεν (direct object precedes verb, i.e., OV word order)

n) Luke 11:48 (see also Jn. 15:5)

quoniam ipsi quidem eos occiderunt (direct object precedes verb, i.e., OV word order)

ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς (direct object follows verb, i.e., VO word order)

Latin being a highly inflected language, it is unclear what factors (if any) motivate the divergence from the word order of the Greek Vorlage.

4.3.1.3 Mood

The vast majority of causal clauses in the Latin and Greek gospels directly correspond in their use of mood, which is in nearly all cases the indicative. However, both Latin and Greek may exhibit (in rare occurrence) no verb at all:

a) Matthew 7:13

quia lata porta et spatiosa via...

ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδός...

The Latin may display a copula that the Greek omits:

b) Matthew 5:12 (see also Lk. 16:15)

quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis

ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

As the example above indicates, Latin employs in the causal clause the indicative mood whereas the Greek displays no verb.

There are a number of passages, however in which the Latin employs the subjunctive mood, indicating that the viewpoint or cause stems from other than the speaker's/author's assertion. In every case, the corresponding Greek exhibits the indicative mood:

c) Matthew 11:20 (see also Lk. 1:7; 13:14; 16:8; 19:9; 19:44; Jn. 6:41)

quia non egissent paenitentiam

ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν

Here, the Latin has employed the pluperfect subjunctive whereas the Greek exhibits the aorist indicative, the Greek not demonstrating the semantic nuance in causal clauses that one perceives in the Latin construction.

Sometimes a causal clause contains an embedded conditional construction in which the Latin employs the subjunctive, the Greek the indicative mood:

d) Matthew 11:21 (see also Mt. 11:23; Lk. 10:13)

Quia si in Tyro et Sidone factae essent virtutes, quae factae sunt in vobis, olim in cilicio et cinere paenitentiam egissent

ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετανόησαν

The embedded clauses in both the Latin and the Greek are past contrary-to-fact conditions, the Latin displaying the pluperfect subjunctive, the Greek the aorist indicative.

Not all causal clauses in Latin that contain the indicative mood correspond to a Greek indicative. Consider the following:

e) Luke 23:31

quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet? ‘because if they are doing these things in the green wood, what will happen in the dry?’ (future indicative)

ὅτι εἰ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ξύλῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται (aorist subjunctive)

One might expect, if Jerome wished simply to calque the Greek, to see in Latin the present subjunctive *fiat*, which would correspond in mood to the Greek aorist subjunctive γένηται. It can

be surmised that Jerome understood the Greek subjunctive here to have future force and, hence, translated it as a Latin future. It should be noted, however, that some Greek manuscripts contain γενήσεται as a variant for γένηται. That being the case, it is possible that Jerome's choice of mood may have been dependent upon the manuscript with which he was working and had probably little to do with his perception of the semantics of the aorist form in this context (see the critical apparatus for Lk. 23:31 in the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland).

4.3.1.4 Aspect/Tense

The issue of aspect/tense correspondence in Latin and Greek has already been taken up in sections 4.1.1.4 and 4.2.1.4, dealing with purpose and result clauses respectively. In these constructions, aspect is salient in Greek, tense concord in Latin.

In causal clauses, on the other hand, neither aspect in Greek nor tense concord in Latin seems to be the driving force. In Greek, the most salient feature of the verb in aetiological clauses is tense, coupled with aspect; in Latin, instead of tense concord, this issue is two-fold: 1) tense, relative to the action of the verb in the main clause (albeit, not dependent on it); 2) mood, contingent upon individual viewpoint/narration. Hence, we may safely say that, in spite of the difference between Latin and Greek in their use of mood in clausal clauses, the two languages share an emphasis upon tense. This section treats the following correspondences of tense in aetiological clauses in Latin and Greek:

Greek	Latin
Present	Present
Present	Imperfect
Present	Future
Present	Future periphrastic (present time)
Present	Perfect?
Imperfect	Imperfect
Imperfect	Future periphrastic (past time)
Imperfect	Pluperfect?
Future	Future

Aorist	Perfect
Aorist	Pluperfect
Aorist Subjunctive	Future
Perfect	Perfect
Perfect	Present
Pluperfect	Pluperfect
Pluperfect	Imperfect

4.3.1.4.1 Greek present : Latin present

This correspondence occurs quite frequently in all the gospels except Mark. Nearly all examples of this correspondence exhibit the indicative mood in both languages. Consider the following:

a) Matthew 2:18

quia non sunt

ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν

b) Mark 9:41

quia Christi estis

ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε

c) Luke 5:8

quia homo peccator sum, Domine

ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι, κύριε

d) John 4:22

quia salus ex Iudaeis est

ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν

In one passage, Latin exhibits a verb in the present subjunctive corresponding to the Greek present indicative:

e) Luke 19:9

eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahæ

καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν

The present : present correspondence is the most frequent in the causal clauses. In regard to the use of the subjunctive mood in the Latin example above, the determining factor here does not appear to be viewpoint (whether of the narrator or someone else), for the cause being given from the viewpoint of the speaker (here, Jesus) requires normally the indicative mood. Hence, we should expect *est*, not *sit*. However, certain conjunctions (e.g. *cum*) require the subjunctive, regardless of assertion, while others (e.g. *eo quod*) **tend** to head clauses containing the subjunctive. That the conjunction *eo quod* has determined the mood of the verb seems to be the case in Lk. 19:9.

4.3.1.4.2 Greek present indicative : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels:

Mark 8:16

quia panes non haberent

ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσιν

The presence of the subjunctive mood in the Latin passage can only mean that the assertion is not the narrator's, but rather the disciples'. The indicative displayed in the Greek would not be problematic were the tense of the verb in the imperfect (εἶχον). The present tense of the verb (ἔχουσιν) suggests that the subordinate construction may be an indirect statement rather than a causal clause. Classical Latin, however, does not normally construct indirect statements with a conjunction + subjunctive, but the Vulgate often does. Therefore, the Latin construction given

above does not preclude indirect discourse. The verb in the main clause διαλογίζοντο seems also to support this view.

On the other hand, διαλογίζεσθε—as employed in the following verse, seems to support the interpretation of Mk. 8:16 as containing a causal clause: τί διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε; ‘Why are you arguing, because you do not have loaves?’ (Mk. 8:17). Perhaps Jesus’ question echoes the previous assertion: ‘They were arguing to one another because they did not have loaves.’

4.3.1.4.3 Greek present : Latin future

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels:

Luke 23:29

quoniam ecce venient dies

ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται ἡμέραι

The Greek verb ἔρχονται is clearly present tense. Why, then, did Jerome render this verb as the future in Latin (*venient*) instead of the present (*veniunt*)? It can be argued that the verb ἔρχεσθαι in Classical Greek frequently functions as the future of the verb εἶμι. But in κοινή, ἔρχομαι has a future, ἐλεύσομαι. If the future were intended in the Vorlage, would not ἐλεύσονται have been a more accurate choice?

Jerome was obviously very familiar with Greek idiomatic construction and understood that context dictated that he render certain Greek idioms into Latin which might not always correspond on a one-to-one basis. Hence, he realized that the verb ἔρχομαι, when employed in relation to time, often denotes a future, even though the verb itself may be present in form. Bauer (2000) gives a plethora of examples from the Greek, supporting Jerome’s interpretation of this usage.

4.3.1.4.4 Greek present : Latin future periphrastic (present time)

This correspondence rarely occurs in the gospels, appearing in only Matthew and John:

a) Matthew 24:44

quia, qua nescitis hora, Filius hominis venturus est

ὅτι ἢ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται

As in the previous correspondence (Greek present : Latin future), the Greek verb ἔρχεται is interpreted by Jerome to denote futurity. In the above passage, however, he has elected to employ in Latin the future periphrastic (*venturus est*) instead of the future (*veniet*).

Ἔρχομαι is not the only lexeme involved in this correspondence. Consider the following:

b) John 14:22

quia nobis manifestaturus es teipsum et non mundo

ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ

The Greek construction, like the Latin, also displays periphrasis. Although μέλλεις is present tense, it indicates activity that is about to occur or stresses the intention of the action, the verb denoting the action being in the infinitive.

4.3.1.4.5 Greek present : Latin perfect

This correspondence occurs only once in the gospels:

Luke 14:17

quia iam paratum est

ὅτι ἤδη ἔτοιμά ἐστιν

The Greek unequivocally exhibits present tense. The Latin verb *paratum est* may be understood in two ways: 1) as a true perfect passive with resultative force, hence meaning ‘it has been

prepared;’ 2) as a stative, hence ‘it is ready.’ This latter interpretation indicates a function more akin to that of a predicative adjective. If the second interpretation is the correct one (and the evidence from the Greek Vorlage seems to support it), then this correspondence is more accurately present : present.

4.3.1.4.6 Greek imperfect : Latin imperfect

This correspondence occurs frequently in Luke and John, but rarely in Matthew and Mark:

a) Matthew 14:5 (see also Mt. 21:46)

quia sicut prophetam eum habebant

ὅτι ὡς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον

b) Mark 9:38

quia non sequebatur nos

ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει ἡμῖν

c) Luke 8:37

quia timore magno tenebantur

ὅτι φόβῳ μεγάλῳ συνείχοντο

d) John 5:16

quia haec faciebat in sabbato

ὅτι ταῦτα ἐποίει ἐν σαββάτῳ

The corresponding Latin may (rarely) employ the imperfect subjunctive:

e) Luke 1:7

eo quod esset Elisabeth sterilis

καθότι ἦν Ἐλισάβετ στεῖρα

In the above passage, the Latin conjunction *eo quod* governs a verb in the subjunctive mood.

4.3.1.4.7 Greek imperfect : Latin future periphrastic (past time)

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels:

Luke 19:4

quia inde erat transiturus

ὅτι ἐκείνης ἡμελλεν διέρχεσθαι

Like the Latin, the Greek construction is periphrastic, employing the imperfect of the verb μέλλω + infinitive.

4.3.1.4.8 Greek imperfect : Latin pluperfect

This correspondence is rare in causal clauses, occurring only in Luke's gospel. Consider the following:

Luke 15:24 (see also Lk. 15:32)

quia hic filius meus mortuus erat 'because this my son had died'

ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱός μου νεκρὸς ἦν 'because this my son was dead'

As stated earlier in regard to Greek present : Latin perfect correspondence, the Latin pluperfect passive could be analyzed as an imperfect stative.

4.3.1.4.9 Greek future : Latin future

This correspondence occurs frequently in Luke, less frequently in Matthew, rarely in John (only once), and never in Mark:

a) Matthew 5:4

quoniam ipsi consolabuntur

ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται

b) Luke 6:21

quia saturabimini

ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε

c) John 16:14

quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit vobis

ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήμψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν

4.3.1.4.10 Greek aorist : Latin perfect

This correspondence occurs with the second most frequency in causal clauses (only the correspondence Greek present : Latin present occurs with greater frequency). Surprisingly, there is no evidence for this correspondence in Mark. The following examples are representative of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 16:17

quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi

ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι

b) Luke 1:48

quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae

ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ

c) John 12:41

quia vidit gloriam eius et locutus est de eo

ὅτι εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλησεν περὶ αὐτοῦ

4.3.1.4.11 Greek aorist : Latin pluperfect

This correspondence may be divided into two types: 1) clauses where the Latin indicative corresponds to the Greek indicative; 2) clauses where the Latin subjunctive corresponds to the Greek indicative. The second type contains two categories in Latin: 1) clauses where the mood of the verb (subjunctive) is structurally or grammatically determined (i.e., by a conjunction or type of condition); 2) clauses where the mood of the verb is determined by view of the discourse. The following are examples of Greek indicative : Latin indicative correspondence:

a) Mark 6:17 (see also Mk. 16:14)

quia duxerat eam

ὅτι αὐτήν ἐγάμησεν

b) John 18:2 (see also Jn. 7:39)

quia frequenter Iesus convenerat illuc cum discipulis suis

ὅτι πολλάκις συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ

No examples of this correspondence exist in Matthew or Luke.

The following are examples of Greek indicative : Latin subjunctive correspondence:

c) Matthew 11:20

quia non egissent paenitentiam (Jesus' viewpoint, where Jesus is not the narrator)

ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν

d) Luke 16:8

quia prudenter fecisset (the master's viewpoint, he not being the narrator)

ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν

e) John 6:41

quia dixisset: <<*Ego sum panis, qui de caelo descendi*>> (the viewpoint of the Jews who murmured, not the narrator's assertion)

ὅτι εἶπεν · ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

Note that Mark contains no passages with this correspondence.

The subjunctive in the above passages indicates that the discourse is given from the viewpoint other than the narrator's. The following passage, however, is not dependent upon this construction, but is based upon a different grammatical/structural dynamic:

f) Matthew 11:23

Quia si in Sodomis factae fuissent virtutes, quae factae sunt in te, mansissent usque in hunc diem

ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἄν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον

The main verb in the causal clause is also the main verb of the apodosis of the embedded conditional construction. Hence, the mood of the verb in the apodosis is intricately connected to the sense of the condition itself and its relation to the mood of the verb in the protasis. One may, therefore, conclude that neither the conjunction *quia* nor the elements of the discourse have determined the mood of the verb in the causal clause.

4.3.1.4.12 Greek aorist subjunctive : Latin future indicative

The passage in which this correspondence occurs has been treated previously in the section on mood. We may confidently state that the mood of the Greek verb connotes futurity and, hence, Jerome accurately assessed the context by rendering the Greek subjunctive as a Latin future:

Luke 23:31

quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet?

ὅτι εἰ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ξύλῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται;

4.3.1.4.13 Greek perfect : Latin perfect

This correspondence occurs mostly in John's gospel. Its appearance in the synoptic gospels is rare, namely, once in Matthew and Mark, twice in Luke. The following are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matthew 13:11

Quia vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni caelorum

ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν

b) Mark 14:27

quia scriptum est...

ὅτι γέγραπται...

c) Luke 4:6 (see also Lk. 13:2)

quia mihi tradita est

ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται

In the above examples (all taken from the synoptic gospels), the perfect tense verb is in the passive voice. It may be assumed that verbs in the active voice exhibit only the Greek aorist : Latin perfect correspondence. Consider, however, the following:

d) John 3:18

quia non credidit in nomen Unigeniti Filii Dei

ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ

The presence of perfect tense verbs in the active voice indicates that this particular correspondence is not limited by voice, though the synoptic gospels seem to indicate such limitation.

4.3.1.4.14 Greek perfect : Latin present

This correspondence occurs infrequently in the gospels (never in Luke), and is in nearly every passage lexically limited to the correspondence Greek οἶδα : Latin *scio* (negative, *nescio*):

a) Matthew 25:13

quia nescitis diem neque horam

ὅτι οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν

b) John 10:4

quia sciunt vocem eius

ὅτι οἶδασι τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ

Jerome recognized the present force of the Greek perfect οἶδα (cf. Latin *novi*). Therefore, he rendered this so-called perfect, now realized in κοινή as a present, as a present in Latin. Jerome's technique here clearly indicates that his translation is not simply a calque of the Greek Vorlage, for Latin has a verb 'to know' which is morphologically perfect, but semantically and functionally present (*novi*). A calque of the Greek would have given *non novistis* in Mt. 25:13, and *noverunt* in Jn. 10:4.

The verb 'to know' (οἶδα/*scio*) is not the only lexeme employed in this correspondence. Consider the following:

c) Mark 4:29*quoniam adest messis*ὅτι παρέστηκεν¹⁷ ὁ θερισμός

The Greek verb παρέστηκεν is a stative perfect. This Aktionsart of the perfect is limited in use to certain lexemes. Hence, it is not productive in meaning, like the resultative or aoristic perfect. Jerome, realizing that calquing the Greek perfect with the Latin verb *adstitit* ‘it stood near, was present’ would have been an inaccurate rendering of the *sense* of the Greek, employed what was equivalent in *meaning*, not in *form*.

4.3.1.4.15 Greek pluperfect : Latin pluperfect

This correspondence, occurring only once in Matthew and John, is rare:

a) Matthew 9:36*quia erant vexati et iacentes sicut oves non habentes pastorem*ὅτι ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐρριμένοι ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμέναb) John 7:30 (see also Jn. 8:20)*quia nondum venerat hora eius*ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ**4.3.1.4.16 Greek pluperfect : Latin imperfect**

This correspondence, analogous to the Greek perfect : Latin present correspondence, occurs rarely in the gospels, appearing only once in Mark and Luke:

a) Mark 1:34*quoniam sciebant eum*ὅτι ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν

¹⁷ The verb παρέστηκεν may also be aorist in form. However, the context makes it clear that the form must be perfect.

b) Luke 4:41

quia sciebant ipsum esse Christum

ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι

Both passages contain the verb ‘to know.’ Since the Greek verb οἶδα, although perfect in form, is present in meaning, the pluperfect form of the verb logically denotes a past meaning, either imperfect or aorist, according to context. Hence, Jerome’s translation of this lexeme into the corresponding Latin imperfect is clearly based upon the meaning of οἶδα in κοινή.

4.3.2 Aetiological clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence

This correspondence consists of two main constructions in which Latin causal clauses correspond to Greek non-causal structures: 1) participial and 2) infinitival phrases. Latin frequently corresponds to the Greek participial phrases with clauses introduced by the conjunction *cum*:

a) Matthew 1:19

cum esset iustus et nollet eam traducere ‘since he was righteous and was unwilling to expose her to ridicule’

δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι ‘being righteous and not willing to disgrace her’

The *cum* clauses in this correspondence always govern verbs in the subjunctive mood.

Not all clauses in this correspondence are headed by *cum*. Consider the following:

b) Mark 12:24

quia non scitis Scripturas neque virtutem Dei ‘because you do not know the Scriptures nor the power of G-d’

μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ ‘not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of G-d’

This correspondence, exhibiting the Latin conjunction *quia* + indicative mood : Greek participial phrase, is unique in the gospels.

Latin *cum* clause : Greek participial phrase correspondence occurs in all four gospels, but not with great frequency. The question may be as to why this correspondence occurs at all, seeing that Latin contains participles, and participial constructions occur with relative frequency in Classical Latin. The answer lies in the comparison of the Greek participle and its corresponding Latin finite verb:

Gospel Passage	Greek Participle	Latin Finite Verb
Mt. 1:19	ὢν...θέλων	<i>esset...nollet</i>
Mt. 7:11 ¹⁸	ὄντες	<i>sitis</i>
Mt. 12:34	ὄντες	<i>sitis</i>
Mt. 14:35 ¹⁹	ἐπιγινόντες	<i>cognovissent</i>
Mk. 2:4 ²⁰	δυνάμενοι	<i>possent</i>
Mk. 12:24	εἰδότες	<i>scitis</i>
Lk. 20:36	ὄντες	<i>sint</i>
Jn. 4:9	ὢν	<i>sis</i>
Jn. 7:15	μεμαθηκώς	<i>didicerit</i>
Jn. 11:49	ὢν	<i>esset</i>
Jn. 11:51	ὢν	<i>esset</i>
Jn. 13:1	ἀγαπήσας	<i>dilexisset</i>

Notice that all the verbs are in the active voice, except δυνάμενοι, which is middle voice but active in meaning (i.e., deponent). In addition, it is noteworthy that nearly all the verbs that are intransitive are a form of the verb ‘to be.’ The Latin participial system is defective in comparison with that of the Greek, for Latin lacks perfect active and present passive participial forms. In addition, the Latin verb *esse* lacks a present active participle (the form *essens* ‘being’

¹⁸ Probably indicates a concessive clause or phrase.

¹⁹ Could also indicate attendant circumstances or temporality.

²⁰ Ibid.

is the result of a later development and not a form that occurs in the Classical idiom). The *cum* clause functions as a means of overcoming the defectiveness of the Latin participial system and rendering thereby into Latin the closest possible meaning of the Greek.

In addition to corresponding to Greek participial phrases, Latin causal clauses may correspond to Greek infinitival phrases. These constructions in Greek always occur in the form of *διά* + the articular infinitive. Consider the following examples:

c) Matthew 13:5 (see also Mt. 13:6; 24:12)

quia non habebant altitudinem terrae

διά τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς

d) Mark 4:6 (see also Mk. 4:5; 5:4)

eo quod non haberet radicem

διά τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν

e) Luke 2:4 (see also Lk. 8:6; 9:7; 11:8; 18:5; 19:11; 23:8)

eo quod esset de domo et familia David

διά τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυίδ

f) John 2:24

eo quod ipse nosset omnes

διά τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντα

One passage does not employ *διά* + the articular infinitive. It is doubtful whether this verse indicates a true causal-to-causal correspondence:

g) Luke 1:21

et mirabantur quod tardaret ipse in temple ‘and were wondering because he himself was delaying in the temple’

The above subordinate clause in Latin may also be an object clause dependent on the verb *mirabantur*: ‘and they were amazed that he himself was delaying in the temple.’ This seems to be a more plausible rendering since Latin normally does not employ the subjunctive mood with *quod*.²¹ In addition, the structure of the Greek suggests this interpretation:

h) καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἐν τῷ χρονίζειν ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτόν ‘and were amazed at him tarrying in the temple’

The articular infinitive here does not appear to indicate cause, but rather the object of the preposition ἐν use in conjunction with the verb ἐθαύμαζον.²²

4.3.3 Causal-to-non-causal clausal correspondence

This correspondence consists of two main types: 1) causal clauses in Latin that correspond to non-clausal clauses in Greek; 2) causal clauses in Greek that correspond to non-causal clauses in Latin.

4.3.3.1 Latin causal : Greek non-causal clausal correspondence

Not all clauses in Latin headed by *quod* or *quoniam* are clearly causal, for these conjunctions appear to be more likely coordinating than subordinating in function in certain passages of Matthew containing conditional clauses, as the following indicates:

a) Matthew 5:13

quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur ‘because, if salt disappears, in what will it be salted?’

²¹ However, if the cause is from the assertion or viewpoint of the crowd, then the subjunctive would be required.

²² Zerwick (1996) maintains that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is employed in a temporal sense. In that case, the Greek would best be construed to mean ‘when he was tarrying in the temple.’ Obviously, Jerome did not construe this use of the articular infinitive to indicate a temporal clause.

Quod most likely means ‘but,’ not ‘because,’ in this context. In all instances in which Latin exhibits *quod si*, Greek shows εἰ δὲ, the particle δὲ indicating coordination instead of subordination. However, Latin *quoniam si* corresponds to Greek ὅτι εἰ:

b) Matthew 24:43

quoniam si sciret pater familias

ὅτι εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οικοδεσπότης

Although this is clearly a subordinate clause, it is doubtful that it is causal. The context and overall structure strongly suggest that both *quoniam* and ὅτι head object clauses, probably indirect statements. This is evident in light of the fact that the subordinate clauses in both languages are dependent upon main clauses containing a verb that typically introduces indirect discourse (Gk. γινώσκετε ‘know’; Latin *scitote*²³ ‘know’).

Some subordinate causal clauses in Latin correspond to coordinate causal clauses in Greek:

c) Matthew 12:33

siquidem ex fructu arbor agnoscitur

ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται

d) Mark 11:18

quoniam universa turba admirabatur super doctrina eius

πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος ἐξεπλήσσετο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ

e) Luke 18:23

quia dives erat valde

ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα

²³ Jerome’s use of the future imperative here is unclear.

It is unclear as to why Jerome elected to employ Latin subordinating conjunctions in these cases. Normally, the Latin postpositive conjunction *enim* or (rarely) the coordinating conjunction *nam* corresponds to the Greek particle γάρ:

f) Matthew 1:21

ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum

αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν

g) Matthew 15:27

Etiam, Domine, nam et catelli edunt de micis, quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum

ναὶ κύριε, καὶ γὰρ τὰ κυνάρια ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιγίων τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης
τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν

The discourse of the above texts c)-e) does not seem to necessitate the employment of subordination in Latin. Hence, it is unclear as to why Jerome did not use the conjunctions *enim* or *nam* in these cases to correspond to Greek γάρ. Obviously, Jerome perceived the Greek as conveying ideas that would better be rendered into Latin as subordinate than coordinate clauses.

A number of clauses ambiguous as to their causal status, primarily because of the ambiguity of the respective Greek and Latin conjunctions, occur predominantly within the gospels of Luke and John, with two occurrences in Mark. The context of the Greek Vorlage clearly signifies that these are substantival clauses, probably indirect statements. Hence, none of these clauses in Greek have been classified as causal clauses.

In Latin, however, these clauses are clearly ambiguous and, if taken as causal clauses, would make the correspondence Latin causal : Greek non-causal:

h) Mark 11:23

et non haesitaverit in corde suo, sed crediderit quia, quod dixerit, fiat, fiet ei ‘and does not waver in his heart, but believes that what he has said may come about, it will come about for him’ (ambiguous structure, causal or relative clause)²⁴

καὶ μὴ διακριθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃ ὅτι ὃ λαλεῖ γίνεται, ἔσται αὐτῷ ‘and does not doubt in his heart, but believes that what he speaks will happen, it will be for him’ (relative clause)

The Greek subordinate clause is unequivocally a relative clause; the Latin clause is ambiguous, for *quod* may indicate either a neuter relative pronoun or a causal conjunction.

A passage may be *structurally* ambiguous but *semantically* narrow in its context.

Consider the following:

i) Luke 1:45

Et beata, quae credidit, quoniam perficientur ea, quae dicta sunt ei a Domino

‘And blessed [is she], who has believed, because the [things], which have been spoken to her by the Lord, will be completed’

καὶ μακαρία ἡ πιστεύσασα ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου

‘and blessed [is] the [one] having believed that there will be a fulfillment to [those things] having been spoken to her from the Lord’

Although the Latin conjunction *quoniam* in the Vulgate may introduce causal clauses or indirect statements, the context here seems to support a causal interpretation. The Greek construction, on the other hand, is certainly an indirect statement. A summary of these correspondences is given below:

²⁴ If this construction denoted cause, one might translate the passage: ‘and does not waver in his heart, but believes that, because he has spoken, it may come about, it will come about.’

Verse/passage containing correspondence	Greek non-causal clause		Latin causal clause	
	Conjunction/particle employed	Clausal type	Conjunction employed	Ambiguous Clausal type
Mk. 11:23	ὃ	Relative clause	<i>quod</i>	Relative clause
Mk. 15:42	ἐπεὶ	Temporal clause	<i>quia</i>	No ambiguity
Lk. 1:45	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quoniam</i>	Indirect statement
Lk. 4:36	ὅτι	Epexegetical clause	<i>quia</i>	Epexegetical clause
Lk. 7:39	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quia</i>	Indirect statement
Lk. 10:20	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quia</i>	Indirect statement
Lk. 10:20	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quod</i> ²⁵	Indirect statement
Lk. 11:38	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quod</i>	Indirect statement
Lk. 21:5	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quod</i>	Indirect statement
Jn. 2:18	ὅτι	Epexegetical clause	<i>quia</i>	Epexegetical clause
Jn. 3:21	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quia</i>	Indirect statement
Jn. 7:35	ὅτι	Epexegetical clause	<i>quia</i>	Epexegetical clause
Jn. 15:27	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quia</i>	Indirect statement
Jn. 16:4	ὅτι	Indirect statement	<i>quia</i>	Indirect statement

4.3.3.2 Greek aetiological : Latin non-aetiological clausal correspondence

This correspondence is rare. It occurs in all four gospels, but with notable infrequency.

The Latin non-causal types are not limited to one construction. Consider the following examples:

²⁵ The fact that Jerome employs two different conjunctions within the same verse may well indicate that he perceived the two clauses to be functioning differently.

a) Matthew 6:5 (see also Mt. 23:29)

ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι
‘because they love to pray standing in the synagogues and on the corners of the wide
streets’ (causal clause)

qui *amant in synagogis et in angulis platearum stantes orare* ‘who love...’ (relative
clause)

b) Mark 14:21

ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ (subordinate causal
clause)

Nam Filius quidem hominis vadit, sicut scriptum est de eo (coordinate causal clause)

c) Luke 15:27 (see also Lk. 19:31; 19:34; Jn. 16:17)

ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἦκει (causal clause)

Frater tuus venit (independent clause, no conjunction)

d) Luke 22:22 (see also Jn. 1:16)

ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον πορεύεται (causal clause)

et quidem Filius hominis, secundum quod definitum est, vadit (independent, coordinate
clause)

The non-correspondence in b) is not based upon semantics, but on clausal type (i.e., independent vs. dependent). Hence, although the Greek and Latin do not necessarily correspond in structure, they do in meaning. This marginal discrepancy is but a technicality and perhaps holds little significance for this study. The correspondence in c) also contains a straightforward explanation: ὅτι is often employed in Greek to introduce direct statements. Such an explanation is plausible

in every cited Greek passage. Jerome, therefore, having understood ὅτι in this light, rendered the Latin without any conjunction.

On the other hand, no compelling reason appears to exist for Jerome's rendering into Latin certain causal clauses as either a relative clause (Mt. 6:5) or independent clause headed by a non-causal coordinating conjunction (Lk. 22:22; Jn. 1:16). No textual variants exist in either the Greek Vorlage or the Latin to justify such a rendering. Perhaps the best explanation for the discrepancy is obscurity in the Greek discourse transition.

4.4 Conclusion

The Vulgate gospels are not a calque of the Greek Vorlage, but rather a carefully thought-out translation that expresses as literally as possible the forms and meaning of the Greek without violating the grammar or stylistic conventions of Latin. This conclusion is born out by the following observations:

- 1) Latin maintains its rule of mood employment, even in corresponding instances where the Greek seems to violate its own rule.
- 2) The Latin verb *novi* rarely corresponds to Greek οἶδα, even though one would expect this correspondence seeing that these verbs are morphologically perfect but semantically present. The usual corresponding Latin verbs are the present tense forms of *scio* and *cognosco*.
- 3) Since Latin lacks the grammatical category of aspect, few attempts are made to calque the Greek passages exhibiting this category. In the few occurrences where Jerome attempts to calque the Greek dichotomy of present vs. aorist aspect, he does so inconsistently (see section 4.1.1.4.10).

4) Purpose, result, and causal clauses in Latin sometimes correspond to infinitival phrases in Greek, and Latin purpose and causal clauses sometimes correspond to Greek participial phrases.

5) Purpose and causal clauses in Latin sometimes correspond to non-purpose and non-causal clauses in Greek, respectively.

6) A purpose, result, or causal clause in Greek may correspond to a clause in Latin exhibiting respectively neither purpose, result, nor cause.

7) Of the various conjunctions employed to indicate purpose, result, or cause, no absolute one-to-one correspondence exists between the two languages.

8) Although the Latin generally imitates the word order of the Greek Vorlage, it resists violating its own word order constraints and, hence, will sometimes not correspond in word order to the Greek Vorlage. In addition, the Latin sometimes differs in word order from the Greek Vorlage for no apparent reason.

9) Tenses in the indicative do not always correspond. For example, sometimes the Greek aorist corresponds to the Latin perfect or pluperfect tenses; at other times, the Latin perfect and pluperfect tenses correspond to the Greek perfect and pluperfect, respectively.

10) A subordinating conjunction in Latin sometimes corresponds to a coordinating conjunction in Greek, even though the same Greek conjunction often corresponds to a Latin coordinating conjunction.

CHAPTER 5

HYPOTAXIS IN GOTHIC

5.0 Introduction

Although there exist a number of grammars of the Gothic language, few give an adequate treatment of its syntax. Most of these grammars are introductory, emphasizing phonological and morphological considerations. Of these, the most notable in English are Wright (1937) and Bennett (1980), in German Braune (1952) and Binnig (1999), and in French Mossé (1956).¹ Rauch's grammar (2003) is especially insightful in regard to its treatment of Gothic phonology in light of distinctive features. Except for Mossé's, none of these grammars give any detailed treatment of syntax.

Some grammars, in addition to Mossé's, contain a more comprehensive analysis of Gothic syntactic constructions, including hypotaxis. Lambdin (2006) has written the best of the introductory grammars in English to include a discussion of Gothic syntax. His discussion, unfortunately, is very slight in comparison to Balg's (1895) excellent but concise treatment.² Streitberg (1920) has written the most complete Gothic syntax to date. It is thorough in its treatment and outstanding in clarity. However, it is not (nor was it intended to be) exhaustive in coverage of hypotaxis.

The purpose of this chapter, hence, is to provide an exhaustive treatment of final, consecutive, and causal clauses in the attested portions of the Gothic gospels in accordance with

¹ In the preface to the first edition of his work, Mossé states: "Ce manuel est, à notre connaissance, le premier ouvrage français consacré au gotique..."

² Even earlier than Balg's grammar is that of Douse's (1886), which treats purpose and result clauses as one clausal type, namely, final (253-255).

all the known data. The conjunctions employed, word order, mood, and aspect will be the areas emphasized in this study, specifically from the synchronic perspective.

5.1 Final (purpose) clauses

Gothic consistently employs the conjunctive particle *ei* with the verb in the optative mood³ to indicate purpose. This particle is not limited to final constructions, being employed in indirect discourse, indirect requests, and relative clauses. Hence, one may say that *ei* has a subordinating function denoting relativization or complementization and is often employed as an enclitic, especially in relative clauses or indirect statements. Cliticization may also occur in purpose clauses, with *ei* being employed with a variant form of the neuter demonstrative *pata* (cf. *patei*, i.e., *pata* + *ei* ‘that,’ used as a complementizer in indirect statements), giving *pei* or *peei* (*pe*, an old instrumental form, + *ei*, connoting ‘by that, in which,’ etc.).⁴ The forms *pei* and *peei*, when employed to indicate purpose, are uncommon and occur only in John’s gospel.

Unlike Greek or Classical Latin, Gothic generally employs the same negative particle for both indicative and non-indicative moods. However, Gothic may also employ a specifically negative-indicating conjunction in purpose clauses, namely *ibai*, in addition to *ei* + *ni* ‘that not, lest.’ Clauses introduced by *ibai* are uncommon and not nearly as frequent as those introduced by *ei* + *ni*. Purpose clauses in Gothic may be classified according to the conjunction employed:

- 1) clauses introduced by *ei*, or a variant thereof;
- 2) clauses introduced by *ibai*.

³ The term *optative* will be used to denote what is commonly referred to as *subjunctive* by a number of Germanic scholars. Although the forms termed *optative* function in Gothic (and in Germanic, as a whole) more like the subjunctive than the Indo-European (and Greek) optative, I have chosen this designation for its etymological importance.

⁴ See Regan (1974) under the headings *pei* and *peei*.

5.1.1 Final clauses with *ei*

These clauses may be categorized as three types: 1) affirmative final clauses introduced by *ei*; 2) negative clauses, introduced by *ei* + the negative particle *ni*; 3) clauses introduced by *þei* or (rarely) *þeei*. In addition to *ei* + finite verb, Gothic may employ the infinitive to denote purpose. This type of subordinate phrase does not occur as commonly as the final subordinate clause.

By far the most frequent conjunction used to introduce purpose clauses in the Gothic gospels, *ei* occurs in the following passages:

Matthew (5:16; 5:45; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16; 8:17; 9:6; 27:1; 27:42)

Mark (1:38; 2:10; 3:2; 3:6; 3:10; 3:14; 4:12 (2); 4:21 (2); 4:22; 5:12; 5:23; 6:12; 7:9; 8:6; 9:22;
10:13; 10:17; 11:13; 11:25; 11:28; 12:2; 12:13; 12:15; 14:10; 14:12; 14:49; 15:15; 15:20;
15:21; 15:32; 16:1)

Luke (1:4; 1:73; 2:3; 2:24; 2:27; 2:35; 5:7; 5:24; 6:7; 6:34; 8:16; 9:12; 14:10; 14:23; 14:29;
15:29; 16:4; 16:9; 18:15; 19:4; 19:15; 20:10; 20:14; 20:20)

John (6:5; 6:15; 6:28; 6:30; 7:3; 7:32; 8:56; 8:59; 9:3; 9:36; 9:39; 10:10 (2); 10:17; 10:31; 10:38;
11:4; 11:11; 11:15; 11:16; 11:19; 11:31; 11:37; 11:42; 12:9; 12:10; 12:20; 12:23; 12:35;
12:36; 12:38; 12:46; 12:47 (2); 13:15; 13:18; 13:19; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31;
15:2; 15:8; 15:11 (2); 15:16 (2); 15:25; 16:4; 16:24; 17:1; 17:2; 17:3; 17:11; 17:12;
17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24; 17:26; 18:9; 18:32; 18:37; 19:4)

John's gospel contains the largest number of *ei* clauses, followed by Mark, then Luke, and—finally—Matthew, which contains the least number of attested passages.⁵

⁵ This is because Matthew is the most fragmentary of all the gospels in Gothic.

Table 5.1 Frequency of affirmative purpose clauses introduced by *ei*

Total # of affirmative <i>ei</i> clauses	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
137	10	7.30	33	24.09	24	17.52	70	51.09

Negative *ei* clauses may be found in the following passages:

Matthew (6:18)

Mark (3:9)

Luke (4:11; 4:42; 6:37; 8:10; 8:12; 9:45)

John (7:23; 12:40; 12:42; 16:1; 18:28 (2); 18:36)

John and Luke contain the greatest number of negative *ei* clauses, such clauses being rare in Matthew and Mark.

Table 5.2 Frequency of negative purpose clauses introduced by *ei* + *ni*

Total # of negative <i>ei</i> clauses	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
15	1	6.6	1	6.6	6	40	7	46.6

Clauses introduced by *pei/peei* are found only in John's gospel in the following passages:

6:7; 6:12; 6:38; 7:35; 16:33.

5.1.1.1 Word order in *ei* purpose clauses

Word order in the Gothic gospels may be classified according to the position of the subject (S), verb (V), or object (O) relative to that of the subordinator (here, *ei* or *pei/peei*). Hence, we shall designate the three main word-order types as S-initial, V-initial, and O-initial, with respect to the subordinating conjunction. The sub-classifications consist of the additional main arguments (subject, verb, object), if any, relative to the position of the arguments of the main/primary word-order types (see section 2.1.1.1).

All *ei* clauses in Matthew, whether they are affirmative or negative, are verb-initial, most of the verbs being intransitive: *ei wairpaiþ sunjus attins izwaris þis in himinam* ‘that you may become sons of your father, the [one] in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:45, intransitive verb); *ei gasaihuaina izwara goda waurstwa jah hauhjaina attan izwarana þana in himinam* ‘that they may perceive your good deeds and exalt your father, the [one] in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:16, transitive verb). In one instance, the transitive verb seems to govern a case other than the accusative: *ei gasaihuaima jah galaubjam imma* ‘that we may see and we will believe him’ (Mt. 27:42).⁶ Nearly all the passages in Matthew contain verbs with no overt noun/pronoun subject. However, two passages exhibit nominal subjects and are, hence, VS type word order: *ei sijai so armahairtiþa þeina in fulhsnja* ‘so that your charitable deed may be in concealment’ (Mt. 6:4); *ei usfullnodedi þata gemelido pairh Esaian praufetu qipandan* ‘so that there might be fulfilled the [thing] written through Isaiah the prophet, saying’ (Mt. 8:17).

The majority of *ei* clauses in Mark’s gospel have the verb in initial position. An adverb may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *ei jah jainar merjau* ‘so that I may preach also there’ (Mk. 1:38). A participle or participial phrase may intervene between the subordinator and verb: *ei atgaggandeins gasalbodedeina ina* ‘so that, coming, they might anoint him’ (Mk. 16:1). An intervening prepositional phrase also occurs: *niu ei ana lukarnastapan satjaidau?* ‘is it not so that it may be set upon a lampstand?’ (Mk. 4:21). The object of a verb in a verb-initial clause may be not only a noun or pronoun, but also a substantival clause: *apþan ei witeiþ þatei waldufni habaiþ sunus mans ana airþai aþletan frawaurhtins* ‘but that you may know that the

⁶ If this passage truly indicates a verb in a purpose clause governing the dative object *imma*, then we must address two problems: 1) the verb *gasaihuain* does not govern the dative; 2) the verb *galaubjam* ‘we believe,’ if it is part of the subordinate clause, should be in the optative, not the indicative, mood. The first problem is easily rectified if we take *imma* as the object of *galaubjam* only, and of not of *gasaihuaima*. Hence, the object of the verb *gasaihuaima* is an elliptical *ina*. Regarding the second problem, we should interpret *galaubjam* as clearly being not part of the purpose clause.

Son of Man has authority upon earth to absolve sins’ (Mk. 2:10). Predicates, including those with genitival constructions, may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *ei libainais aiweinons arbja wairpau?* ‘so that I may become an heir of eternal life?’ (Mk. 10:17). Clauses with OV word order are uncommon: *ei pata anafulhano*⁷ *izwar fastaip* ‘that you may hold fast to your tradition’ (Mk. 7:9). Subject-initial word order, namely SVO, occurs only once: *ei jah atta izwar sa in himinam afletai izwis missadedins izwaros* ‘so that also your Father, the [one] in the heavens, may absolve you your misdeeds’ (Mk. 11:25). The one negative purpose clause in Mark introduced by *ei* contains VO word order: *ei ni praiheina ina* ‘so that they might not throng him’ (Mk. 3:9).

In Luke’s gospel, VO or V-initial with no overt subject/object predominates: *ei bigeteina til du wrohjan ina* ‘that they might find an opportunity to accuse him’ (Lk. 6:7, VO word order); *ei tawidedeina bi biuhtja witodis bi ina* ‘that they might perform in accordance with the custom of the Law concerning him’ (Lk. 2:27, V-initial with no overt subject/object). Only three instances of VS word order occur in final *ei* clauses: *ei usfulnai gards meins* ‘that my house may be filled up’ (Lk. 14:23; see also Lk. 14:10 and 20:14). OV word order is rare, occurring only twice: *ei im attaitoki* ‘that he might touch them’ (Lk. 18:15); *ei akranis*⁸ *bis weinagardis gebeina imma* ‘that they might give him [some] of the fruit of the vineyard’ (Lk. 20:10). Only one passage in Luke contains subject-initial word order. In this case, the subject is a substantival participle: *ei bai inngaggandans saihvaina liuhad* ‘so that those entering may see the light’ (Lk. 8:16). The final clause structure in Luke contains a syntax similar to that found in the other synoptic gospels, namely the presence of elements (adverbs, participles, prepositional phrases,

⁷ The object is actually a participial phrase being employed substantivally, *pata anafulhano izwar* literally meaning ‘that [thing] of yours having been entrusted/committed,’ hence, ‘your tradition.’

⁸ The noun *akranis*, although perceivably the object of the verb *gebeina*, actually functions here as a partitive genitive.

other types of subordinate constructions) which intervene between the subordinating conjunction and the main arguments (subject, verb, object) of the clause: *ei þan, bípe afsatjaidau us fauragaggja, andnimaina mik in gardins seinans* ‘so that then, when I am dismissed from the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses’ (Lk. 16:4). The negative *ei* purpose clauses in Luke are all verb-initial in word order.

The gospel of John contains the largest number of purpose clauses of the four gospels and shows the greatest variety of word-order possibilities. For example, a considerable number of *ei* clauses exhibit V-initial order (no overt subject/object): *ei gaswiltaima miþ imma* ‘that we may die with him’ (Jn. 11:16). A subordinate clause (i.e., circumstantial) may intervene between the subordinating conjunction and verb: *ei bípe wairþai, galaubjaip* ‘so that, whenever it should happen, you may believe’ (Jn. 14:29). VS word order also occurs somewhat frequently: *ei hauhjaidau sunus gudis þairh þata* ‘that the Son of G-d may be exalted through that’ (Jn. 11:14). There are a large number of clauses with VO word order: *ei habaina fahed meina usfullida in sis* ‘that they may have my joy completed in themselves’ (Jn. 17:13). Rarely does an element intervene between the conjunction and main verb of the clause: *ei bípe wairþai, galaubjaip þatei ik im* ‘that, whenever it should happen, you may believe that I am’ (Jn. 13:19; see also 14:29). Sometimes the object of the verb is a substantival clause: *ei ufkunnaip jah galaubjaip þatei in mis atta jah ik in imma* ‘so that you may come to know and believe that in me [is] the Father, and I in him’ (Jn. 10:38). VSO word order occurs only twice, and in each case the direct object is a substantival clause: *ak ei ufkunnai so manaseps þatei ik frijoda attan meinana* ‘but that the world may come to know that I loved (or, have loved) my father’ (Jn. 14:31).

Although subject-initial clauses do not occur as frequently as verb-initial ones, nevertheless, they are by no means rare. Most of these clauses by far exhibit SV word order: *ei*

waurd fraujiins usfullnodedi ‘so that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled’ (Jn. 18:32). These clauses may also display an intervention between the subordinator and subject: *ei swaswe ik gatawida izwis, swa jus taujaib* ‘so that, just as I have done to you, thus you may do’ (Jn. 13:15). SVO word order rarely occurs: *ei jah pai siponjos beinai saihaina waurstwa beina poei pu taujis* ‘so that even your disciples may see your works which you are doing’ (Jn. 7:3). SOV word order occurs once in affirmative clauses: *ei jus sniwaib jah akran bairaiib, jah akran izwar du aiwa sijai* ‘so that you may hasten and bear fruit, and [that] your fruit may be forever’ (Jn. 15:16).

The only type of object-initial clause found in affirmative *ei* clauses, OV *ei* clauses occur with relative infrequency: *ei managizo akran bairaina* ‘that they may bear more fruit’ (Jn. 15:2).

Negative *ei* purpose clauses in John are not nearly as variable in word-order type as affirmative clauses. Most are V-initial (no S/O): *ei ni bisaulnodedeina* ‘that they might not become contaminated’ (Jn. 18:28). VS word order occurs only once: *ei ni gatairaidau witop bata Mosezis* ‘so that the Law of Moses may not be violated’ (Jn. 7:23). VO word order also occurs only once: *ei ni gaumidedeina augam jah fropaina hairtin jah gawandidedeina jah ganasidedjau ins* ‘so that they might not notice with the eyes and understand with the heart and turn and I heal them’ (Jn. 12:40). Subject-initial clauses are rare. Two passages exhibit SV word order: *ei jah sa ni gadaupnodedi?* ‘so that even that [one] might not die?’ (Jn. 11:37). SOV word order occurs once: *ei riqiz izwis ni gafahai* ‘so that the darkness may not overtake you’ (Jn. 12:35).

As stated before, purpose clauses introduced by *pei/peei* occur only in John’s gospel. These clauses may either be affirmative (Jn. 6:7, 38; 16:33) or negative (Jn. 6:12; 7:35). Most of them exhibit verb-initial word order, often with a direct object: *nih peei taujau wiljan meinana*

‘not that I may do my will’ (Jn. 6:38). A subject may intervene between the verb and object (hence, VSO word order): *pei nimai hwarjizuh leitul* ‘so that each may take a little’ (Jn. 6:7). An adverbial construction may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *pei waihtai ni fraqistnai* ‘so that it may not be lost in anything (i.e., so that nothing may be lost)’ (Jn. 6:12). A clause may be object-initial: *pei in mis gawairpi aigeip* ‘that you may possess in me peace’ (Jn. 16:33). A clause may also be subject-initial: *pei weis ni bigitaima ina?* ‘so that we may not find him?’ (Jn. 7:35).

The data in Table 5.3 below includes that of affirmative, negative, and purpose clauses introduced by *pei/peei*.

Table 5.3 Word-order types in purpose clauses with ei (ei + ni, pei/peei + ni)

Word-order type	Frequency				
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	Total
V-initial (no S/O)	6	14	11	22	53
VS	2	1	2	11	16
VSO	0	0	0	3	3
VO	3	13	13	22	51
SV	0	0	0	14	14
SVO	0	1	1	4	6
SOV	0	0	0	2	2
OV	0	5	2	7	14

It is unclear from the data as to what default word order Gothic exhibits in hypotactic clauses. A comparative analysis of Gothic word order with modern, cognate Germanic dialects does not throw much light onto the problem. For example, subordinate clauses in modern German consistently display OV word order, but in independent clauses the verb occurs as the second main constituent element (i.e., ‘verb in second position’). This dichotomy of verb placement dependent on clausal type (whether independent or subordinate) is not valid in other

modern Germanic dialects, such as English and the Scandinavian languages.⁹ What occurs in Gothic, however, coincides with neither the word-order types exhibited in English nor those in German. Although most purpose clauses in Gothic are verb-initial, it is difficult to discern whether these clauses are to be understood as VS or SV, since most of them contain no overt subject. Most clauses containing an overt subject are verb-initial; yet, subject-initial clauses are also nearly as common. The evidence, hence, does not seem to support the notion that Gothic was a verb-initial-in-hypotaxis language. An examination of an originally-composed Gothic text, not based upon a Greek or Latin Vorlage, would shed some light upon the question.

One approach to solving the dilemma, therefore, is to examine an extra-biblical Gothic text, namely the *Skeireins*. It is debatable whether this document is the result of a translation from Latin or Greek, or whether it is of native Gothic production (Bennett 1960: 40-42). Most constructions denoting purpose in the *Skeireins* are hypotactic phrases employing *du* + the infinitive: *ak du gatarhjan jah gasakan* ‘but to mark and reprove.’ The few final clauses do not exhibit a default word order: *pizos manasedais gawaurhtedi uslunein* ‘that he might prepare the redemption of mankind’ (VO word order; notice the lack of the conjunction *ei*); *ei laisareis uns wairpai...*¹⁰ ‘that he may become a teacher for us...’ (no overt subject, with predicate intervening between the conjunction and verb); *ni in þis þatanei ei fins.*¹¹ *mikilein gakannidedi* ‘not on account of this only, that he might make known the greatness of the Lord’ (OV word order); *ei galaisjaina sik bi þamma twa andwairþja attins jah sunaus andhaitan* ‘that they may teach themselves by that to confess the two persons of the Father and of the Son’ (VO word order; note that no element intervenes between the conjunction and verb); *ei allai sweraina sunu*

⁹ Note, however, that Dutch, like German, maintains this syntactic feature (Koolhoven 1961: 67).

¹⁰ The final position of the copula here may be due to its having a different status than other verbs. Since the verb *wairþan* is highly non-topical, one suspects it would be found generally in final position.

¹¹ Abbreviation for *fraujins*.

*swaswe swerād*¹² *attan* ‘that all may honor the Son just as they honor the Father’ (SOV word order).¹³ Whether the *Skeireins* is a translation or native Gothic composition appears to be irrelevant to this study since the evidence is too scanty and inconclusive as to what word-order type was dominant or employed by default in final clauses in the Gothic gospels.

5.1.1.2 Mood in *ei* purpose clauses

The optative is the predominantly (if not exclusively) occurring mood in purpose clauses in Gothic. (The indicative mood occurs in a few rare instances, and we will subsequently examine these passages to determine whether the clauses in question indeed express purpose.) Gothic employs a rigid sequence of tenses in which the tense of the verb in the purpose clause is dependent upon the type of sequence exhibited by the verb in the main clause. Lambdin’s (2006:81) claim that ‘present follows present, and preterite, preterite’ is not completely accurate, as we will see. However, his explanation is generally useful for understanding the syntax of Gothic purpose clauses.

The system of tense sequence in Gothic is comparable to the verbal system as a whole: action is viewed as occurring in past time (preterite) or in non-past time (all other non-preterite formations). Hence, the system is strongly binary. Non-past verb forms include the present indicative and present optative, the imperative, and forms of the preterite that are semantically resultative. The past include the preterite forms of both the indicative and optative. Non-past verbs, then, belong to primary sequence and verbs conveying past time are in secondary sequence.

¹² i.e., *swerand*.

¹³ This passage is actually a quote from Jn. 5:23. What is significant about this passage is that it does not occur in the attested Gothic gospel corpus. Hence, this verse from John’s gospel in Gothic is found only in the *Skeireins*, as are a number of other NT passages in Gothic.

Table 5.4 Occurrences of the optative mood in *ei*¹⁴ purpose clauses according to sequence of tenses¹⁵

Sequence	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	9	82	16	47	15	52	60	73
Secondary	2	18	18	53	14	48	22	27

The above table indicates an approximate 1:1 ratio of occurrences of primary to secondary sequence in the synoptic gospels except in Matthew, this discrepancy being the result of the fragmentary state of attestation of that gospel. John exhibits the greatest statistical inequality (see section 3:1.1.2 for a possible explanation).

The sequence of tenses may be diagrammatically demonstrated as follows:

Sequence	Verbal Formation
Primary	Present indicative and present optative, imperative, resultative preterite
Secondary	Preterite indicative and preterite optative

Lambdin's assertion, that in Gothic purpose clauses the present optative is employed whenever the main clause contains a present indicative, although useful for understanding the workings of

¹⁴ Includes negative and emphatic clauses.

¹⁵ The data, giving the specific occurrence by gospel, are as follows:

Matthew

Primary: 5:16; 5:45; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16; 6:18; 9:6; 27:42

Secondary: 8:17; 27:1

Mark

Primary: 1:38; 2:10; 4:12 (2); 4:21 (2); 4:22; 5:12; 5:23; 7:9; 10:17; 11:25; 11:28; 12:15; 14:12; 15:32

Secondary: 3:2; 3:6; 3:9; 3:10; 3:14; 6:12; 8:6; 9:22; 10:13; 11:13; 12:2; 12:13; 14:10; 14:49; 15:15; 15:20; 15:21; 16:1

Luke

Primary: 1:4; 2:35; 4:11; 5:24; 6:34; 6:37; 8:10; 8:12; 8:16; 9:12; 14:10; 14:23; 16:4; 16:9; 20:14

Secondary: 1:73; 2:3; 2:24; 2:27; 4:42; 5:7; 6:7; 9:45; 15:29; 18:15; 19:4; 19:15; 20:10; 20:20

John

Primary: 6:5; 6:7; 6:12; 6:28; 6:30; 6:38; 7:3; 7:23; 7:35; 9:36; 9:39; 10:10 (2); 10:17; 10:38; 11:4; 11:11; 11:15; 11:16; 11:31; 11:42; 12:23; 12:35; 12:36; 12:46; 12:47 (2); 13:15; 13:19; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31; 15:2; 15:8; 15:11 (2); 15:16 (2); 16:1; 16:4; 16:24; 16:33; 17:1; 17:2; 17:3; 17:11; 17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24; 17:26; 18:37; 19:4

Secondary: 6:15; 7:32; 8:56; 8:59; 9:3; 10:31; 11:19; 11:37; 12:9; 12:10; 12:20; 12:38; 12:40; 12:42; 13:18; 15:25; 17:12; 18:9; 18:28 (2); 18:32; 18:36

the system, is not completely accurate, for other moods (see below) may occur in main clauses with dependent final clauses exhibiting primary sequence. Furthermore, the present indicative is quite uncommon in the synoptics: *þaþroh qimib diabulus jah usnimib þata waurd af hairtin ize, ei galaubjandans ni ganisaina* ‘afterwards comes the devil and takes away the word from their heart, in order that, [by] believing, they may not be saved’ (Lk. 8:12; primary sequence in which present indicative is employed in the main clause, present optative in the subordinate clause).

The presence of the imperative form of the verb in the main clause is quite common: *atbairib mis skatt, ei gasaihau* ‘Bring me a coin, so that I may see’ (Mk. 12:15). The present optative may occur also in the main clause: *swa liuhthjai liuhap izwar in andwairþja manne, ei gasaihaina* izwara goda waurstwa jah *hauhjaina* attan izwarana þana in himinam ‘thus let your light shine in the presence of men, so that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father, the [one] in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:16). A semantically resultative preterite may also be employed in primary sequence: *unte atstaig us himina, nih þeei taujau wiljan meinana* ‘because I have come down out of heaven, not that indeed I may do my will’ (Jn. 6:38). The verb *atstaig* is preterite, but most likely has a non-past meaning and, hence, is in primary sequence. If this passage were in actual secondary sequence, we would expect to find in the subordinate final clause the verb form *tawidedjau* (preterite optative) instead of *taujaui* (present optative), which actually occurs.

Secondary sequence does not hold the same complexities as primary sequence in that the preterite is always followed by the preterite: *...jah allans þans ubil habandans gahailida, ei usfullnodedi þata gamelido þairh Esaian praufetu qibandans* ‘...and he healed all those being ill, so that what was recorded through Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, saying’ (Mt. 8:16-17). This construction is consistently employed in all the gospels: *jah gaggandans þan Fareisaieis*

sunsaiw miþ þaim Herodianum garuni gatawidedun bi ina, ei imma usqemeina ‘and going, the Pharisees then made consultation immediately with the Herodians concerning him, so that they might kill him’ (Mk. 3:6); ...*jah miþþanei innattauhun berusjos þata barn Iesu, ei tawidedeina bi biuhtja witodis bi ina...* ‘and while the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might do according to the custom of the Law concerning him...’ (Lk. 2:27); *iþ eis ni iddjedun in praitoria, ei ni bisaulnodedeina* ‘but they did not go into the Praetorium, lest they be defiled’ (Jn. 18:28).

Some passages seem to challenge the rule that the main verb in final clauses must always be in the optative mood: *jah has þus þata waldufni atgaf, ei þata taujis?* ‘and who gave you this authority, that you do this?’ (Mk. 11:28). There are two apparent problems with the syntax in this passage: 1) Since the verb in the main clause is in the preterite tense, one should expect the verb in the final clause to be in secondary sequence and also to be in the preterite. The verb in the subordinate clause, however, is in the present tense. 2) The verb in the final clause is in the indicative, not optative, mood. Hence, the verb form should be *tawidedeis* and not *taujis*. The first syntactic problem here can be solved if one perceives the main verb to be actually in primary sequence, i.e., a resultative preterite meaning ‘has given.’ The second problem can be resolved if we take the subordinate clause as denoting result rather than purpose. It seems, from the evidence of the syntax, that this is precisely how Wulfila understood the passage. Let us examine another passage posing a similar problem: *jah franima izwis du mis silbin, ei þarei im ik, þaruh sijuh jah jus* ‘and I will receive you to myself, that where I am, you also are’ (Jn. 14:3). Again, it is likely that Wulfila understood this passage as connoting result rather than purpose.

5.1.1.3 Aspect in *ei* purpose clauses

Aspect does not exist as a separate grammatical category within the Gothic verbal system, but this does not preclude aspectual functions within the Gothic verbal system nor an identifiable indicator of aspectual differences. Whereas Greek indicates differences in aspect through verb-stem alternation, Gothic does so primarily through prefixation/compounding or employment of different lexemes. Consider the following:

Greek

a) ἔλειπον ‘I was leaving’ (stem = -λειπ- [imperfective/durative])

b) ἔλιπον ‘I left’ (stem = -λιπ- [perfective/punctiliar])

The above examples show stem-alternation by means of ablaut. The more productive means of indicating aspect in Greek is suffixation, by adding /s/ to the stem:

c) ἔγραφον ‘I was writing’ (stem = -γραφ- [imperfective/durative])

d) ἔγραψα ($\psi = \pi + \sigma$) ‘I wrote’ (stem = -γραφψ- [perfective/punctiliar])

Gothic (see Lambdin 2006: 16-17)

a) *melja* ‘I am writing’ (imperfective)

b) *gamelja* ‘I will write’ (perfective)

c) *melida* ‘I was writing/have been writing’ (imperfective)

d) *gamelida* ‘I wrote/have written’ (perfective)

The above examples in Gothic do not show stem-alternation as the means of displaying aspectual distinctions. The prefix *ga-* indicates perfective aspect, albeit its use as such is often inconsistent in the Gothic texts. Consider also the following, which demonstrates a different type of aspectual distinction not normally considered in the study of aspect, namely directed versus undirected (Lambdin 2006: 15):

- e) *leta* ‘I am leaving’ (imperfective)
- f) *aflēta* ‘I abandon, leave off’ (perfective or intensive)
- g) *lailot* ‘I was leaving/have been leaving, or I left/have left’ (imperfective or perfective)
- h) *aflailot* ‘I abandoned/left off’ (perfective or intensive)

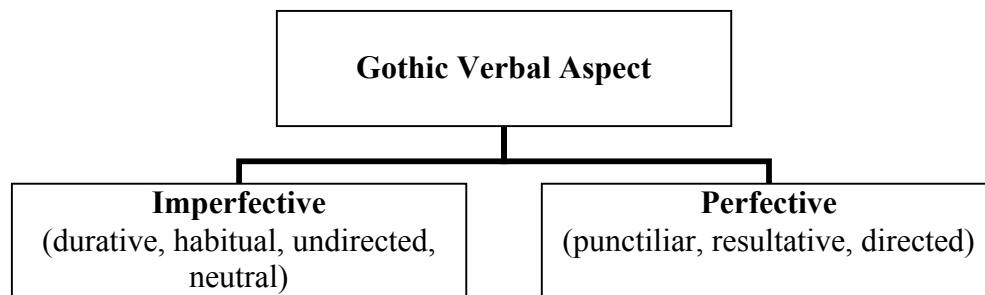
As stated before, Gothic may show aspectual distinctions through the use of different lexemes.

Consider the following:

- i) *rodjan* ‘to speak, say’ (imperfective)
- j) *qipān* ‘to say, speak, tell’ (perfective)
- k) *wisan* ‘to be’ (imperfective)
- l) *wairpān* ‘to become’ (perfective)

The above Gothic examples demonstrate possibilities within Gothic, but are not absolute in usage. The verb may often be aspectually neutral or even perfective if uncompounded (Lambdin 2006:16). Hence, the aspectual system is not as strictly observable or identifiable as that in Greek. The aspectual difference between *qipān* and *rodjan* is not always evident.

We may, therefore, diagrammatically demonstrate the aspectual system in Gothic as follows:



The matter of aspect and Aktionsart will be examined in greater detail subsequently in section 5.2.4 as well as in Chapter 6.

As stated before, Gothic indicates aspectual variation through prefixation, lexicalization, or both. Consider the following example of perfective aspect in Gothic: *ei gasaihvaina izwara goda waurstwa jah hauhjaina attan izwarana pana in himinam* ‘so that they may perceive your good deeds and glorify your Father, the [one] in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:16). The prefix *ga-* clearly indicates the perfective aspect of the verb *saihvan*. Consider, however, the following: *ei saihvandans saihvaina jah ni gaumjaina...* ‘so that, seeing, they may see and not perceive...’ (Mk. 4:12). Here, *saihvaina* does not have the perfective marker *ga-*, nor does Gothic employ in the negative portion of the clause the perfective verb form of *saihvaina*. Rather, a different lexical item is employed, *gaumjaina*, itself semantically and lexically perfective and its perfectivity not the result of derivation.¹⁶ The lack of the perfective marker *ga-* clearly indicates that *saihvaina* is imperfective. The verb *gaumjaina* is not merely in *lexical* opposition to *saihvaina*, it is in *aspectual* opposition, as well.

In light of the above evidence, we may conclude that aspect—as a functional category apparent in preverbal and lexicalized formations—plays a role in purpose clauses in Gothic. The dichotomy of present optative vs. preterite optative is one of sequence of tenses, but not necessarily of aspect.

5.1.2 Negative purpose clauses introduced by *ibai*

Purpose clauses in Gothic are generally negated by the particle *ni*, which follows the introductory particle *ei* and may negate either the entire clause or an element within it. Some clauses, however, are not introduced by *ei + ni*, but rather by the conjunction *ibai* (cf. English ‘lest’). Negative purpose clauses introduced by this conjunction occur only in the synoptic gospels. In addition to discussing the word-order patterns, usage of mood, and aspectual nuance

¹⁶ The verb *gaumjan* itself is obviously a derived verb, stemming from Proto-Germanic *gauma- ‘care, attention,’ cf. Old Icelandic *gaumr*, Old English *gīeme* (Lehmann 1986). Derivation in this sense has nothing to do with aspect.

present in this type of negative purpose clause, this section will attempt to discern the existence of a semantic nuance.

The following passages contain purpose clauses introduced by *ibai*:

Matthew (5:25; 27:64)

Mark (4:12)

Luke (14:12; 14:29; 18:5)

Mark exhibits only one final clause introduced by this conjunction. However, Matthew contains the fewest attested passages, yet has more *ibai* clauses than Mark has.

This leads to the question of what role or function *ibai* has in final clauses. Is there any semantic or functional difference between *ei + ni* and *ibai*?

Table 5.5 Frequency of purpose clauses introduced by *ibai*

Total # of <i>ibai</i> clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
6	2	33.33	1	16.67	3	50	0	0

The data for *ibai* clauses are given above. Because of the paucity of the evidence, it is difficult to establish for certain the linguistic patterns of this type of clause that differentiate the *ibai* clauses from the *ei + ni*, at least in regard to word order, mood, and aspect.

5.1.2.1 Word order in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ibai*

Most purpose clauses introduced by *ibai* are subject-initial: *ibai huan...sa staua puk atgibai andbahta* ‘Lest ever...the judge deliver you to the attendant’ (Mt. 5:25). Notice that the word order is SOV. This is the only occurrence of this word-order type in *ibai* purpose clauses.

All other *ibai* purpose clauses containing subject-initial word order are SVO (or SV):
ibai ufto qimandans pai siponjos is binimaina imma jah qipaina du managein: urrais us

daupaim ‘lest perhaps, coming, his disciples steal him and say to the crowd: he arose from the dead’ (Mt. 27:64).

Most verb-initial *ibai* final clauses exhibit a direct object: *ibai und andi qimandei usagljai mis* ‘lest, coming unto the end [or: finally], she wear me out’ (Lk. 18:5). A clause may contain the rare VOS word order: *ibai huan atgibai buk sa andastaua stauin* ‘lest ever the adversary deliver you to the judge’ (Mt. 5:25). VS word order also occurs: *ibai huan...afletaindau im frawaurhteis* ‘lest ever...[their] sins be forgiven to them’ (Mk. 4:12).

Table 5.6 Word-order types in purpose clauses with *ibai*

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VS	0	1	0	0
VO	0	1	1	0
VOS	1	0	0	0
SOV	1	0	0	0
SV	1	0	0	0
SVO	1	0	2	0

5.1.2.2 Mood in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ibai*

Because *ibai* purpose clauses are a negated type of the *ei* purpose clauses, the *ibai* clauses exhibit the same mood and sequence of tenses as found in other final clauses in Gothic: *ibai aufto jah eis aftra haitaina buk jah wairþip þus usguldan* ‘lest perhaps they also call you back and it becomes repaid to you’ (Lk. 14:12). Only primary sequence occurs in *ibai* final clauses. Therefore, no distribution of the sequence of tenses needs to be tabulated.

5.1.2.3 Aspect in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ibai*

Aspect in negative purpose clauses introduced by *ibai* does not appear—at first glance—to play a role different from that observed in affirmative clauses. Upon closer examination, however, it can be argued that the conjunction *ibai* employed to introduce negative final clauses

may govern a particular aspectual verb type. If we apply Lloyd's (1979) theory of Gothic verbal aspect to the verbs employed in *ibai* negative purpose clauses, we may observe the following aspectual classifications employed:

1. Punctuals (Lloyd 1979: 163)

atgibai (Mt. 5:25)

binimaina (Mt. 27:64)

aſletaindau (Mk. 4:12)

duginnaina (Lk. 14:29)

2. Strong processives

usagljai (Lk. 18:5)

3. Moderate processives

gawandjaina (Mk. 4:12)

qipaina (Mt. 27:64)

haitaina (Lk. 14:12)

Lloyd acknowledges that Streitberg (1920: 198; see heading *Einfache Perfectiva*) classifies *qipān* as a perfective verb. However, Lloyd classifies this verb under the category of moderate processives and the sub-category of non-cumulative multipartites.¹⁷

¹⁷ Lloyd's justification for this classification is as follows: "A much more difficult problem is offered by the verb *qipān*. Streitberg's interpretation as a 'perfective simplex' (i.e., punctual), contrasting with the 'non-perfectivizable durative' *rodjan*...is quite tempting, especially when *qipān* renders Greek εἰπεῖν and *rodjan* renders λαλεῖν. There are several serious objections however. Both *qipān* and *rodjan* also render λέγειν, while *rodjan* can even render εἰπεῖν as in [Lk. 7:39], and *qipān* translates λαλεῖν in [1 Cor. 9:8], and possibly [2 Cor. 11:23]. Furthermore, *qipān* is used, more often than *rodjan*, with *duginnan* 'begin', even in contexts where iterativity can hardly be indicated; e.g., [Lk. 20:9]. Most significantly, *qipān* is used presentatively; e.g., [Mk. 15:36]...Since *qipān* forms no aspectual *ga*-cpds., and does not seem to be punctual, it can only be a type 3c [i.e., a non-cumulative multipartite] like *rodjan*, and distinguished from *rodjan* by characteristics other than actual velocity...The most basic distinction can perhaps be described by the terms 'indeterminate' and 'determinate', more commonly applied to verbs of motion. *Rodjan* is an 'indeterminate' verb, with a basic meaning something like 'engage in the activity of speech'...*Qipān* is a 'determinate' verb, with a basic meaning of the order of 'express by means of speech sounds', that is, 'align the speech activity so as to produce certain utterances'" (1979: 265-266).

All the verbs above, except *qipaina* and *haitaina*, contain preverbs. The function of the preverbs appears to be directional or intensive semantically in the case of the punctuals, and perfectivizing in the case of the other verbs. The verbs *qipaina* and *haitaina* pose a problem, since they have no preverb and are not considered to be punctuals. Streitberg (1920: 198) considers the verb *qipān* ‘to say’ to be a simple perfective verb (i.e., a verb without a perfectivizing prefix). By classifying *qipān* and *haitan* as moderate processive verbs with no perfective aspect, Lloyd (1979: 265) dismisses Streitberg’s claim. In addition, Lloyd admits uncertainty as to how to classify *duginnan* ‘to begin.’ Streitberg, however, states:

duginnan verlangt seiner Bedeutung wegen ausschließlich imperfektiven Infinitiv. Daher wird niemals ein mit dem ‘farblosen’ *ga-* zusammengesetztes Verbum von ihm abhängig gemacht (1920: 199).

Since the verb *duginnan* requires a verb in imperfective aspect, and—because *duginnan* itself supplies the aspect—a verb containing the ‘colorless’ *ga-* prefix is never dependent on *duginnan*, Streitberg sees the helping verbs or modals as indicators of aspect rather than having aspect themselves:

Je nach der Bedeutung des übergeordneten Hilfsverbums wird der abhängige Infinitiv perfective oder imperfective Aktionsart aufweisen (1920: 198).

Because of the paucity of the data, it is inconclusive whether verbs in *ibai* negative final clauses tend to be perfective or ‘verbs producing sounds’ (see Lloyd 1979: 263 for a list of these verbs), or imperfective verbs.

5.1.2.4 Concluding remarks

From the evidence given above, we may conclude that final clauses introduced by *ibai* represent a type of negative purpose clause, somewhat analogous to the clauses introduced by *pei* or *peei*. Certain structures in the *ibai* clauses clearly distinguish them from *ei/pei + ni* clauses. For example, *ei + ni* clauses contain verbs in both primary and secondary sequence; *ibai* clauses contain only primary sequence verbs. *Ibai* clauses tend to contain a higher percentage of perfective verbs; *ei + ni* clauses contain both perfective and imperfective verbs. Finally, *ibai* clauses contain an adverb or adverbial phrase connoting indefiniteness or a heightened degree of incertitude as to fulfillment (e.g., *huan* ‘ever,’ *ufto/aufto* ‘perhaps,’ *und andi* ‘unto the end, finally’).

5.1.3 Subcategories of final clauses

Clauses of effort and clauses of caution can be found in both Greek and Latin. The classification of these sub-classes as types of final clauses is based upon their similarity of structure with the main final clause types. That being the case, clauses of effort should not be categorized as a type of purpose clause in Gothic since these clauses generally do not share the same overall structure as purpose clauses in Gothic. Consider the following: *saihiþ nu haiwa hauseiþ* ‘See, now, how you hear’ (Lk. 8:18). The structure of this clause is unlike that in purpose clauses, which in Gothic must be in the optative mood. Hence, if the above clause were denoting purpose, one should expect *hausjaiþ* instead of *hauseiþ*.¹⁸

Clauses of caution, on the other hand, do exist in Gothic, but are very infrequent. The structure is the same as that of a negative purpose clause, namely *ei + ni* with the verb in the optative mood: *saihu ei mann ni qipais* ‘see that you tell no man’ (Mt. 8:4). This clause is OV.

¹⁸ One passage may, indeed, indicate effort: *let, ei saiham, qimaiu Helias nasjan ina* ‘Allow [it]. Let us see, whether Elijah will come to save him’ (Mt. 27:49). This passage also indicates an indirect question, with the optative being employed to indicate future time.

Such a clause may also be SV: *saihuats ei manna ni witi* ‘see that no one know’ (Mt. 9:30). VO word order also occurs: *saihu ei mannhun ni qipais waiht* ‘see that you tell no one anything’ (Mk. 1:44). Aspect in clauses of caution conforms to what one finds in purpose clauses, i.e., the verb may display perfective or imperfective formations, albeit the verbs tend to be perfective.

5.2 Result (consecutive) clauses

In most cases, the structure of consecutive clauses in Gothic is identifiably different from purposes, for result clauses employ the indicative mood by default and the conjunction *swaswe* (or *swe*), less commonly *ei*, rarely *patei* or *pei*. In addition, whenever the optative does occur (and it is debatable whether it ever does), it usually has a future force. The following passages contain result clauses in the Gothic gospels:

Matthew (8:27; 8:28; 27:14)

Mark (1:27 (2); 1:45 (2); 2:2; 2:12; 2:28; 3:10; 3:20; 4:32; 4:33; 4:36; 4:37; 6:2; 9:13; 9:26; 10:8; 11:28; 15:15)

Luke (4:25; 5:6; 5:7; 9:13; 9:45)

John (7:35; 9:2; 12:38; 14:3; 16:2)

Table 5.7 Frequency of result clauses in the Gothic gospels

Total # of clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
32	3	9.4	19	59.4	5	15.6	5	15.6

5.2.1 Conjunctions in result clauses

Most result clauses in Gothic are introduced by *swaswe*: *swaswe ni mahta manna usleipān pairh pana wig jainana* ‘so that a man could not go out through that way’ (Mt. 8:28). Variants of *swaswe* also occur, but quite infrequently: *swe warþ huhrus mikils and alla airþa* ‘so that there occurred a great hunger throughout all the earth’ (Lk. 4:25); *swaei sokidedun miþ sis*

misso qibandans: hva sijai pata? ‘so that they disputed with one another, saying: What might this be?’ (Mk. 1:27). A result clause may also be introduced by the conjunction *ei*: *Rabbei, has frawaurhta, sau pau fadrein is, ei blinds gabaurans warþ?* ‘Rabbi, who sinned, this [man] or his forefathers, that he was born blind?’ (Jn. 9:2).¹⁹ *Pei* may introduce a result clause, but its occurrence is rare: *þei weis ni bigitaima ina* ‘that we will not find him’ (Jn. 7:35).²⁰ The conjunction *patei* is also rare: *niba pau patei*²¹ *weis gaggandans bugjaima allai þizai manaseidai matins* ‘unless we, going, should buy food for all this multitude’ (Lk. 9:13).²² The structure of this clause strongly suggests that it does not indicate result, since *patei* occurs here as a complement introducing a substantival predicate clause. The following table demonstrates the distribution of the conjunctions employed in Gothic result clauses:

Table 5.8 Frequency of conjunctions employed in result clauses in the Gothic gospels

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>Swaswe</i>	15	48
<i>Swe</i>	4	13
<i>Swaei</i>	2	7
<i>Ei</i>	9	29
<i>Pei</i>	1	3

¹⁹ Context as well as structure clearly identify this clause as denoting result and not purpose. For example, it is inconceivable that one’s ancestors would intentionally transgress the Torah so as to cause blindness in their posterity. In addition, the presence of the verb *warþ* also seems to indicate result. Had Wulfila had purpose in mind, he most likely would have employed the optative form *waurþi*.

²⁰ If this is indeed a result clause, then the optative mood does not connote purpose, but rather indicates the futurity of the result, or its likely improbable fulfillment.

²¹ The conjunctival phrase *niba pau patei* ‘unless’ etymologically means ‘it not be then that’ [-*ba* < **bai* with clitic reduction, **bai* being the original thematic optative to ‘be’].

²² That this passage is not a purpose clause is evident by the main clause: *Nist hindar uns maizo fimf hlaibam jah fiskos twai...* ‘There is not among us more than five loaves and two fishes...’ To follow this clause with a final construction (i.e., purpose) is illogical. If the subordinate clause indicates result and not purpose, then what is the function of the optative? It could indicate a greater degree of uncertainty concerning the fulfillment of the result. This, however, seems unlikely. The conjunction *niba* ‘except’ probably introduces here a negative conditional clause. Hence, the subordinate clause may be rendered: ‘Unless we go and buy food for this multitude.’

5.2.2 Word order in result clauses

Result clauses, being far less numerous than purpose clauses, exhibit fewer word-order types. Only three (perhaps four) different verb-initial types occur: V-initial (no overt S/O), VS, and VO. Most V-initial (no overt S/O) clauses are found in Mark: *swaswe drusun ana ina ei imma attaitokeina* ‘so that they fell upon him that they might touch him’ (Mk. 3:10). This word-order type occurs only once in Luke and John: *swe sugqun* ‘so that they sank’ (Lk. 5:7); *ei blinds gabaurans warþ* ‘so that he was born blind’ (Jn. 9:2). It does not occur in Matthew.

VS word order, however, occurs in all four gospels: *swaswe sildaleikida sa kindins filu* ‘so that the governor was greatly astonished’ (Mt. 27:14); *swaswe sildaleikida Peilatus* ‘so that Pilate was astonished’ (Mk. 15:5); *swe warþ hufurus mikils and allai airþa* ‘so that there occurred a great hunger throughout all the earth’ (Lk. 4:25); *ei þarei im ik, þaruh sijup jah jus* ‘so that, where I am, you also will be there’ (Jn. 14:3).

VO word order is rare and occurs only in Mark and Luke: *swaswe ni mahtedun nih hlaif matjan* ‘so that they could not eat even bread’ (Mk. 3:20);²³ *ei ni frobeina imma* ‘so that they did not understand it’ (Lk. 9:45). The passage here in Luke is structurally a purpose clause and could be rendered as such: ‘that they might not understand it.’ The context, however, seems to denote result, especially when it is examined in conjunction with the main clause: *Ip eis ni froþun þamma waurd, jah was gahuliþ faura im, ei ni froþeina imma; jah ohtedun fraihnan ina bi þata waurd* ‘But they did not understand this word, and it was concealed before them, so that they did not understand it (result)/might not understand it (purpose); and they feared to ask him concerning this word.’ It is difficult to discern Wulfila’s intent, but if we consistently classify

²³ It can be argued that the word order here is actually OV since *hlaif* is really the object of the infinitive *matjan* and not the modal *mahtedun*. On the other hand, if one treats the modal as a transitive verb meaning ‘to have power over,’ then the entire infinitival phrase *hlaif matjan* is the object of the verb *mahtedun*, and the word order remains VO.

the clauses, whether they be purpose or result, according to structure, then we must consider this clause to be indicating purpose, at least a purpose clause that has reached intended fulfillment.

Only two types of subject initial clauses occur: SV and SVO. SV clauses occur in all the gospels except Matthew: *swaswe is juban ni mahta andaugjo in baurg galeiþan* ‘so that he no longer could openly go into the city’ (Mk. 1:45); *ei natja dishnupnodedun ize* ‘so that their nets broke’ (Lk. 5:6); *ei sahvazuh izei usqimib izwis, þuggkeiþ hunsla saljan guda* ‘so that everyone who kills you, seems to offer sacrifices to G-d’ (Jn. 16:2).²⁴ SVO word order, however, occurs in all four gospels, albeit it is a rare occurrence in each: *ei jah windos jah marei ufhausjand imma* ‘that even the winds and sea obey him’ (Mt. 8:27); *swaswe managai qebun þatei gaswalt* ‘so that many said that he had died’ (Mk. (:26);²⁵ *niba þau þatei weis gaggandans bugjaima allai þizai manaseidai matins* ‘except perhaps that we, going, should buy food for all this multitude’ (Lk. 9:13);²⁶ *þei weis ni bigitaima ina?* ‘so that we will not find him?’ (Jn. 7:35).²⁷

The only object-initial word-order type is OV, and this type is rare and occurs only in Mark: *ei miþ waldufnja jah ahmam þaim unhrainam anabiudip* ‘so that with authority he commands even the unclean spirits’ (Mk. 1:27).

Table 5.9 Word-order types in Gothic result clauses

Word –order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	0	8	1	1
VS	2	4	1	1
VO	0	3	1	0
SV	0	3	1	2
SVO	1	1	1?	1?
OV	0	2	0	0

²⁴ The word order displayed here depends on whether the verb *þuggkeiþ* is transitive or intransitive. If it is intransitive, then the clause must be SV; however, if it is transitive (and means ‘thinks/supposes’), then the clause is SVO or SOV. See previous footnote.

²⁵ The clause *þatei gaswalt*, whether or not it be in *oratio obliqua*, is the object of the verb *qebun*.

²⁶ As stated previously, this clause is most likely a negative condition.

²⁷ This is structurally a purpose clause. Its actual function is unclear and seemingly ambiguous.

Although the gospels of Luke and John are incomplete, they are nevertheless substantial in respect to their attestation. Therefore, it is problematic as to why Mark—the shortest gospel—exhibits so great a number of result clauses in comparison to the other gospels. In addition, Mark shows the greatest number of word-order types. Perhaps the content of Mark's gospel and its style may be conducive to exhibiting a greater number of consecutive constructions. What is particularly interesting about the statistics in Mark is that there are more result clauses in the Gothic text than in either the Greek Vorlage or the Latin Vulgate. The overall word-order tendency (for all the gospels) is V-initial.

5.2.3 Mood in result clauses

The indicative mood occurs almost exclusively as the mood of the main verb in result clauses in the Gothic gospels. Sequence of tenses strictly applies, but it is purely a matter of tense with tense (i.e., present follows present, preterite with preterite) and the optative mood in nearly all cases is not a factor. One may boldly state that the optative mood is *never* a factor, for in every passage in which it occurs, the clause may well be interpreted as denoting purpose or some construction other than result.

If we assume, however, that the clauses in question (Lk. 9:13; 9:45; Jn. 7:35; 12:38) are indeed consecutive clauses, in spite of the fact that the verbs in these clauses are in the optative mood, we must account for this deviation from the general syntactic rule that requires the indicative mood in result clauses in Gothic. One possible solution to the problem is to compare the final and consecutive clause structure in Gothic with other relatively ancient Germanic dialects, namely Old English, Icelandic, and Old High German. We shall omit Old English from our study here since the ambiguity of final and consecutive clause structure precludes a useful comparison that will lead to a likely conclusion. Hence, let us examine Icelandic and Old High

German. Since the syntax of Modern Icelandic does not differ substantially from that of Old Icelandic/Old Norse, I will examine the structure of purpose and result clauses in the modern idiom.

Like Gothic, Icelandic always employs the subjunctive (optative) in purpose clauses (Einarsson 1994: 156):

a) *Farðu frá birtunni, svo að ég sjái til að lesa* ‘Get out of my light so that I may see to read.’

OHG likewise employs the subjunctive (optative) in purpose clauses (Ellis 1966: 94):

b) *dáz...tû...in nôt prâht wêrdêst* ‘that you may be brought into need.’

Result clauses in Icelandic take the verb in the indicative mood (Einarsson 1994: 155):

c) *Peir voru svo grunnhyggfir, að þeir trúðu* ‘They were so gullible that they believed.’

However, ‘if the preceding principal clause contains a denial, a question, or a command,’ then the subjunctive (optative) is employed (Einarsson 1994: 155):

d) *Peir voru ekki svo grunnhyggfir, að þeir tryðu þessu* ‘They were not so gullible that they believed this’ (primary clause contains a negative or notion of denial).

e) *Eru þeir svo grunnhyggfir, að þeir trúu þessu?* ‘Are they so gullible as to believe this?’ (primary clause is an interrogative).

In OHG, on the other hand, result clauses are in the subjunctive (optative) (Ellis 1966: 95):

f) *sō thaz...thaz einissi in thrīnisse zi ērenne sī* ‘so that...the unity must be honored [lit., is to be honored] in trinity.’

That OHG employs the subjunctive in both purpose and result clauses is likely due to the influence of Latin as well as its own internal developmental tendencies (Sonderegger 1987: 244). Hence, the system in OHG does not appear to be derived entirely from Proto-Germanic.

The question, then, is whether Gothic shares any similarities with Icelandic that could be of Proto-Germanic provenance. Since Gothic, Old English, Old Norse/Old Icelandic, Old Saxon, and Old High German construct purpose clauses with the verb in the optative (subjunctive) mood, one may safely reconstruct this feature as belonging to Proto-Germanic syntax.

Result clauses, however, do not share the same strength of correspondence. As stated before, the indicative or optative is found in Icelandic (depending on the structure of the main clause), the optative occurs in OHG, either the indicative or optative occurs in OE—the reason for this appears to be arbitrary, although the *tendency* is for purpose clauses to exhibit the optative (subjunctive) and result clauses the indicative (Mitchell 1987: 414-418), and in Gothic we generally find the indicative.

Those clauses in Gothic, however, which contain the optative do share some features with Icelandic clauses in the optative/subjunctive. For example, the Gothic clauses in question have preceding main clauses that are either interrogatory or negative:

g) *Nist hindar uns maizo fimf hlaibam, jah fiskos twai, niba þau þatei weis...bugjaima...*

‘There is not among us more than five loaves and two fishes, unless we...should buy...’

(Lk. 9:13; negative main clause, unfulfilled condition in the subordinate clause).

h) *jah was gahulip faura im, ei ni fropeina imma* ‘and it was concealed before them [i.e., hidden from them], that they did not understand it’ (Lk. 9:45; main clause denotes denial or prevention).²⁸

i) *hadre sa skuli gaggan, þei weis ni bigitaima ina?* ‘where does this [one] intend to go, that we will not find him?’ (Jn. 7:35; main clause is an interrogative; subordinate clause denotes unfulfilled action).²⁹

²⁸ Greek, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic treat this as a purpose clause; Latin and Old English as result.

²⁹ Note the presence of the optative in both clauses.

j) *swa filu imma taikne gataujandin in andwairþja ize, ni galaubidedun imma, ei pata waurd...usfullnodedi* ‘Although he was performing so many signs in their presence, they did not believe him, [so] that the word...was fulfilled’³⁰ (Jn. 12:38; negative main clause).³¹

This evidence can only establish a rule of syntax, however, if there are no attested examples of main clauses, with result clauses in the indicative, that are negative or interrogative.

Upon examination, the evidence does not support this as a rule of Gothic syntax, for a number of result clauses having verbs in the indicative mood are dependent upon main clauses that are either interrogative or negative:

k) *ip Iesus panamais ni andhof, swaswe sildaleikida Peilatus* ‘but Jesus no longer answered, so that Pilate was astonished’ (Mk. 15:5; negative main clause).

l) *Rabbei, has frawaurhta...ei blinds gabaurans warþ?* ‘Rabbi, who sinned..., that he was born blind?’ (Jn. 9:2; interrogative main clause, the subordinate clause clearly not connoting purpose, but rather result).

Hence, we may assert that there is no syntactic rule in Gothic that determines the use of the optative in result clauses. The clauses in question (Lk. 9:13; 9:45; Jn. 7:35; 12:38) which contain verbs in the optative mood are most likely not result clauses. Lk. 9:13 is probably a negative conditional clause; Lk. 9:45, Jn. 7:35, and Jn. 12:38 probably denote purpose but with a strong element of fulfillment. We may safely state that Gothic employs the indicative mood in result clauses, the optative in purpose clauses.

³⁰ Since the evangelists thought in teleological terms, this most likely means ‘so that the word...should be fulfilled.’

³¹ Greek, Latin, Classical Armenian, Old Church Slavic, and Old English treat this as a purpose clause.

5.2.4 Aspect in result clauses

Aspect plays no specific, determinative role in result clauses in the Gothic gospels. Aspect in Gothic, regardless of the type of clause, seems to be more semantically and lexically driven than grammatically or inflectionally. In other words, Gothic's system of aspect is unlike what we find in Greek or Latin. In Greek, aspect is an inflectional, grammatical category separate from tense or mood; in Latin, aspect is closely tied in with tense. In Gothic, however, aspect is a product of the lexeme and the semantics involved with certain lexical items, so that one can say that in Gothic there are *perfective* and *imperfective verbs*, but not a perfective or imperfective grammatical/inflectional aspectual category (Greek), nor perfective or imperfective *tenses* (Latin).

5.3 Causal clauses

Causal clause structure in the Gothic gospels is nearly uniform as it relates to mood employed. Although a variety of conjunctions are used, these have no bearing on the mood of the verb, except in rare instances. In addition, the mood of the verb may be affected (rarely) when the verb belongs to an embedded conditional clause. This section will treat these issues in greater detail.

5.3.1 Conjunctions in causal clauses

Most causal clauses in Gothic are introduced by the conjunction *unte*: *unte stols ist gudis* 'because it is G-d's throne' (Mt. 5:34). *Unte* is so commonly employed in causal clauses, that it occurs more than all other causal conjunctions combined. The following passages contain clauses introduced by *unte*:

Matthew (5:34; 5:35 (2); 5:36; 5:45 (2); 6:5; 6:13; 6:14; 6:24; 7:13; 7:25; 9:16; 9:24; 9:36; 11:21; 11:23; 25:42; 27:6)

Mark (1:22; 1:34; 1:38; 3:30; 4:6; 4:25; 4:29; 4:41; 5:4; 5:8; 5:9; 5:28; 6:17; 7:19; 7:27; 8:2; 8:16; 8:17 (2); 8:33; 8:38; 9:31; 9:38; 9:40; 9:41; 10:14; 11:18; 13:22; 15:42)

Luke (1:1; 1:7; 1:37; 1:48; 1:49; 1:58; 1:68; 2:7; 2:10; 4:6; 4:32; 4:41; 4:43; 5:8; 5:34; 6:19; 6:20; 6:21 (2); 6:23; 6:24; 6:25 (2); 6:35; 7:5; 7:47; 8:18; 8:29; 8:30; 8:37; 8:42; 8:52; 9:7; 9:12; 9:38; 9:44; 9:48; 9:49; 9:50; 9:53; 9:56; 10:13; 10:21 (2); 14:11; 14:14; 14:17; 15:9; 15:24; 15:27; 15:32; 16:8 (2); 16:15; 17:9; 17:10; 18:11; 18:14; 18:16; 19:3; 19:4; 19:9; 19:17; 19:21)

John (6:2; 6:38; 6:41; 7:1; 7:7; 7:8; 7:23; 7:29; 7:30; 7:39 (2); 8:14; 8:16; 8:20; 8:29; 8:37; 8:42; 8:43; 8:44 (2); 8:47; 9:4; 9:22; 10:4; 10:5; 10:13; 10:17; 10:26; 10:36; 11:9; 11:10; 11:15; 11:41; 12:6; 12:11; 12:18; 12:39; 12:49; 13:29; 14:12; 14:17 (2); 14:28; 15:15 (2); 15:19; 15:21; 15:27; 16:3; 16:6; 16:7; 16:14; 16:16; 16:21 (2); 16:27; 16:32; 17:8; 17:9; 17:14; 17:24; 18:18; 19:7)

The second most commonly employed causal conjunction in the Gothic gospels is *patei* (and its variants). This conjunction's causal use occurs only in John's gospel: *jah patei þu manna wisands taujis þuk silban du guda* 'and because you, being a man, make yourself into G-d' (Jn. 10:33). Oblique forms of *patei* are employed as objects of prepositions, where the entire collocation possesses causal value. For example: *bi patei nehwa Iairusalem was, jah þuhta im ei suns skulda wesi þiudangardi gudis gaswikunþjan* 'because he was near Jerusalem, and it seemed to them that the kingdom of G-d was about to be made known' (Lk. 19:11); *in pizei ni habaida qrammiþa* 'because it did not have moisture' (Lk. 8:6). The dative may occur with or without a governing preposition: *ip faginod in pammei namna izwara gamelida sind in himinam* 'but rejoice because [lit., in that] your names are written in the heavens' (Lk. 10:20; with preposition); *[f]faginop miþ mis pammei bigat lamb mein þata fralusano* 'rejoice with me

because I have found my lamb, the [one] lost' (Lk. 15:6; without preposition). The following passages contain clauses introduced by *patei*:

John (6:26 (2); 7:22; 8:45; 10:33; 14:19; 15:5; 16:9; 16:10; 16:11; 16:19; 18:2)

As stated before, only one passage contains a clause introduced by *bi patei*:

Luke (19:11)³²

The following passages contain clauses introduced by *in pizei*:

Mark (4:5)

Luke (8:6; 18:5; 19:44)

The adverbs *dupe* 'therefore' and *dupei* 'wherefore' may rarely function as causal conjunctions. The latter is found only once in the gospel corpus: *dupei ni mik silban wairpana rahnida at pus qiman* 'because I did not consider myself worthy to come to you' (Lk. 7:6). *Dupe* is mostly used in conjunction with the subordinating particle *ei*: *dupe ei*³³ *ni galaubides waurdam meinaim* 'because [or, for that reason that] you did not believe my words' (Lk. 1:20).

The causal conjunction *dupei* and its variants occur only in Luke. The following passages contain clauses introduced by *dupe ei*:

Luke (1:13; 1:20; 1:35; 2:4)

The causal conjunction *pande/pandei* occurs exclusively in Luke and John. Luke prefers the variant *pandei*; John, *pande*: *pande sehun augona meina nasein peina* 'because my eyes have seen your salvation' (Lk. 2:30); *pandei aban ni kann* 'since I do not know a man' (Lk.

³² Henceforth, clauses containing conjunctions that occur only once will not be reiterated in this section's discussion of frequency distribution.

³³ It can be argued that *dupei* is a contraction of *dupe ei* and that the two conjunctions ought to be considered as the same construction. However, *dupei* may be a variant of *dupe*, based upon the fact that Gothic *ei* [i] is often confused with *e* [e]; cf. *manaseps* 'mankind' with *manaseips*. This phenomenon primarily occurs in Luke.

1:34); *þande sabbate daga ni witaip* ‘because he does not observe the day of the Sabbaths’³⁴ (Jn. 9:16). The following passages contain clauses introduced by *þande/þandei*:

Þande: Luke (1:34)

John (5:47; 9:16)

Þandei: Luke (2:30; 16:3)

The conjunction *ei* on rare occasion may introduce a causal clause. This usage occurs in John: *nibai usqimai sis silbin, ei qipip: þadei ik gagga, jus ni magup qiman?* ‘surely he will not kill himself, because he says: where I am going, you cannot come?’ (Jn. 8:22). An emphatic negative introduced by the conjunction *þeei* also rarely occurs: *ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi* ‘not because he might be concerned for the poor’ (Jn. 12:6). The following passages contain clauses introduced by *ei*:

John (8:22; 9:17).

The frequency of the causal conjunctions in Gothic is summarized in the table below.

Table 5.10 Frequency of conjunctions employed in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>Unte</i>	175	84.54
<i>Þatei</i>	12	5.80
<i>Bi þatei</i>	1	.48
<i>In þizei</i>	4	1.93
<i>In þammei</i>	1	.48
<i>Þammei</i>	1	.48
<i>Duþei</i>	1	.48
<i>Duþe ei</i>	4	1.93
<i>Þande/þandei</i>	5	2.43
<i>Ei</i>	2	.97
<i>Þeei</i>	1	.48
Total	207	

³⁴ Here, most likely a *plurale tantum*: ‘the day of the Sabbath.’

It is difficult to determine whether there exists any significant semantic nuance among the various conjunctions. The conjunction *unte* seems to connote the sense of English ‘for/because’ and, perhaps, is comparable to Modern German *denn*; the other conjunctions, however, appear to convey the notion of ‘since, seeing that/because’ and, perhaps, are comparable to German *weil/da*. Certain conjunctions occur more frequently (and in the case of some conjunctions, exclusively) in one particular gospel (or gospels) than in others. The frequency of use of the several causal conjunctions is shown in the table below.

Table 5.11 Distributive frequency of the Gothic causal conjunctions employed by gospel

Conjunction employed	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<i>Unte</i>	19	100	28	96.5	64	82.05	63	78.75
<i>Patei</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	15
<i>Bi þatei</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1.28	0	0
<i>In þizeī</i>	0	0	1	3.5	3	3.85	0	0
<i>In þammei</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1.28	0	0
<i>þammei</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1.28	0	0
<i>Duþei</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1.28	0	0
<i>Duþe ei</i>	0	0	0	0	4	5.13	0	0
<i>þande</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1.28	2	2.5
<i>þandei</i>	0	0	0	0	2	2.56	0	0
<i>Ei</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.5
<i>þeei</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.25

Luke contains the greatest variety of causal conjunctions and the greatest number of causal clauses. John is second in variety and number of clauses, followed by Mark, and—finally—Matthew. These disparate figures may be the result of the number of attested passages, i.e., gospels with a greater level of attestation containing a greater number of causal clauses and variety of causal conjunctions. This, however, is not necessarily the case, since Mark percentagewise is the most complete of the Gothic gospels, but contains fewer causal clauses

than Luke or John. The number and variety of causal clauses, therefore, is due to the style and particular emphases of the several gospels.

5.3.2 Word order in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels

Causal clauses in the Gothic gospels exhibit as great a variety of word-order types as seen in other previously examined hypotactic constructions (purpose, result). This section will examine the word order of causal clauses in the attested portions of the Gothic gospels as concerns the various word-order types and their frequency.

Matthew exhibits a fairly broad range of word-order types. Most clauses show verb-initial word order, the great number of these being V-initial (no overt S/O): *unte...rineip ana garaihtans jah ana inwindans* ‘because it rains upon the righteous and the unjust’ (Mt. 5:45). In a number of these clauses, a predicate nominative intervenes between the conjunction and the verb: *unte baurgs ist þis mikilins þiudanis* ‘because it is the city of the great king’ (Mt. 5:35). If the verb is periphrastic, the participle may either precede or follow the inflected auxiliary: *unte gasulip was ana staina* ‘because it was founded on stone’ (Mt. 7:25; participle precedes auxiliary); *unte wesun afdauidai jah frawaurpanai swe lamba ni habandona hairdeis* ‘because they were tired and thrown aside as lambs not having a shepherd’ (Mt. 9:36; participles follow auxiliary). A predicate adjective may also intervene between the conjunction and verb: *unte gredags was* ‘because I was hungry’ (Mt. 25:42). An embedded subordinate clause (conditional) may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *unte ip waurpeina in Twre jah Seidone landa mahteis þos waurþanons in izwis, airis þau in sakkau jah azgon idreigodedeina* ‘because if there had occurred in the land of Tyre and Sidon the miracles [which had] occurred among you, they would have repented earlier than in sackcloth and ashes’ (Mt. 11:21).³⁵

³⁵ Note also the intervening adverbial phrase *airis þau* and the prepositional phrase *in sakkau jah azgon*.

VS word order is rare: *unte ni gaswalt so mawi* ‘because the maiden has not died’ (Mt. 9:24). An element (namely, a possessive) may intervene between the conjunction and verb: *unte beina ist piudangardi jah mahts jah wulpus in aiwins amen* ‘because yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.’ (Mt. 6:13).

VO word order occurs in Matthew nearly as frequently as V (no S/O): *unte afnimip fullon af pamma snagin* ‘because it takes away the fullness from the garment’ (Mt. 9:16). A prepositional phrase may intervene between the verb and its object: *unte frijond in gaqumbim jah waihstam plapjo standandans bidjan* ‘because they love to pray, standing in the synagogues and the corners of the streets’ (Mt. 6:5).³⁶

VOS word order is rare and occurs only once: *unte jabai afletip mannam missadedins ize, afletip jah izwis atta izwar sa ufar himinam* ‘because if you forgive men their misdeeds, your Father, the [one] beyond the heavens, will also forgive you’ (Mt. 6:14).

Subject-initial causal clauses are rare in Matthew. A conditional clause may intervene between the conjunction and subject: *unte jabai in Saudaumjam waurpeina mahteis pos waurpanons in izwis aipau eis weseina und hina dag* ‘because if among the Sodomites there had occurred the miracles [which had] occurred among you then they would exist until this day’ (Mt. 11:23). The subject may occur without an overt object or verb: *unte braid daur jah rums wigs sa brigganda in fralustai* ‘because broad [is] the door and spacious the way, the [one] bringing in destruction’ (Mt. 7:13).

OV word order is also quite rare: *unte sunnon seinu urranneip ana ubilans jah godans* ‘because he causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good’ (Mt. 6:24). A conditional clause may

³⁶ Although these are prepositional phrases, they are actually constituents of a participial phrase containing the participle *standandans*.

intervene between the conjunction and direct object: *unte jabai fġajb ainana, jah anġarana frijoġ* ‘because if he hates one, even the other he will love’ (Mt. 6:24).

Mark, like Matthew, displays in causal clauses relatively few word-order types in comparison to what we find in Luke and John. Most causal clauses in Mark show VO word order: *unte kunġedun ina* ‘because they knew him’ (Mk. 1:34). The direct object may be a direct quotation: *unte qeġun: aġman unġrainjana ġabaiġ* ‘because they said: he has an unclean spirit’ (Mk. 3:30).

Other word-order types occurring in causal clauses in Mark are either relatively uncommon or rare:

V (no S/O)

*unte ni ġaleiġiġ imma*³⁷ *in ġairto* ‘because it does not go into his heart’ (Mk. 7:19).

VS

unte atist asans ‘because the harvest is at hand’ (Mk. 4:29).

SV

unte alla managai sildaleikidedun in laisainais is ‘because all the multitude was astonished on account of his teaching’ (Mk. 11:18).

SVO

unte jah winds jah marei ufġausjand imma ‘because even wind and sea obey him’ (Mk. 4:41).

SOV

*ġatei frauja ġis ġairneiġ*³⁸ ‘because the Lord desires this’ (Mk. 11:3).

OV

Unte ġlaibans ni ġabam ‘because we do not have loaves’ (Mk. 8:16).

³⁷ Corporal dative? (i.e., dative of the body part affected, a type of dative of personal interest) *or* dative of possession.

³⁸ *Ġairnjan* governs the genitive case.

Lukes's gospel contains the greatest number of causal clauses (only slightly outnumbering John), and has the greatest number of clausal cause word-order types (a distinction it shares with John). Different types of arguments may intervene between the conjunction and the verb. Consider the following examples:

indirect object

unte mis atgiban ist because it [i.e., the *waldufni*] has been given to me' (Lk. 4:6).

predicate nominative (a frequent occurrence in V-initial constructions)

unte manna frawaurhts im, frauja 'because I am a sinful man, Lord' (Lk. 5:8).

predicate adjective

unte gredagai wairþiþ 'because you are becoming hungry' (Lk. 6:25).

prepositional phrase

bi þatei nehva Iairusalem was 'because he was near Jerusalem' (Lk. 19:11).

adverb (or adverbial phrase)

unte her in auþjamma stada sium 'because we are here in a desert place' (Lk. 9:12).

Clauses exhibiting VS word order are somewhat infrequent: *duþe ei andhausida ist bida þeina* 'because your prayer has been heard' (Lk. 1:13). Sometimes an intervening argument is a possessive. This usage and placement seem to indicate emphasis: *unte izwara ist þiudangardi himine* 'because the kingdom of the heavens is yours' (Lk. 6:20). An argument often intervenes between the verb and the subject: *unte nist unmahteig guda ainhun waurde* 'because no word is impossible for G-d' (Lk. 1:37).

VO word order occurs frequently: *unte ju habaid gaþlaiht izwara* 'because you already have your consolation' (Lk. 6:24). All V-initial word-order types seem to permit an argument's intervention between the conjunction and verb of the clause: *þatei miþ waldufnja jah mahtai*

anabiudip paim unhrainjam ahmam jah usgaggand? ‘because with authority and power he commands the unclean spirits and they go out?’ (Lk. 4:36).

VSO and VOS clauses are very rare: *pandei sehun augona meina nasein peina* ‘because my eyes have seen your salvation’ (Lk. 2:30; VSO word order); *unte gatawida mis mikilein sa mahteiga, jah weih namo is* ‘because the mighty [one] has done a greatness for me, and holy [is] his name’ (Lk. 1:49; VOS word order).

The most commonly occurring S-initial clausal type is SV: *ip faginod in pammei namna izwara gamelida sind in himinam* ‘but rejoice because [lit., in that] your names are written in the heavens’ (Lk. 10:20). As observed in V-initial clauses, S-initial clauses may have other arguments intervening between the conjunction and the head argument (here, the subject): *dupe ei, <jah> saei gabairada weihs haitada sunus gudis* ‘because even he who is born holy is called G-d’s Son’ (Lk. 1:35).³⁹

Other subject-initial types are very uncommon or rare. For example, S (no over O/V) occurs only twice: *unte sai, mizdo izwara managa in himinam* ‘because, behold, your reward [is] great in the heavens’ (Lk. 6:23). SVO word order may also be found, but occurs infrequently: *pandei frauja meins afnimip fauragaggi af mis* ‘because my Lord is taking away from me the stewardship’ (Lk. 16:3).

The only object-initial clausal type occurring in Luke is OV: *pandei aban ni kann?* ‘because I do not know a man?’ (Lk. 1:34).

In John’s gospel, the sentence type V (no S/O) occurs most frequently: *unte atstaig us himina* ‘because I came down out of heaven’ (Jn. 6:38). Often an argument intervenes between the conjunction and verb, as the following examples indicate:

³⁹ Or, ‘he who is born is called holy, G-d’s Son.’

predicate nominative/adjective

unte liugnja ist jah atta is ‘because he is a liar as well as his father’ (Jn. 8:44).

prepositional phrase

unte us guda ni sijup ‘because you are not from G-d’ (Jn. 8:47).

Besides prepositional phrases, no other adverbial phrases/constructions intervene except for the negative *ni*, which frequently occurs.

John’s gospel contains also a fairly large number of causal clauses showing VO word order: *unte kunnun stibna is* ‘because they know his voice’ (Jn. 10:4). Not only may a clause contain negation: *unte ni kunnun pize framapjane stibna* ‘because they do not know the voice of strangers’ (Jn. 10:5), but also the entire clause may be negated: *ni patei sehup taiknins jah fauratanja* ‘not because you saw signs and portents’ (Jn. 6:26). As in the other gospels, the direct object may be a direct or indirect statement: *unte hausidedun ei gatawidedi po taikn* ‘because they heard that he had done this sign’ (Jn. 12:18). Intervention of an argument between the conjunction and verb occurs only once in VO causal clauses in John: *patei inuh mik ni magup taujan ni waiht* ‘because without me you can do nothing’ (Jn. 15:5).

Other verb-initial causal clause types are either infrequent (i.e., VS) or rare (VSO, VOS):

VS

unte gabaurans warp manna in fairhvau ‘because a man has been born in the world’ (Jn. 16:21).

VSO

unte aftra qap Esaeias ‘because again Isaiah said...’ (Jn. 12:39). The quote that follows *Esaeias* is the object of the verb *qap*.

VOS

unte sokidedun ina bai Iudaieis usqiman ‘because the Jews sought him, to kill [him]’ or ‘because the Jew sought to kill him; (Jn. 7:1).

Subject-initial causal clauses do not occur as frequently as verb-initial ones in John. SV is the most commonly occurring word order of this type: *unte liuhad nist in imma* ‘because the light is not in him’ (Jn. 11:10). Intervention between the conjunction and subject is rare in SV causal clauses in John: *unte jabai ik ni galeipa, parakletus ni qimip at izwis* ‘because, if I do not go, the paraclete will not come to you’ (Jn. 16:7).⁴⁰ The subject and verb, however, are often intervened, mostly by a prepositional phrase: *unte ik fram guda urrann jah qam* ‘because I proceeded forth and came from G-d’ (Jn. 8:42). Although a genitival construction may intervene between the subject and verb, this perhaps may not be a true intervention if one discounts the genitive within the construction as an independent unit since the argument in the genitive case is dependent upon its head noun, with the entire construction acting as a unit: *patei sa reiks bis fairhauus afdomips warp* ‘because the ruler of this world has been judged’ (Jn. 16:11). I consider *bis fairhauus* an intervention, even though *sa reiks bis fairhauus* acts as a unit.

Other subject-initial causal clauses in John occur infrequently: *unte jus mik frijodedub...* ‘because you loved me...’ (Jn. 16:27; SOV word order); *jah patei bu manna wisands taujis buk silban du guda* ‘and because you, being a man, are making yourself into G-d’ (Jn. 10:33; SVO word order).

Object-initial causal clauses in John are uncommon or rare:

OV

unte liuhap bis fairhauus gasaihip ‘because he sees the light of this world’ (Jn. 11:9).

⁴⁰ It is debatable as to whether this is a true intervention since the entire conditional construction (both protasis and apodasis) may be subject to the conjunction *unte*.

OVS

unte arka habaida Iudas ‘because Judas had the money-box’ (Jn. 13:29).

Table 5.12 Word-order types in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels

Word-order type	Frequency by gospel			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VS	2	4	7	7
VO	4	12	16	21
VSO	0	0	3	1
VOS	1	0	2	1
V-initial (no S/O)	9	6	25	20
SV	1	4	18	16
SOV	0	1	0	2
SVO	0	2	4	6
S-initial (no V/O)	1	0	2	0
OV	2	3	6	10
OVS	0	0	0	1
OSV	0	0	1	0

The data in the chart above indicate a tendency toward verb-initial clauses across the gospels. The fact that much of Matthew’s gospel is unattested, as well as substantial portions of Luke and John, has obfuscated the fullness of the data’s accuracy. Based upon the information as given, it is difficult to surmise the default word order in Gothic subordinate clauses, in particular causal clauses. Although the numbers favor a verb-initial word order in Gothic, one cannot ignore the significant number of subject- and object-initial clauses. The pattern here is reminiscent of that found in the Greek Vorlage. Hence, we may rightly assume that Wulfila was aping the word order which he observed in the Greek text that he possessed.

Table 5.13 General comparison of word-order types in Gothic causal clauses

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Verb-initial	144	64
Subject-initial	57	26
Object-initial	23	10

5.3.3 Mood in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels

Causal clauses in the Gothic gospels almost exclusively contain the finite verb in the indicative mood. Three clauses (Mt. 7:13; Lk. 6:23; 16:15) contain no verb.

Both the present and preterite tenses occur in Gothic causal clauses, in all four gospels:

Matthew

unte stols ist gudis ‘because it is G-d’s throne (5:34; present tense).

þatei ni idreigodedun sik ‘because they did not repent’ (11:20; preterite tense).

Mark

þatei frauja þis gairneiþ ‘because the Lord desires this’ (11:3; present tense).

unte kunþedun ina ‘because they knew him’ (1:34; preterite tense).

Luke

unte frijop þiuda unsara ‘because he loves our nation’ (7:5; present tense).

Unte frodaba gatawida ‘because he performed wisely’ (16:8; preterite tense).

John

unte ik gagga du attin ‘because I am going to the Father’ (16:16; present tense).

unte frijodes mik faur gaskaft fairhvaus ‘because you loved me before the creation of the world’ (17:24; preterite tense).

In the face of the overwhelming evidence for accepting the indicative as the default mood of the verb in Gothic causal clauses, we must somehow account for the presence of the optative in a few passages by ascertaining the function of these optatives and whether this function has anything to do with causality or the actual structure of the causal clause. Hence, let us proceed to examine each passage containing the verb in the optative.

Although the optative mood is rare in causal clauses, it does occur in every gospel except Mark. In Matthew and Luke, the optative is present only in causal clauses containing an embedded conditional construction, as the following indicates: *unte ip waurpeina in Twre jah Seidone landa mahteis þos waurþanons in izwis, airis þau in sakkau jah azgon idreigodedeina* ‘because if there had occurred in the land of Tyre and Sidon those miracles having occurred among you, they would have repented long ago, perhaps in sackcloth and ashes’ (Mt. 11:21; see also Mt. 11:23); *unte ip in Twrai jah Seidonai waurpeina mahteis þozei waurpun in izwis, airis þau in sakkum jah azgon sitandeins gaidreigodedeina* ‘because if in Tyre and Sidon there had occurred the miracles which occurred among you, long ago—perhaps sitting in pieces of sackcloth and ashes, they would have repented’ (Lk. 10:13). If we isolate the conditional constructions as given, we notice that these conditions are all past contrary-to-fact, a type of conditional construction with the verb in the preterite optative in both the protasis and apodosis. These optatives, then, clearly are not determined by any concept of causality or causal construction, but rather are determined by the conditional clause in which they appear. We may, therefore, eliminate these three passages containing embedded conditional clauses as true causal clauses with the optative.

In John, on the other hand, the optative mood occurs in causal clauses without any embedded clause. These verbs in the optative are essential elements within the causal clauses and the use of the optative is clearly a necessary part of the clause structure. Consider the following:

- a) *ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi* ‘not because he might be concerned with the poor’ (Jn. 12:6).
- b) *ni þatei fram Mose sijai* ‘not because it is from Moses’ (Jn. 7:22).

In the first example above, the conjunction *þeei* introduces the causal clause. The fact that *þeei* also introduces a small number of purpose clauses in John may indicate that this conjunction in particular merely governs the optative (cf. Latin *cum*, which, when used as a causal conjunction, always governs the subjunctive). In the second example, however, the conjunction *þatei* does not usually govern the optative mood in causal clauses. Perhaps the optative here indicates, as with the Latin subjunctive, the viewpoint of other than the speaker/narrator. If that is the case, then this passage might be rendered ‘not because it is (as you say) from Moses.’

A simpler solution, however, may be observable and, thus, preferable.⁴¹ For example, if we answer the question ‘What property do clauses “a” and “b” above share?’, then we increase the likelihood that a proposed solution is viable. A close examination of the above passages reveals that each one is introduced by the negative particle *ni*, which negates the entire clause, not simply an element within the clause. It is possible, then, that causal clauses in Gothic in which the entire clause is negated must contain the finite verb in the optative mood when contrasted with a following asserted clause.

5.3.4 Aspect, tense, and Aktionsart in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels

Although the degree to which aspect plays a role in Gothic is debatable, the synergy of tense and Aktionsart is indisputable. Aspect, when it is a factor, does not appear to influence tense, but it does have effect on Aktionsart. One may say, then, that Aktionsart in Gothic is a result of tense and aspect.

Since aspect in Gothic is closely tied to Aktionsart, and Aktionsart cannot occur outside the context of tense, this section will examine the occurrences of the tenses in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels in light of Aktionsart and aspect (when aspectual differences are discernible).

⁴¹ That the simplest solution is preferable is based upon Occam’s Razor, the principle stating that the simplest solution to a problem is likely the correct one.

As stated previously in section 5.3.3, both the present and preterite tenses occur in causal clauses in Gothic, indicating the emphasis of temporality in the Gothic verbal system. We will begin our study, then, with the present tense, by examining the various types of action (Aktionsart) that the present tense exhibits. Consider the following examples of present tense action types:

Instantaneous Present⁴²

ei qipip: padei ik gagga, jus ni magup qiman ‘because he says: where I go, you cannot come’ (Jn. 8:22).

Progressive Present

unte ni gaswalt, ak slepip ‘because she has not died, but is sleeping’ (Lk. 8:52).

Iterative Present

ip in bizei uspriutip mis so widuwo ‘but because this widow keeps troubling me’ (Lk. 18:5).

Customary Present

unte ik patei leikaip imma tauja sinteino ‘because I always do what pleases him’ (Jn. 8:29).

Gnomic Present

jah rigneip ana garaihtans jah ana inwindans ‘and it rains on the righteous and unjust’ (Mt. 5:45).

Resultative (or Perfective) Present

unte fram fruma mip mis sijup ‘because you have been with me from the very first’ (Jn. 15:27).

Conative Present

hva taujau, padei frauja meins afnimip fauragaggi af mis? ‘What shall I do, since my Lord is taking away the stewardship from me?’ (Lk. 16:3).

⁴² See Chapter 3, section 3.3.6 for an explanation of these Aktionsarten.

Futuristic Present⁴³

patei qimand dagos ana pus ‘because the days are coming upon you’ (Lk. 19:43); *audagai jus gretandand nu, unte ufhlohjanda* ‘blessed [are] you now weeping, because you will be made to laugh’ (Lk. 6:21).

The preterite tense may exhibit the following types of action in causal clauses in Gothic:

Aoristic Preterite

in þizei ni habaida qrammipa ‘because it did not have moisture’ (Lk. 8:6).

Progressive Preterite

unte ohtedun sis Iudaiuns ‘because they were fearing the Jews’ (Jn. 9:22).

Inchoative Preterite

unte managai in þis garunnun Iudaiei jah galaubidedun Iesua ‘because many of the Jews, on account of this, began to come quickly together and believe [in] Jesus’ (Jn. 12:11).

Iterative Preterite

unte mahts af imma usiddja jah ganasida allans ‘because power kept on going out of him and was healing all’ (Lk. 6:19).

Customary Preterite

*patei ufta gaiddja*⁴⁴ *Iesus jainar miþ siponjam seinaim* ‘because Jesus often would go there with his disciples’ (Jn. 18:2).

Resultative Preterite

unte ni gaswalt ‘because she has not died’ (Lk. 8:52).

⁴³ The Gothic present frequently functions as a future.

⁴⁴ It is clear that the prefix *ga-* does not indicate perfective aspect, but rather an adverbial notion of ‘together, along.’ Hence, the force of the verb is that Jesus had often ‘gone together, assembled’ with his disciples. Although it is certainly possible that the activity may have been perceived as completed in the context of the present, it was a customary activity in past time. The adverb *ufta* ‘often’ seems to be the compelling evidence of customary action.

Consummative Preterite⁴⁵

duþe ei ni galaubides waurdam meinaim ‘because you have not believed my words’ (Lk. 1:20).

Dramatic (Immediate Past) Preterite

unte bigat drakman þammei fralaus ‘because I have [just now] found the drachma that I had lost’ (Lk. 15:9).

Gnomic Preterite

iþ biþe gabauran ist barn, ni þanaseiþs ni gaman þizos aglons faura fahedai, unte gabaurans warþ manna in fairhvau ‘but when the child is born, no longer does she remember that anguish for joy, because a human being has been born in the world’ (Jn. 6:21).

Pluperfective Preterite

unte unhulþons managos galipun in ina ‘because many unclean spirits had gone into him’ (Lk. 8:30).

Proleptic Preterite⁴⁶

swa jah jus, þan taujaip alla þo anabudanona izwis, qipaiþ þatei skalkos unbrukjai sijum, unte þatei skuldedum taujan gatawidedum ‘even so you, when[ever] you do all those things commanded to you, you are to say, We are useless servants because we have done what we were supposed to do.’ (Lk. 17:10).

Allegorical Preterite

A number of consummative and resultative preterites may also belong to this class (see Wallace 1996: 581-582 for an explanation of this type of verbal action). This preterite occurs in passages

⁴⁵ One aid in distinguishing the resultative from the consummative preterite is the recognition of the verb’s transitivity. Resultative perfects in Greek are usually intransitive; consummative perfects, transitive (Wallace 1996: 577). Hence, we may, mutatis mutandis, apply the same criteria in regard to the Gothic resultative and consummative preterite.

⁴⁶ The proleptic preterite denotes an action that is to occur in the future as though having already taken place in past time. The proleptic activity itself may be consummative within its own temporal realm.

that relate actual historical events in the distant past or events within an instructional narrative (such as a parable) that have current relevance and application: *unte frodaba gatawida* ‘because he did wisely’ (Lk. 16:8; part of an instructional narrative relating to events within the narrative that occur in past time); *andhaita þus, atta, frauja himinis jah airþos, unte affalht þo faura snutraim jah froðaim jah andhulides þo niuklahaim* ‘I confess you [in thanksgiving], Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these [things] from the clever and wise and have revealed them to the childish’ (Lk. 10:21; the activity has occurred in the distant or undisclosed past and has current relevance or instructional application).

In conclusion, we may indicate the frequency of tense through the following table:

Table 5:14 Frequency of tense in causal clauses in the Gothic gospels

Tense	Frequency							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Present	13	12	17	15	41	36	42	37
Preterite	7	7	14	13.5	43	41	40	38.5

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter will conclude with a recapitulation of subordinating conjunctival usage, word-order configuration, mood, and aspect (including tense and Aktionsart) employment in telic, ecbatic, and aetiological hypotaxis as displayed in the Gothic gospels.

5.4.0 General Considerations

Although purpose in the Gothic gospels is usually shown through clausal structure, nevertheless it may be expressed in a limited number of non-clausal constructions. For example, the infinitive may be used to express purpose in the Gothic gospels: *let, ei saiham, qimaiu Helias nasjan ina* ‘Let us see, whether Elijah will come⁴⁷ to save him’ (Mt. 27:49). *Du* + the

⁴⁷ The optative is employed either to emphasize the futurity of the event, or to indicate that the clause is an indirect question.

infinitive is also employed to denote purpose: *hwazuh saei saihviþ qinon du luston izos* ‘Each one who sees a woman to desire her’ (Mt. 5:28). Sometimes the preposition *du* is used with a noun to show purpose: *was Iohannes daupjands in aubidai jah merjands daupein idreigos du aflageinai frawaurhte* ‘John was baptizing in the desert and preaching the baptism of repentance for the laying aside of sins’ (Mk. 1:4). Hence, we may conclude 1) *that there is no standard, uniform manner to express purpose in the Gothic gospels*. In addition, we may note the following observations about hypotaxis in the Gothic gospels:

2) *Purpose clauses uniformly occur in the optative mood.*

3) *Result clauses uniformly occur in the indicative mood.*

4) *The usual mood for verbs in causal clauses is the indicative.* If the entire causal clause is negated, or if the clause is not given from the viewpoint of the speaker/narrator, it usually contains the verb in the optative.

5) *Subordinating conjunctions may introduce a number of different clausal types, and a particular clausal type may be introduced by various conjunctions.*

6) *Tense in Gothic is based upon a binary system of past vs. non-past; aspect synergizes with tense in a binary categorization of perfective vs. imperfective verbs.* Aktionsart functions within the context of tense and the narrative sequence, as well as the aspect of the verb.

7) *In subordinate clauses, the verb tends to move closest to the subordinating conjunction, with the subject being as close as possible to its verb, by either immediately preceding or following it.*

The following sections will recapitulate earlier discussions of subordinating conjunctions, mood, word order, and tense-aspect as these syntactic features relate to the overall scheme of hypotaxis.

5.4.1 Use of subordinating conjunctions in the Gothic gospels

This investigation is not exhaustive, but only treats briefly those conjunctions previously treated and those situations containing overlap in usage or variable conjunctive employment.

5.4.1.1 Uses of *ei*

As a subordinating conjunction, *ei* may introduce purpose (most frequent), result (less frequent), or causal clauses (least frequent). In addition, it may head certain types of substantival clauses (i.e., jussive noun clauses, fearing clauses [not in the gospels], indirect statement/discourse, indirect request/command):

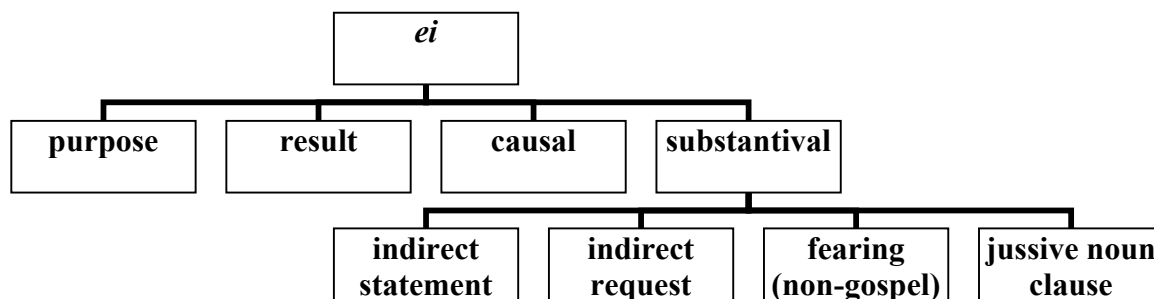
a) *þata rodida izwis, ei faheþs meina in izwis sijai, jah faheds izwara usfulljaidau* ‘I have told you this, so that my joy may be in you, and your joy may be made full’ (Jn. 15:11). (purpose)

b) *hvas frawaurhta...ei blinds gabaurans warþ* ‘who sinned...so that he was born blind’ (Jn. 9:2). (result)

c) *þu hva qipis bi þana ei uslauk þus augona* ‘What do you say concerning this [man], since he opened [your] eyes for you’ (Jn. 9:17). (cause)

d) *jah anabaup im ei mann ni qeþeina* ‘and he commanded them that they should tell no one’ (Mk. 7:36). (substantival: indirect request)

e) *jah andhofun ei ni wissedeina hwapro* ‘and they answered that they did not know whence [it was]’ (Lk. 20:7). (indirect discourse)



We may also observe that *ei* shares purpose, result, causal, and substantival usage with other conjunctions or non-finite constructions:

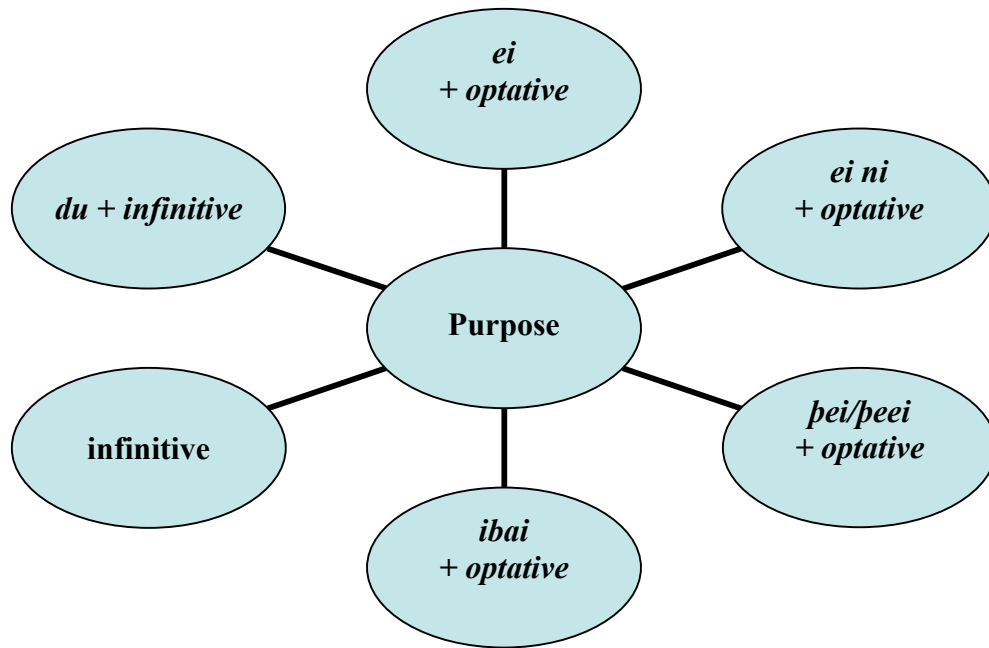


Figure 11 Telic Constructions in Gothic

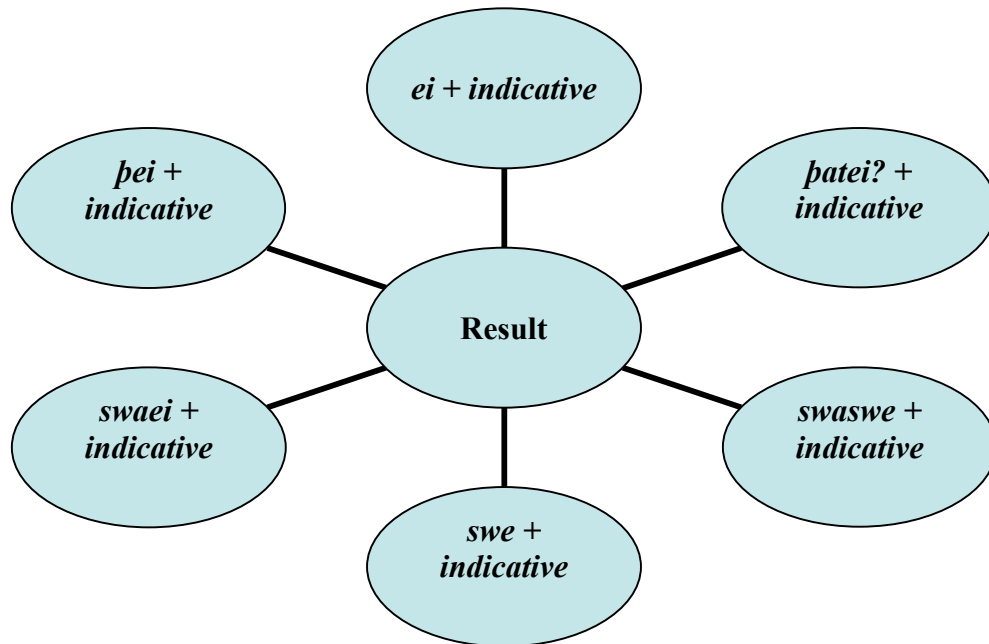


Figure 12 Result Clause Constructions in Gothic

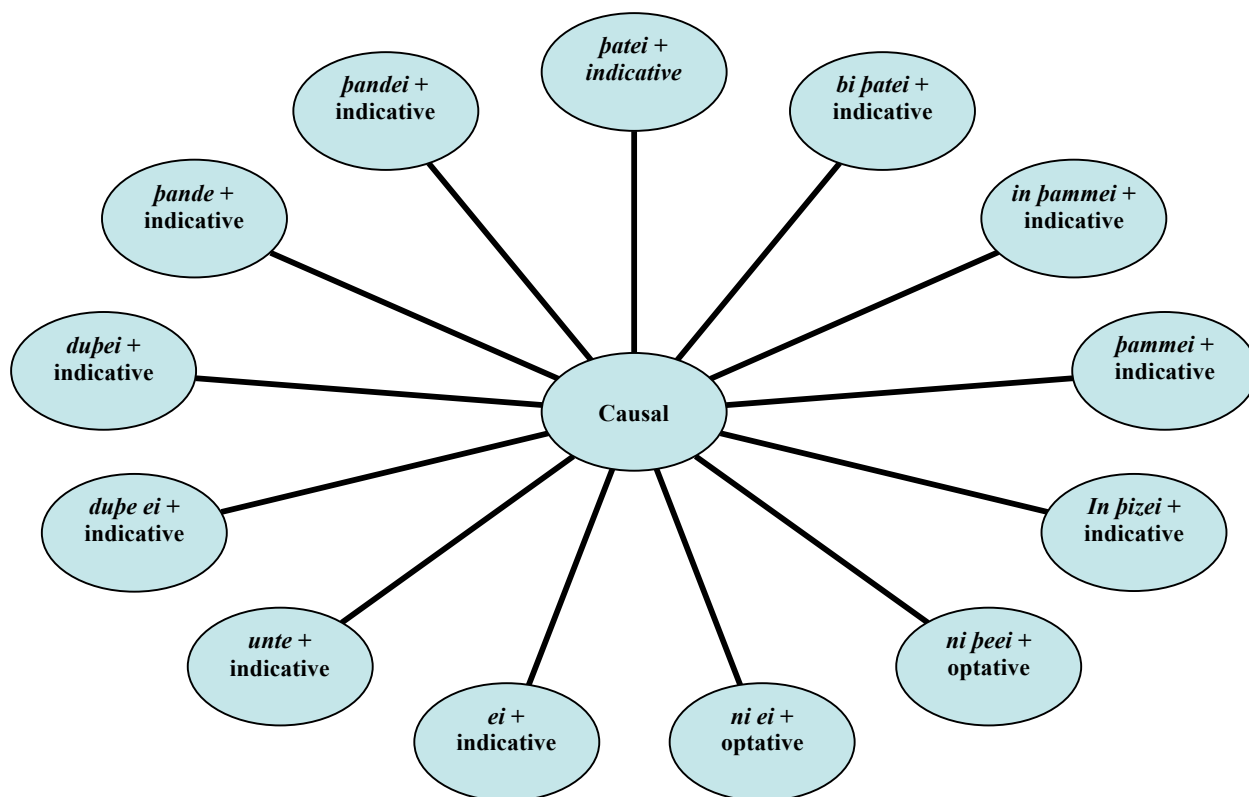


Figure 13 Causal Clause Constructions in Gothic

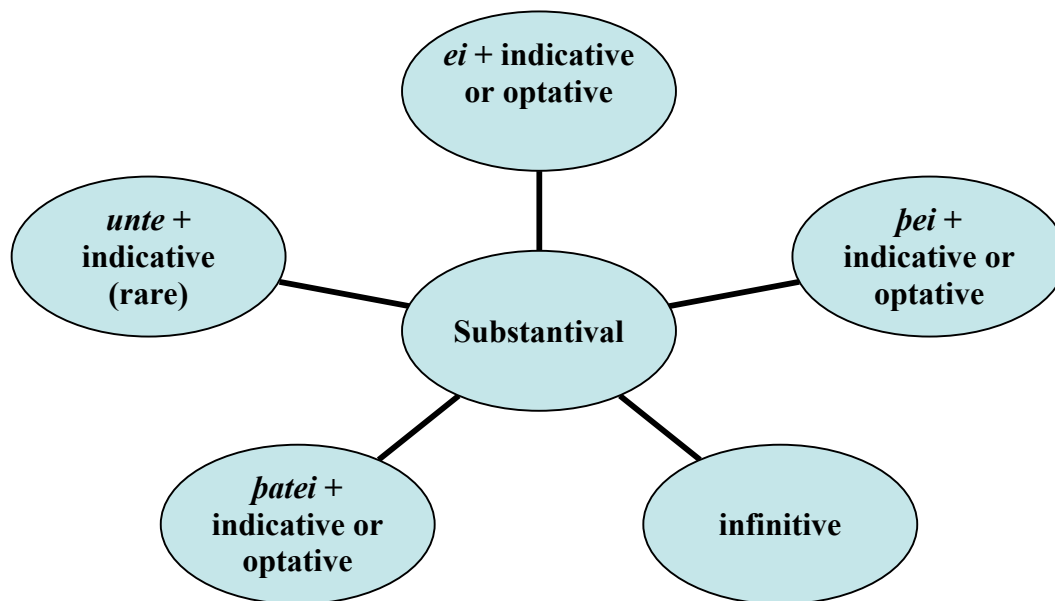


Figure 14 Substantival Clause Constructions in Gothic

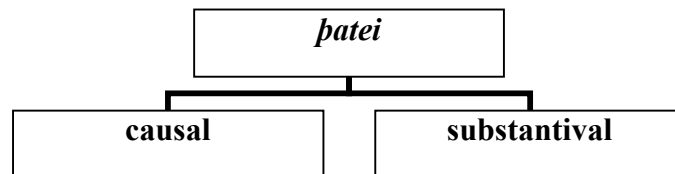
5.4.1.2 Uses of *patei*

Like *ei*, *patei* has multiple hypotactic uses. It functions primarily as the head of a causal or substantival clause.

a) *patei gabaurans ist izwis himma daga nasjands* ‘because a savior is born to you today’

(Lk. 2:11). (causal)

b) *hausidedup patei qipan ist: ni horinos* ‘you have heard that it is said: you shall not commit adultery’ (Mt. 5:27). (substantival)



In addition to exhibiting multiple uses, *patei* shares these uses with a number of other conjunctions (see Figures 14 and 15 above).

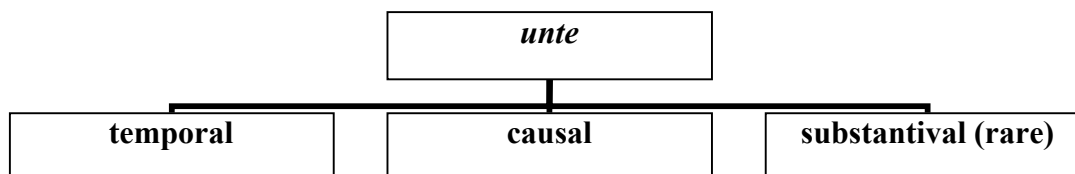
5.4.1.3 Uses of *unte*

In addition to functioning as a causal conjunction, *unte* may introduce temporal clauses and possibly a substantival clause. Whenever *unte* is employed, the verb is in the indicative mood. Consider the following examples:

a) *unte ni magt ain tagl hweit aipbau swart gataujan* ‘because you cannot make one hair white or black’ (Mt. 5:36). (causal)

b) *has manna izwara aigands taihunt Hund lambe jah fraliusands ainamma pize niu bileipip po niunt Hund jah niun ana aupidai jah gaggip afar pamma fralusanin unte bigitip pata?* ‘Which man of you, possessing a hundred lambs and losing one of them, will he not leave behind the ninety-nine in the desert and go after the [one] lost until he finds it?’ (Lk. 15:4). (temporal)

c) *jah hausidedun bisitands jah ganiþjos izos, unte⁴⁸ gamikilida frauja armahairtein seina bi izai* ‘and her neighbors and relatives heard that the Lord had magnified his mercy upon her’ (Lk. 1:5). (substantival)



5.4.1.4 Uses of *þei/þeei*

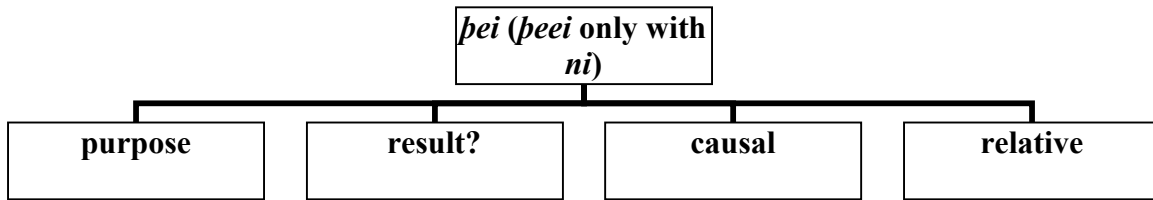
The conjunction *þei/þeei* may introduce purpose, result, and substantival clauses:

- a) *galisip þos aflifnandeins drauhsnos, þei waihtai ni fraqistnai* ‘gather the remaining fragments, so that nothing may be lost’ (Jn. 6:12). (purpose)
- b) *hvaðre sa skuli gaggan, þei⁴⁹ weis ni bigitaima ina?* ‘Where might he intend to go, that we might not find him?’ (Jn. 7:35). (result)
- c) *ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi* ‘not because he might be concerned for the poor’ (Jn. 12:6). (causal)
- d) *insaihvip du fuglam himinis, þei ni saiand nih sneiþand* ‘pay attention to the birds of heaven, that they neither sow nor reap’ (Mt. 6:26). (substantival)

This subordinate construction may also be a relative or causal clause (i.e., ‘which neither sow,’ or ‘because they neither sow.’)

⁴⁸ The conjunction *unte* here may also indicate a causal construction (albeit the translation would seem rather stilted, if that were the case): ‘her...relatives heard, because the Lord had magnified...’

⁴⁹ This clause is ambiguous as to its structure. The optative presence in both the main and subordinate clauses leaves unclear the nature of the subordinate clause, which may indicate either result (with uncertainty of its outcome) or purpose.



5.4.1.5 Uses of *þande*

The conjunction *þande* may introduce causal, temporal, or conditional clauses:

a) *þande sehvun augona meina nasein þeina* ‘because my eyes have seen your salvation’

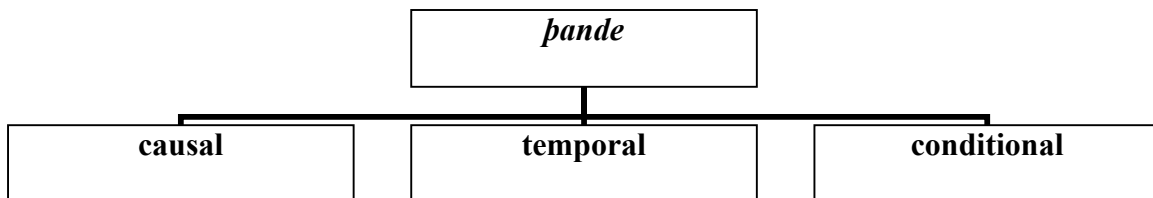
(Lk. 2:30). (causal)

b) *gaggip þande liuhap habaiþ* ‘go, while you have the light’ (Jn. 12:35). (temporal)

c) *jah þande þata hawi haiþjos himma daga wisando jah gistradagis in auhn galagip gub*

swa wasjip ‘and if G-d so clothes the grass of the field, existing today and tomorrow

placed into the oven’ (Mt. 6:30). (conditional)



5.4.2 Word order in the Gothic gospels

Final, consecutive, and causal clauses in Gothic exhibit similar statistical patterns and percentages (comparable to the Greek Vorlage) in respect to word-order types. For example, these three hypotactic types tend to display V-initial constructions, i.e., constructions in which the verb precedes the subject, direct object, or both.

Table 5.15 Argument-initial word-order types in Gothic hypotactic structures

Argument type	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
V-initial	126	75.9	22	61.1	141	63.8
S-initial	26	15.7	10	27.8	57	25.8
O-initial	14	8.4	4	11.1	23	10.4

The three categories of hypotaxis which I have examined show a majority of occurrences of V-initial constructions, occurring more than the other two head types combined. S-initial structures are second most common in occurrence, and O-initial clauses occur comparatively least.

Without a comparison with the Greek, it is a matter of conjecture as to why V-initial clauses predominate in subordination in the Gothic gospels. Since the majority of V-initial clauses exhibit no overt subject, it is impossible to determine whether these ‘subjectless’ clauses should be understood as SV or VS were an overt subject to appear. It may even be assumed that verb-initial clauses were a common word-order type in certain constructions within early Germanic dialects.

In Icelandic, for example, independent clauses frequently have verb-initial word order (Valfells 1981: 40). This verbal placement occurs in a ‘narrative sequence, but not in the first sequence of a clause or chapter.’ This stylistic feature, however, does not seem to apply to dependent clauses, which are generally SVO, or at least verb-second.

In Old English, on the other hand, VS word order occurs frequently in both independent and dependent clauses (Mitchell 1987: 974-977). The cause of this inversion may either be discourse salience of the verb or stylistic variation.

Although from the above evidence it is clear that V-initial clauses were not an unusual phenomenon in Old Icelandic and Old English, nevertheless the data do not support this word-

order type as default or common in Proto-Germanic or the earliest attested Germanic writings.

For example, early runic inscriptions consistently show SOV (Haugen 1982: 149):⁵⁰

a) *Ek Hlewagastiz Holtijaz horna tawidō* ‘I Hlewagastiz, son of Holt, made (the) horn’

(Gallehus horn, c. 400 A.D.).

Later runic inscriptions show a shift to SVO (Haugen 1982: 149):

b) *Ek Hagustal(l)daz hl(a)aiwido magu minino* ‘I, Hagustaldaz, buried my son’ (Kjølevik

c. 450 A.D.).

On the basis of such data, scholars have proposed OV as the basic word order for Proto-Germanic (Lehmann 1972: 243-246).

This proposed word order for Proto-Germanic, however, does not preclude the existence of V-initial clauses as normative in Gothic. Otherwise, Wulfila’s translation might be seen as not only peculiar, but perhaps even incomprehensible to its listeners and readers. This is not to say that V-initial was the normative or default word order, or even extremely common in Gothic. Rather, it is probable that V-initial was a possible and comprehensible, and perhaps even frequent, word order which Wulfila elected to employ in his translation in order to calque the Greek as much as possible, hence rendering into the Gothic language a sacred text that comes as near as possible to the order of thought as displayed in the Vorlage.

The following table gives a comprehensive statistical view of the data concerning word order as discussed previously in this chapter, the purpose of the table being to recapitulate what has already been corroborated.

⁵⁰ Although these inscriptions are not examples of syntax in hypotaxis, nevertheless, I have included them as examples of the general pattern of word order, assuming that the word order in subordinate clauses in early Germanic is similar to what is exhibited in main clauses.

Table 5.16 Word-order types in hypotactic clauses in Gothic

Word-order type	Clausal type					
	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
VS	17	10.24	8	23.53	20	9.05
VO	52	31.33	4	11.76	53	23.98
VSO	3	1.81	0	0	4	1.81
VOS	1	.6	0	0	4	1.81
V-initial (no S/O)	53	31.93	10	29.41	60	27.15
SV	15	9.04	6	17.65	40	18.10
SOV	3	1.81	0	0	3	1.36
SVO	8	4.82	4	11.76	12	5.43
S-initial (no V/O)	0	0	0	0	2	.91
OV	14	8.43	2	5.88	21	9.50
OVS	0	0	0	0	1	.45
OSV	0	0	0	0	1	.45
Total	166	NA	34	NA	221	NA

5.4.3 Mood in the Gothic gospels

Final clauses must be constructed with the verb in the optative mood. Result clauses must contain the verb in the indicative mood. Causal clauses generally have the verb in the indicative mood. But if the causal clause itself is negated or the cause of the event is given from other than the narrator's viewpoint, the verb is in the optative mood.

a) final clause: *ei jah þai siponjos þeinaɪ saihuaina waurstwa þeina þoei þu taujis* (Jn.

7:3) 'so that even your disciples may see your deeds which you are doing' (present optative).

b) causal clause: *ni þatei fram Mose sijai* (Jn. 7:22) 'not because it is from Moses' (present optative).

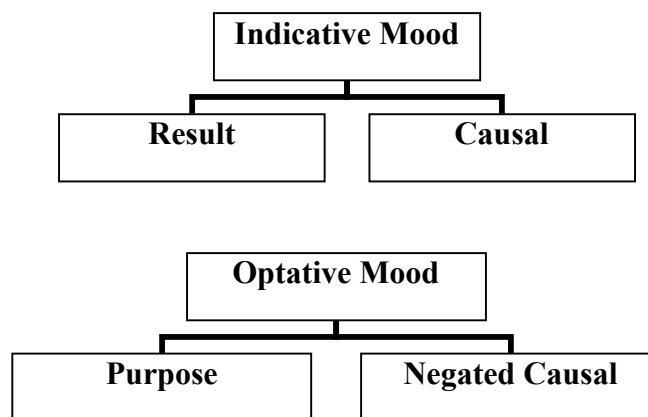
The following are typical uses of the indicative mood in result and causal clauses:

c) result clause: *swaswe ni mahtedun nih hlaif matjan* (Mk. 3:20) 'so that they could not even eat bread' (preterite indicative).

d) causal clause: *unte was laisjands ins swe waldufni habands jah ni swaswe þai bokarjos* (Mk. 1:22) ‘because he was teaching them as having authority and not as the scribes’ (preterite indicative).

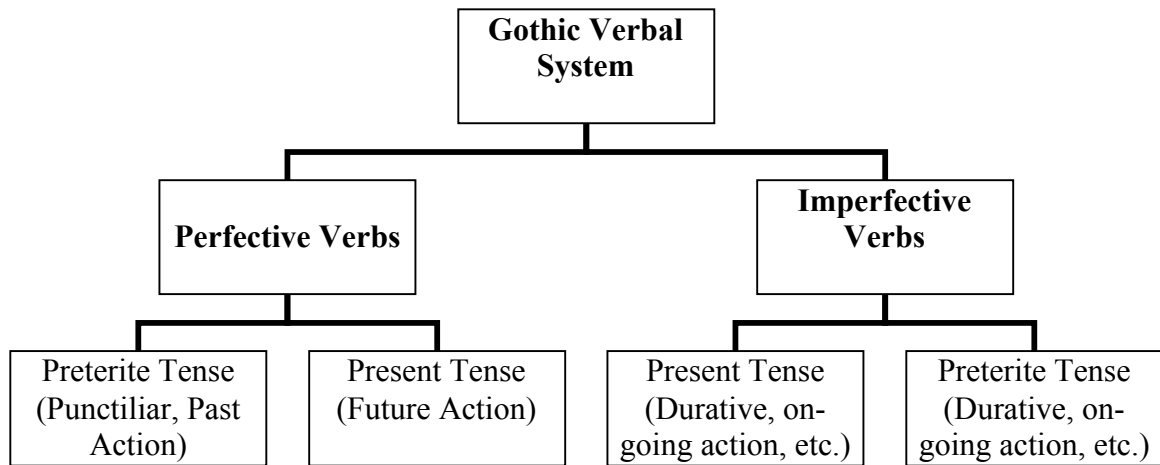
Although the indicative mood never occurs in final clauses, this rule is valid only for constructions employing finite verbs. Purpose, as stated beforehand, may be expressed with the infinitive or *du* + infinitive.

The employment of mood in the hypotactic structures we have discussed may be summarized diagrammatically as follows:



5.4.4 Aspect and tense

Aspect in Gothic does not exist as an inflectional, grammatical category as it does in Greek, but rather it is a lexical and, in some cases, a derivational category. For example, in Greek, one speaks of present and aorist aspect; in Latin, of perfectum and infectum tense systems; in Gothic, however, of perfective and imperfective verbs. The study of aspect in Gothic, therefore, must be based upon that of lexemes and their classification as perfective or imperfective. Both perfective and imperfective verbs may be inflected for tense, indicating that aspect in Gothic is not so closely connected with tense (as it is in Latin) as it is with Aktionsart.



The system as represented is only a general model and is not valid in all cases, there being numerous exceptions. One may say that aspect is, perhaps, more a principle in Gothic rather than a rule.

What we can say for certain concerning the Gothic verbal system as it relates to hypotaxis is the following:

- 1) There exists a verbal tense dichotomy of past and non-past.
- 2) Subordinate clauses may be in either one of two moods—indicative or optative.
- 3) Verbs may be categorized as either perfective or imperfective in aspect.
- 4) Although there are only two tenses, these account for a broad range of action types (Aktionsarten).
- 5) Aspect appears to belong more to the realm of semantics than syntax.

CHAPTER 6

SYNCRISIS OF GOTHIC AND GREEK HYPOTAXIS

6.0 Introduction

A comparative analysis of Gothic and Greek syntax is important for understanding to what extent the syntactic structures found in Gothic are native to the language and to what degree they are a calquing of the Greek. This chapter, therefore, will comparatively examine telic, ecclastic, and aetiological clauses in Gothic and Greek, emphasizing the correspondences in conjunctions, mood, and aspect. In addition, the chapter will explore those passages in Gothic and Greek which do not have an exact clausal correspondence.

6.1 Syncritical analysis of purpose clauses

This section will comparatively examine purpose clauses in the Gothic and Greek gospels. Three types of purpose constructions will be examined: 1) direct telic clausal-to-clausal correspondence; 2) telic clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence; 3) telic clausal-to-non-telic-clausal correspondence.

6.1.1 Telic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

This section examines the correspondences of Gothic and Greek purpose clauses in regard to the conjunctions employed, the similarity/dissimilarity of word order (i.e., to what extent Gothic exhibits the word order of the Greek Vorlage), and the use of mood and aspect/tense.

6.1.1.1 Conjunctions

This section examines the correspondence of conjunctions used in Gothic and Greek purpose clauses. The Gothic conjunction *ei* generally corresponds to a variety of Greek conjunctions.

There are some notable exceptions, as the following sub-sections indicate.

6.1.1.1.1 *Ei* : ἵνα

This is the most frequent correspondence in the four gospels. One may safely categorize this as the default correspondence for purpose clauses in the affirmative:

a) Matt. 9:6

Abban ei witeiþ þatei waldufni habaiþ sa sunus mans ana airþai afleitan frawaurhtins

ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας

b) Mark 1:38

ei jah jainar merjau

ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω

c) Luke 1:4

ei gakunnais...

ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς...

d) John 6:5

ei matjaina þai

ἵνα φάγωσιν οὗτοι

In table 6.1 below, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel, with Mark and John (the shortest gospels in length) exhibiting the most correspondences.

Table 6.1 Frequency of *ei* : *ἵνα* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	1	27	18	63
% of Total	.9	24.8	16.5	57.8

6.1.1.1.2 *Ei* : ὅπως

When employed in purpose clauses, the Greek conjunction ὅπως functions primarily as a stylistic variant of ἵνα. This is evident through the fact that Wulfila employs the Gothic conjunction *ei* to translate ὅπως in every corresponding purpose clause. This correspondence occurs only in Matthew's gospel:

Matt. 5:16

ei gasaihvaina izwara goda waurstwa jah hauhjaina attan izwarana pana in himinam

ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

Table 6.2 below indicates the frequency of this correspondence.

Table 6.2 Frequency of *ei* : ὅπως correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	7	0	0	0
% of Total	100	0	0	0

6.1.1.1.3 *Ei* : ὅπως ἄν

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels:

Luke 2:35

ei andhuljaindau us managaim hairtam mitoneis

ὅπως ἄν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί

It is unclear whether *ǣv* exhibits a nuance of meaning. The Gothic contains no correspondence to this Greek particle. Hence, *ὅπως ǣv* seems to be a stylistic variant of *ὅπως/ἵνα*. For another possible explanation for the presence of *ǣv*, see section 4.1.1.1.3.

6.1.1.1.4 *þei* : *ἵνα*

This correspondence occurs only in John's gospel, *þei* being evidently a stylistic variant of *ei*:

a) John 6:7

þei nimai hvarjizuh leitil

ἵνα ἕκαστος βραχύ τι λάβῃ

b) John 16:33

þei in mis gawairþi aigeiþ

ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ εἰρήνην ἔχητε

It is unclear why Wulfila elected to employ *þei* instead of *ei*, or why he employed this correspondence only in these two passages.

6.1.1.1.5 *þeei* : *ἵνα*

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels, in John:

John 6:38

nih þeei taujau wiljan meinana...

οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν...

Note that the clause—not any particular element within the clause—is negated. It is possible that the employment of the conjunction *þeei* in this context has to do with negation, not simply stylistic variation.

6.1.1.1.6 *Ei ni* : ἵνα μή

Greek and Latin employ two different negative particles, depending on the mood of the verb employed in the clause containing the negative conjunction:

	<u>Indicative</u>	<u>Subjunctive/Optative</u> (Greek only; rare in the NT)
Greek:	οὐ	μή
Latin:	<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>

Such a distinction of usage is not usually or necessarily made in Gothic, the adverb *ni* occurring regardless of the mood of the verb. When *ni* occurs in a subordinate clause in Gothic, it may negate either the entire clause or an element within the clause.¹ Because of the lack of substantial attested portions in Matthew, this correspondence does not occur in that gospel.

Below are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Mark 3:9

ei ni þraiheina ina

ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν

b) Luke 9:45

ei ni froþeina imma

ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό

c) John 12:35

ei riqiz izwis ni gafahai

ἵνα μὴ σκοτία ὑμᾶς καταλάβῃ

Whenever a pair of thoughts occur, one adversative to the other, the second thought may be introduced by an adversative coordinating conjunction instead of the subordinating one. The gospel of John exhibits one such correspondence:

¹ From the data given, it is evident that Gothic requires *ni* to be adjacent to the verb.

John 18:28

ak matidedeina pasxa

ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα

The frequency of the correspondences by gospel is given in the table below.

Table 6.3 Frequency of *ei ni* : *ἵνα μή* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	0	1	2	7
% of Total	0	10	20	70

6.1.1.1.7 *Ei ni* : ὅπως μή

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels. It is unclear whether the Greek correspondence holds any semantic nuance (see section 4.1.1.1.8). Wulfila apparently saw none and treated ὅπως μή as the negative of ὅπως, the former being a stylistic variant of ἵνα μή.

Matt. 6:18

ei ni gasaihaizau mannam fastands

ὅπως μή φανῆς τοῖ ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων

6.1.1.1.8 *Ei ni* : μήποτε

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels and indicates a clear semantic nuance in the conjunction μήποτε. The Gothic attempts to imitate this nuance through the use of an additional lexeme, *hvan* ‘ever,’ obviously corresponding to –ποτε. Through comparative analysis, therefore, with the Gothic construction, the Greek conjunction μήποτε appears to have the force of ‘lest ever, lest at anytime,’ i.e., an accompanying degree of uncertainty present in the semantics of the particle (see section 4.1.1.1.10).

Luke 4:11

ei huan ni gastagqjais bi staina fotu þeina

μήποτε προσκόψης πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου

6.1.1.1.9 *Ei ni* + indefinite pronoun : μηδεῖς

Occurring only once in the four gospels, this correspondence is actually a variant of *ei ni* : μή, being a compound of the negative conjunctive particle and the numeral εἷς acting pronominally:

Mark 1:44

saihv ei mannhun ni qibais waiht

ὄρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἴπης

6.1.1.1.10 *Þei ni* : ἵνα μή

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels, being evidently the negative of the *þei* : ἵνα correspondence.

John 6:12

þei waihtai ni fragistnai

ἵνα μή τι ἀπόληται

6.1.1.1.11 *Ibai* : μήποτε

This correspondence occurs only in the synoptic gospels. The conjunction *ibai* occurs in hypotaxis only as a negative particle heading purpose clauses (cf. Eng. ‘lest’). Gothic employs additional adverbs (e.g., *hvan*, *aufþo*, *uþto*) in order to convey the nuance of the Greek conjunction μήποτε.

a) Matt. 27:64

ibai ufto qimandans bai siponjos is binimaina imma jah qipaina du managein: urrais us dauþaim

μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαληταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ εἴπωσιν τῷ λαῷ· ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν

b) Mark 4:12

ibai huan gawandjaina sik jah afletaindau im frawaurhteis

μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς

c) Luke 14:12

ibai aufto jah eis aftra haitaina þuk jah wairþiþ þus usguldan

μήποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντικαλέσωσιν σε καὶ γένηται ἀνταπόδομά σοι

The following table indicates the frequency of this correspondence by gospel.

Table 6.4 Frequency of *ibai* : *μήποτε* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	2	1	1	0
% of Total	50	25	25	0

6.1.1.1.12 *Ibai* : ἵνα μή

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels. It is of course no accident that in the absence of the indefinitizer –ποτε Gothic shows no indefinitizing adverb.

Luke 18:5

ibai und andi qimandei usagljai mis

ἵνα μή εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑποπιάζη με

6.1.1.1.13 *Ibai* : ἵνα μήποτε

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels and is clearly a stylistic variant of the *ibai* : μήποτε correspondence, evident from the presence in Gothic of the adverb *aufto*, employed to indicate the semantic nuance of Greek μήποτε.

Luke 14:29

ibai aufto, biþe gasatidedi grunduwaddju jah ni mahtedi ustiuhana, allai þai gasaihvandans duginnaina bilaikan ina

ἵνα μήποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες ἄρξονται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίζειν

6.1.1.2 Word order

It is assumed that the Gothic gospels slavishly imitate the word order of the Greek Vorlage. Although this assumption is generally true, there are notable exceptions. Most of the deviations of the Gothic word order from that of the Greek NT are relatively minor. For example, the negative particle is displayed in Gothic in a location different from that in the Greek:

a) Mark 1:44

saihv ei mannhun ni qipais waiht

ὄρα μηδενὶ μηδέν εἶπης

In the above example, the Gothic negative particle follows the pronoun, while in Greek the negative particle precedes the pronoun and is compounded with it (i.e., univerbated). In addition, the direct object *waiht* in Gothic follows the verb, but the corresponding Greek μηδέν

precedes the verb. Other passages with this type of word-order discrepancy include the following: Lk. 8:12; Jn. 6:12; 12:35; 12:42.²

In every case where Greek contains the postpositive conjunction δέ within a purpose clause, Gothic contains the corresponding conjunction *apþan* outside the purpose clause:

b) Matt. 9:6

Apþan ei witeiþ

ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε

This discrepancy exists because Greek δέ is quasi-clitic; not so *apþan*. For other examples of this type of word-order difference see Mk. 2:10 and Lk. 5:24.

The placement of the definite article may not correspond. This is extremely rare in purpose clauses, occurring only once in the four gospels:

² The placement of an adverbial construction, such as a temporal clause or prepositional phrase, may also not correspond:

1) John 13:19 (temporal clause)

ei biþe wairþai, galaubjaiþ þatei ik im

ἵνα πιστεύσητε ὅταν γένηται ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι

In the above passages, the temporal clause in Gothic precedes the main verb of the purpose clause, the temporal clause in Greek follows the main verb. This is more a discrepancy of Vorlagen than one of Gothic vs. Greek texts. The *Textus Receptus* in this passage is in total agreement with the Gothic placement of the subordinate, temporal clause. In addition, consider the following:

2) John 14:16 (prepositional phrase)

ei sijai miþ izwis du aiwa

ἵνα μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ᾤ

Here, we see that the verb in Gothic heads the clause and is immediately followed by a prepositional phrase. In Greek, the prepositional phrase immediately follows the particle ἵνα, but the finite verb ends the clause. However, the *Textus Receptus* reads: ἵνα μένη μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. We may safely assume that the Greek Vorlage from which Wulfila translated is from a manuscript tradition quite similar to that of the *Textus Receptus*.

c) John 7:23

ei ni gatairaidau witoþ þata Mosezis

ἵνα μὴ λυθῇ ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως

It is unclear why Wulfila translated ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως as *witoþ þata Mosezis* instead of *þata witoþ Mosezis*. Some manuscripts, such as codex Sinaiticus, have ὁ νόμος ὁ Μωσέως, but it is uncertain whether Wulfila was working with an edition of the Greek Vorlage that contained this reading. Streitberg gives no indication that Wulfila was working with such a text, for his reconstructed Greek Vorlage contains ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, which is precisely the rendering in the *Textus Receptus*. However, since Streitberg's Greek text is reconstructed based upon the Gothic and not upon any one known Greek text, one cannot infer anything from it.

A definite article often appears in Greek where one does not appear in Gothic. This is not unusual in that Gothic does not have a true definite article, but rather a demonstrative pronominal adjective. The Gothic demonstrative *sa* frequently corresponds to the Greek definite article, and where the definite article appears in Greek, the Gothic demonstrative *sa* may or may not appear. However, in a rare occurrence in purpose clauses, the Gothic demonstrative *sa* appears where there exists no corresponding Greek definite article:

d) Luke 1:4

ei gakunnais þize bi þoei galaisiþs is waurde [a]staþ

ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν

This seems to be a clear example of native Gothic syntax, in which the demonstrative is employed as a determiner to indicate that the relative clause *bi þoei galaisiþs is* is a constituent of *waurde*.

The placement of a possessive pronoun/adjective also may not closely correspond.

Consider the following:

e) Matt. 6:4

ei sijai so armahairtiþa þeina in fulhsnja (possessive follows modified noun)

ὅπως ἢ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (possessive precedes modified noun)

f) Luke 14:23

ei usfulnai gards meins (possessive follows modified noun)

ἵνα γεμισθῇ μου ὁ οἶκος (possessive precedes modified noun)

g) John 7:3

ei jah þai siponjos þeina saihwaina waurstwa þeina þoei þu taujis (possessive follows modified noun)

ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταί σου θεωρήσουσιν σου τὰ ἔργα (possessive precedes modified noun)

Notice that in i), the possessive follows the noun in both Gothic and Greek in the first part of the subordinate clause (*þai siponjos þeina* : οἱ μαθηταί σου). In the direct object noun phrases, placement of the possessives does not correspond, the Gothic consistently placing the possessive after the noun. We may assume, then, that this position of the possessive is a rule of Gothic syntax.

A possessive may occur in Gothic where one is lacking in Greek:

h) John 11:19

ei gabrafstidedeina ijos bi þana broþar izo

ἵνα παραμυθήσωνται αὐτὰς περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

i) John 17:1

ei sumus beins hauhjai þuk

ἵνα ὁ υἱὸς δοξάσῃ σέ

In the *Textus Receptus* and a number of other manuscripts, the Greek Vorlage contains a possessive in each of the above passages (αὐτῶν in Jn. 11:19; σου in Jn. 17:1). The placement of these Greek possessives is exactly the same as in the Gothic, further indicating the probable Vorlage on which the Gothic text is based.

The placement of the adjective also may not correspond:

j) John 15:2

ei managizo akran bairaina

ἵνα καρπὸν πλείονα φέρῃ

Note, however, that the *Textus Receptus* shows πλείονα καρπὸν. Also note that the placement of a participle may not always correspond:

k) John 15:25

ak ei usfullnodedi waurd þata gamelido in witoda ize (participle precedes prepositional phrase)

ἀλλ' ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος³ (participle follows prepositional phrase)

Some deviations from the word order of the Greek Vorlage should be considered major in that a major argument of the clause (subject, verb, direct object, indirect object) may be placed differently in Gothic than in Greek. For example, a SV clause in Greek may be VS in Gothic:

³ The corresponding passage in the *Textus Receptus* has the same participial placement as the Gothic.

l) John 13:18

ak ei usfullip waurpi bata gamelido (VS word order)

ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ (SV word order)

In addition, Greek SOV may occur in Gothic as VSO:

m) John 6:7

bei nimai hvarjizuh leiril (VSO word order)

ἵνα ἕκαστος βραχύ τι λάβῃ (SOV word order)

A clause containing OVS word order in Greek may appear as VOS in Gothic:

n) Matt. 5:25

ibai huan atgibai þuk sa andastaua stauin... (VOS word order)

μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ... (OVS word order)

In the remaining portion of the above passage, Greek omits the repetition of the verb παραδῶ, but Gothic repeats *atgibai*. The *Textus Receptus* includes the verb παραδῶ, however, precisely where the Gothic shows it. Other examples of word-order discrepancies are as follows:

o) Mark 10:13⁴

ei attaitoki im (VO word order)

ἵνα αὐτῶν ᾠχηται (OV word order)

p) Mark 14:10⁵

ei galewidedi ina im (VO word order)

ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδοῖ αὐτοῖς (OV word order)

⁴ *Textus Receptus* displays same order as Gothic.

⁵ Ibid.

The placement of a complementary infinitive also may not correspond:

q) Luke 14:29⁶

ibai aufto...allai þai gasaihvandans duginnaina bilaikan ina (complementary infinitive precedes its object)

ἵνα μήποτε...πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες ἄρξονται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίξειν (complementary infinitive follows its object)

A dative of interest may not coincide in placement within the corresponding clauses:

r) Luke 14:12⁷

ibai aufto jah eis aftra haitaina þuk jah wairþiþ þus usguldan (dative precedes substantive)

μήποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντικαλέσωσίν σε καὶ γένηται ἀνταπόδομά σοι (dative follows substantive)

Other examples in which the passages do not correspond are:

s) John 13:15

ei swaswe ik gatawida izwis, swa jus taujaiþ

ἵνα καθὼς ἐποίησα ὑμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιῆτε

There are two matters of concern here: 1) Gothic exhibits a personal pronoun—*ik*—where Greek shows no pronoun. This can be explained in light of the fact that Gothic—although it is a pro-drop language—employs personal pronouns in order to avoid confusion of the person, especially since the 1st and 3rd person singular preterite indicative are identical in form. 2) Gothic contains *swa* ‘so’ where Greek has καὶ ‘even, also.’

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Although a number of word-order discrepancies are not true discrepancies when the Gothic is compared with the Greek of the *Textus Receptus* and not with that of the Nestle-Aland 27th ed., nevertheless, those discrepancies which are valid raise questions about Wulfila's translation, namely why Wulfila chose the order of words that he did and to what extent his rendition reflects authentic Gothic syntax. The second question seems to lead to an answer to the first in that Wulfila chose the order of words he did so that he might reflect the native syntax of Gothic, which we may conclude exhibits the following:

- 1) negative particles tend immediately to precede the verb, not any pronoun or substantive;
- 2) Gothic avoids the use of postpositive conjunctions;
- 3) demonstratives + modifier (i.e., prepositional phrase or adjective) and possessives tend to follow the substantives that they modify;
- 4) Gothic frequently exhibits a pronoun for clarification where Greek shows none;
- 5) the verb occurs in initial position in these subordinate clauses;
- 6) Gothic often avoids the Greek enclosed participial construction.⁸

Since Wulfila obviously intended for his sacred text to be read in the hearing of native Gothic speakers, it is only logical that he would have rendered from Greek a sacred Gothic text comprehensible to the reader and listeners.

6.1.1.3 Mood

In the vast majority of passages involving purpose clauses, the Greek subjunctive mood corresponds to the Gothic optative mood. There are a few passages, however, in which this

⁸ Modern German's use of this construction is clearly a calque of Classical Greek: *daß der in ihrem Gesetz geschriebene Spruch erfüllet werde*. That this construction is never employed in everyday speech in German, but rather is typically used in very formal writing (Hammer 1991: 269), is evidence that this is not native Germanic syntax. Wulfila chose not to imitate this Greek syntactic feature.

correspondence does not occur. These anomalies belong almost exclusively to the Greek, as the Gothic nearly always exhibits the optative. Hence, in addition to exhibiting the subjunctive mood, Greek may exhibit in purpose clauses the indicative mood of the future tense.⁹ Likewise, there is one passage in Gothic in which the present indicative occurs instead of the present optative. All passages in which Greek shows a future indicative have alternate readings in other manuscript traditions, especially that to which the TR belongs, and these alternate readings contain the subjunctive—not the indicative—mood. This alternate manuscript tradition clearly is identical if not very similar to the Vorlage that Wulfila employed in his Gothic translation.

Therefore, these anomalous passages in Greek may be categorized into two types: 1) those showing the subjunctive rather than indicative mood in certain manuscripts (i.e., those manuscripts that generally agree with the TR); 2) those showing the indicative mood in all the most reliable manuscripts. Since those passages belonging to category 2 are applicable to our comparative study of Greek and Gothic, we will examine these passages, of which the following are representative examples:

a) Luke 14:10

ei biþe qimai saei haihait þuk, qipai du þus

ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκὼς σε ἐρεῖ σοι (TR has εἴπῃ, aorist subjunctive)

b) Luke 20:10

ei akranis þis weinagardis gebeina imma

ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν αὐτῷ (TR has δῶσιν, aorist subjunctive)

⁹ The present indicative also occurs (rarely), but none of these instances show a corresponding passage in Gothic.

c) John 7:3

ei jah þai siponjos þeina saihwaina waurstwa þeina

ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταί σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα (TR has θεωρήσωσι, aorist subjunctive)

d) John 12:40

ei ni gaumidedeina augam jah froþeina hairtin jah gawandidedeina jah ganasidedjau ins

ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν καὶ ιάσονται αὐτούς (TR has ἰάσονται, aorist subjunctive)

Note that where Gothic has the optative mood, the Greek Nestle-Aland 27th ed. shows the future indicative, in contrast to the aorist subjunctive as exhibited in the *Textus Receptus*.

Now consider the following anomaly in Gothic:

e) John 15:16

ei þatahwah þei bidjaip attan in namin meinamma, gibiþ izwis (present indicative)

ἵνα ὃ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δῶ ὑμῖν (aorist subjunctive)

Since TR also shows δῶ, it is unclear why Wulfila has employed the present indicative. This remains problematic if one assumes that the Greek Vorlage that Wulfila used agrees in every particular with TR. This, however, must not be the case, since the codex α (Sinaiticus) contains δώσει (future indicative) in this passage, indicating an alternate reading that existed in certain manuscripts, one of which may have been the Vorlage that Wulfila used. If Wulfila indeed employed a manuscript containing δώσει in this case, then he elected to translate from the Greek future indicative into the Gothic present indicative, a necessity due to the fact that Gothic lacks a separate future tense and therefore regularly employs the present indicative in this value.

Another explanation for the presence of the Gothic indicative *gibiþ* is that Wulfila did not perceive the Greek ἵνα clause as denoting purpose, but rather result. Such a conclusion is plausible when the entire passage of Jn. 15:16 is considered in context:

f) *ni jus mik gawalideduþ, ak ik gawalida izwis <jah gasatida izwis> ei jus sniwaip jah akran bairaiþ, jah akran izwar du aiwa sijai, ei þatahvah þei bidjaip attan in namin meinamma, gibiþ izwis*

‘You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you <and appointed you>, that you may hasten and bear fruit, and [that] your fruit may be forever, [with the result] that whatever you ask the Father in my name, he will give to you.’

The clause *akran izwar du aiwa sijai* is joined by coordination to the main purpose clause *ei jus sniwaip jah akran bairaiþ*. The coordination is indicated by the conjunction *jah* ‘and.’

However, *jah* does not join the clause *ei þatahvah...gibiþ izwis*. Hence, it may be argued that this clause is different in type and does not indicate purpose.¹⁰

6.1.1.4 Aspect/Tense

Although the notion of aspect is clearly important in Gothic (to what extent is debatable, however), the aspectual systems in the two languages of Gothic and Greek do not necessarily correspond. In the indicative mood in Greek, tense and aspect synergize; but in the non-indicative moods, only aspect is a factor—not tense. In the Gothic system, however, tense is an important factor in both the indicative *and* optative moods. The function of the Gothic preterite optative does not coincide with that of the Greek aorist subjunctive. To calque this Greek function, Gothic employs a perfective verb, which connotes an entirely aspectual function.

¹⁰ A number of NT scholars are convinced that the ἵνα ὃ τὶ ἂν...δῶ [δῶσει] ὑμῖν clause is coordinate with the previous purpose clause: ‘Grammatically these are coordinate; but commentators are divided on whether the second is logically subordinated to the first...’ (Brown 1966, vol 2: 665).

To what extent Wulfila attempted to calque the Greek notion of aspect in his Gothic translation is somewhat obscure. If one accepts that verbs containing the *ga-* prefix are—upon general principle—perfective verbs, then a comparison of such perfective verbs with the Greek correspondents should give some indication of Wulfila’s perception of aspect in this own language. Consider the following table:

Table 6.5 Ga- prefixed and non-ga- prefixed verbs in Gothic

Gothic <i>ga-</i> prefix /Greek aorist subjunctive	Gothic <i>ga-</i> prefix /Greek present subjunctive	No Gothic <i>ga-</i> prefix /Greek aorist subjunctive	No Gothic <i>ga-</i> prefix /Greek present subjunctive	
32	4	84	36	# of Occurrences

From the above data we may conclude that verbs without the *ga-* prefix correspond to verbs in the Greek present subjunctive 9 times more frequently than Gothic verbs with the *ga-* prefix having the same correspondence. In this case, it seems that the absence of the *ga-* prefix indicates imperfectivity. In addition, those verb with the *ga-* prefix corresponding to Greek verbs in the aorist subjunctive occur 8 times more frequently than those verbs with the *ga-* prefix corresponding to Greek verbs in the present subjunctive. Here, the *ga-* prefix appears to indicate perfectivity. The largest number of correspondences, however, are between Gothic verbs without the *ga-* prefix, and Greek verbs in the aorist subjunctive. This, at first examination, is problematic and appears to violate the rule that *ga-* indicates perfectivity, its absence imperfectivity. To understand these aspectual correspondences and their relationships, let us examine the following data:

Gothic <i>ga-</i> /Greek aorist subjunctive	Gothic <i>ga-</i> /Greek present subjunctive
<i>gasaihvaina</i> : ἴδωσιν	<i>gasaihvaina</i> : βλέπωσιν
<i>gasaihvaidau</i> : φανῶσιν	<i>galaubjai</i> : πιστεύη
<i>gasaihvaizau</i> : φανῆς	<i>galaubjaiþ</i> : γινώσκητε
<i>gasaihau</i> : ἴδω	<i>gamuneip</i> : μνημονεύητε
<i>gasaihvaima</i> : ἴδωμεν	
<i>gasehvi</i> : ἴδη	
<i>gawandjaina</i> : ἐπιστέψωσιν	
<i>gawandidedeina</i> : στραφῶσιν	
<i>galeipaima</i> : εἰσέλθωμεν	
<i>ganisai</i> : σωθῆ	
<i>ganisaina</i> : σωθῶσιν	
<i>ganasjau</i> : σώσω	
<i>galaubjaima</i> : πιστεύσωμεν	
<i>galaubjau</i> : πιστεύσω	
<i>galaubjaiþ</i> : πιστεύσητε	
<i>galaubjaina</i> : πιστεύσωσιν	
<i>gakunnais</i> : ἐπιγνῶς	
<i>gakunnaidedi</i> : γνοῖ	
<i>gastagqjais</i> : προσκόψης	
<i>gatairaidau</i> : λυθῆ	
<i>gaswiltaima</i> : ἀποθάνωμεν	
<i>gafahai</i> : καταλάβη	
<i>gafaiþaheina</i> : ἐπλάβωνται	
<i>gafaiþaheina</i> : πιάσωσιν	
<i>ganuteina</i> : ἀγρεύσωσιν	
<i>galewidedi</i> : παραδοῖ	
<i>galewiþs wesjau</i> : παραδοθῶ	
<i>gasalbodedeina</i> : ἀλείψωσιν	
<i>gaþrafstidedeina</i> : παραμυθήσονται	

Only three verbs with *ga-* prefix correspond to Greek verbs in the present tense: *gasaihan*, *galaubjan*, and *gamunan*. Only *galaubjan* and *gasaihan* also correspond to Greek verbs in the aorist subjunctive. Since the verb *galaubjan* ‘believe’ never occurs without the *ga-* prefix, the prefix in the case of this lexeme does not indicate a perfective verb. Hence, *galaubjan* may correspond to either the aorist or the present. *Gasaihan*, however, may occur without the *ga-* prefix, the presence or absence of which has no effect upon the Greek verbal correspondence.

Now consider the remaining data, involving those Gothic verbs lacking the *ga-* prefix:

No Gothic <i>ga-</i> prefix/Greek aorist subjunctive	No Gothic <i>ga-</i> prefix/Greek present subjunctive
<i>gaumjaina</i> : ἴδωσιν	<i>sijai</i> : ἦ
<i>gaumjaindau</i> : φανῶσιν	<i>sijai</i> : μένη
<i>gaumidedeina</i> : ἴδωσιν	<i>sijaina</i> : ὦσιν
<i>wairbaina</i> : γένωνται	<i>sijai usfullida</i> : ἦ πεπληρωμένη
<i>wairbaiþ</i> : γένησθε	<i>sijaina ustauhanai</i> : ὦσιν τετελειωμένοι
<i>wairþiþ</i> : γένηται	<i>saihvaina</i> : βλέπωσιν
<i>wairþai</i> : γένηται	<i>saihvaina</i> : θεωρῶσιν
<i>waurþeina</i> : γένωνται	<i>frapjaina</i> : συνιῶσιν
<i>usfulljaidau</i> : πληρωθῇ	<i>usagljai</i> : ὑποπιᾶζῃ
<i>usfulliþ waurþi</i> : πληρωθῇ	<i>waurkjaima</i> : ἐργαζώμεθα
<i>gibiþ</i> : δῶ	<i>tauþau</i> : ποιῶ
<i>gibai</i> : δώσῃ	<i>tauþaiþ</i> : ποιῇτε
<i>atgibai</i> : παραδῶ	<i>aigeina</i> : ἔχωσιν
<i>hauhjaindau</i> : δοξασθῶσιν	<i>aigeiþ</i> : ἔχητε
<i>hauhjaidau</i> : δοξασθῇ	<i>bairaina</i> : φέρῃ
<i>hauhjai</i> : δοξάσῃ	<i>bairaiþ</i> : φέρητε
<i>hauhjaina</i> : δοξάσωσιν	<i>sniwaiþ</i> : ὑπάγητε
<i>nimai</i> : λάβῃ	<i>habaina</i> : ἔχωσιν
<i>nimai</i> : λάβω	<i>kunnei</i> : γινώσκῃ
<i>nemi</i> : λάβῃ	<i>þraiheina</i> : θλίβωσιν
<i>binimaina</i> : κλέψωσιν	<i>insandidedi</i> : ἀποστέλλῃ
<i>qibaina</i> : εἴπωσιν	<i>atlagidedeina</i> : παρατιθῶσιν
<i>qibais</i> : εἴπῃς	<i>attaitoki</i> : ἄπτηται
<i>merþau</i> : κηρύξω	<i>stojau</i> : κρίνω
<i>libai</i> : ζήσῃ	
<i>saihvaima</i> : ἴδωμεν	
<i>sehveina</i> : ἴδωσιν	
<i>fastaiþ</i> : στήσῃτε	
<i>afletaindau</i> : ἀφεθῇ	
<i>afletai</i> : ἀφῇ	
<i>satjaidau</i> : τεθῇ	
<i>matþais</i> : φάγῃς	
<i>matþaina</i> : φάγωσιν	
<i>matidedeina</i> : φάγωσιν	
<i>andhuljaindau</i> : ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν	
<i>andnimaina</i> : ἀπολάβωσιν	
<i>andnimaina</i> : δέξωνται	
<i>salþaina</i> : καταλύσωσιν	
<i>bugþaina</i> : εὖρωσιν	
<i>haitaina</i> : ἀντικαλέσωσιν	
<i>usfulnai</i> : γεμισθῇ	

<i>usfullnodedi</i> : πληρωθῇ
<i>usfullnodedeina</i> : πληρωθῶσιν
<i>duginnaina</i> : ἄρξονται
<i>fragistnai</i> : ἀπόληται
<i>fragistjai</i> : ἀπολέση
<i>usqistidedi</i> : ἀπολέση
<i>stilai</i> : κλέψῃ
<i>ussneibai</i> : θύσῃ
<i>ufkunnaiþ</i> : γνῶτε
<i>ufkunnai</i> : γνῶ
<i>uswakjau</i> : ἐξυπνίσω
<i>greitai</i> : κλάύσῃ
<i>sweraidau</i> : δοξασθῇ
<i>wisai</i> : μείνῃ
<i>stojau</i> : κρίνω
<i>afmarzjaindau</i> : σκανδαλισθῇτε
<i>weitwodjau</i> : μαρτυρήσω
<i>witeiþ</i> : γνῶτε
<i>wrohidedeina</i> : κατηγορήσωσιν
<i>attaitokeina</i> : ἄψωνται
<i>attaitoki</i> : ἄψηται
<i>ushramidedeina</i> : σταυρώσωσιν
<i>ushramiþs wesi</i> : σταυρωθῇ
<i>bigeteina</i> : εὔρωσιν
<i>froþeina</i> : αἰσθωνται
<i>froþeina</i> : νοήσωσιν
<i>biwesjau</i> : εὐφρανθῶ
<i>tawidedeina</i> : ποιήσωσιν
<i>waurpeina</i> : βάλωσιν
<i>waurpeina</i> : λιθάσωσιν
<i>inwiteina</i> : προσκυνήσωσιν
<i>bisaulnodedeina</i> : μιανθῶσιν
<i>swikunþ wairþai</i> : φανερωθῇ
<i>arbja wairþau</i> : κληρονομήσω
<i>bairhta waurþeina</i> : φανερωθῇ

The large number of Gothic verbs without the *ga*- prefix that correspond to the Greek aorist subjunctive appears problematic if one accepts the dichotomy of perfective and imperfective verbs in Gothic as based upon the presence or absence of the *ga*- prefix. The data, however, indicates that this position is untenable. That a number of verbs in Gothic without the *ga*- prefix correspond to the Greek aorist subjunctive may be explained as follows:

- 1) Some verbs in Gothic are semantically perfective. The presence of the *ga-* prefix would be superfluous in such verbs (ex. *wairþan*, *gaumjan*).
- 2) Some verbs in Gothic with a prefix other than *ga-* may be considered perfective (ex. *usfullnan*, *ufkunnan*).
- 3) Some verbs may be either perfective or imperfective. In other words, their aspectual correspondence is unpredictable (ex. *saihvan*, *frapjan*, *taujan*, *attekan*).

Clearly, then, the Gothic aspectual system is not as well-defined or morphologically encoded as the Greek system.

Gothic, however, does have a morphologically observable tense system in the optative mood based upon a rigid rule of sequence of tenses, quite similar to the rule observable in Latin. Like the Latin system with the subjunctive, Gothic employs the present optative in primary, the preterite in secondary, sequence. The contrast between the Greek and Gothic verb systems in purpose clauses may be underscored as follows:

NT Greek System	Gothic System
Aspect driven	Tense driven
Sequentially independent	Sequence based
Multiple moods possible (subjunctive dominant)	Multiple moods possible (optative dominant/indicative rare)
Consistent grammatical nuance of aspect	Inconsistent, unpredictable lexical nuance of aspect in some verbs, consistent and predictable in others

The correspondences of mood between Gothic and Greek telic constructions are complex and reflect the peculiarities of the hypotactic structure of each language. While Greek exhibits a system involving mood and aspect, and Latin one involving mood and tense, Gothic demonstrates the added complexity in which mood, tense, and aspect work closely together in the purpose clause. The following mood-tense correspondences will be examined:

Greek	Gothic
Present subjunctive	Present optative
Present subjunctive	Preterite optative
Aorist subjunctive	Present optative
Aorist subjunctive	Preterite optative
Perfect subjunctive	Present optative
Future indicative	Present optative
Future indicative	Preterite optative
Aorist subjunctive/future indicative	Present indicative

6.1.1.4.1 Greek present subjunctive : Gothic present optative

In the Synoptic gospels, this correspondence is closely connected to verbs of being or perception (either physical or mental; see section 4.1.1.4.1). The presence of the Gothic present optative is purely based upon the rule for sequence of tenses. The vast majority of Gothic verbs occurring in this correspondence are imperfective verbs and evidently correspond to the imperfective aspect of the Greek present subjunctive, as the following examples demonstrate:

a) Matt. 6:4

ei sijai so armahairtiþa þeina in fulhsnja

ὅπως ἢ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ

Verbs of both physical and mental perception may even occur within the same clause:

b) Mark 4:12

ei...hausjandans hausjaina jah ni frapjaina

ἵνα...ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν

The majority of clauses containing this correspondence belong to John's gospel, which often exhibits verbs of spiritual or theological significance (i.e., *believe, possess eternal life, be one, know truth*, etc.):

c) John 10:10

ei libain aigeina...

ἵνα ζῶντων ἔχωσιν...

d) John 17:11

ei sijaina ain swaswe wit

ἵνα ὦσιν ἐν καθὼς ἡμεῖς

e) John 17:21

ei so manaseþs galaubjai...

ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύῃ...

6.1.1.4.2 Greek present subjunctive : Gothic preterite optative

This correspondence, found almost exclusively in Mark's gospel with one exception in Luke, is comparatively uncommon in occurrence, the following being representative examples:

a) Mark 3:9

ei ni þraiheina ina

ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν

b) Luke 18:15

*ei im attaitoki*¹¹

ἵνα αὐτῶν ἄπτηται

The Gothic verbs in this correspondence are imperfective verbs. The present subjunctive of the Greek indicates durative aspect; the preterite optative of the Gothic, secondary tense sequence. This correspondence clearly exemplifies the contrast in the verbal systems of the two languages in regard to the usage of tense in non-indicative forms of the verb.

¹¹ *Attaitoki* is most likely to be perfective, relative to *tekan*.

6.1.1.4.3 Greek aorist subjunctive : Gothic present optative

This is the most commonly occurring Gothic-Greek mood correspondence in purpose clauses in the gospels. It occurs with nearly equal frequency in Mark and Luke, with about a third less frequency in Matthew (because of the fragmentary state of attestation of this gospel in Gothic), and with more than double the frequency of Mark in John. The following passages are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matt. 6:2

ei hauhjaindau¹² fram mannam

ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

b) Mark 5:12

ei in þo galeiþaima

ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθωμεν

c) Luke 6:34

ei andnimaina samalaud

ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν τὰ ἴσα

d) John 6:5

ei matjaina þai

ἵνα φάγωσιν οὗτοι

Although the aspect of the Gothic verbs is meant to convey punctuality and perfectivity,¹³ this notion is not always indicated by the prefix *ga-* or other preverb, such as *us-*, *uf-*, *fra-*, etc. The Greek aorist subjunctive indicates punctiliar aspect or a view of the action as a whole; the Gothic present optative indicates primary tense sequence.

¹² Imperfective, relative to *ushauhjan*.

¹³ In the above examples, this applies only to the verbs *galeiþan* and *andniman*.

6.1.1.4.4 Greek aorist subjunctive : Gothic preterite optative

This is the second most commonly occurring Greek-Gothic mood correspondence in the gospel purpose clauses, the Greek aorist subjunctive indicating punctiliar aspect, and the Gothic preterite optative conforming with the secondary tense sequence rule. The following passages are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matt. 8:17

ei usfullnodedi þata gamelido þairh Esaian praufetu qibandan...

ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος...

b) Mark 3:10

ei imma attaitokeina

ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἄγωνται

c) Luke 20:20

ei gafaiþaheina is waurde

ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου

d) John 6:15

ei tawidedeina ina du þiudana

ἵνα ποιήσωσιν βασιλέα

6.1.1.4.5 Greek perfect subjunctive : Gothic present optative

This correspondence occurs only in the Synoptic gospels and treats the same Greek lexeme: οἶδα (see section 4.1.1.4.6). The correspondence is rare, occurring only once in each of the Synoptics, the three occurrences closely relating the same narrative:

Matt. 9:6 (see also Mk. 2:10 and Lk. 5:24)

Abþan ei witeiþ...

ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε...

As stated previously in section 4.1.1.4.6, the verb οἶδα is morphologically perfect, but semantically present. Hence, one could classify this as a present subjunctive present optative correspondence. Recognizing this, Wulfila employs the Gothic present optative (*witeiþ*), thereby demonstrating his understanding of this usage and meaning of οἶδα.¹⁴

6.1.1.4.6 Greek future indicative : Gothic present optative

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke and once in John. The manuscript evidence in both passages gives an alternate reading in the Greek, with the verb in the aorist subjunctive instead of the future indicative mood. Consider the following:

a) Luke 14:10

ei biþe qimai saei haihait þuk, qipai du þus

ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκὼς σε ἐρεῖ (or, εἴπῃ) σοι

b) John 7:3

ei jah þai siponjos þeina saihuaina waurstwa þeina

ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταί σου θεωρήσουσιν (or, θεωρήσωσιν) σοῦ τὰ ἔργα

6.1.1.4.7 Greek future indicative : Gothic preterite optative

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke. What aspectual nuance is being conveyed by the Greek future is unclear. However, some Greek manuscripts show the verb in the aorist subjunctive, a correspondence that seems to agree more closely with the Gothic.

¹⁴ The fact that *witan* in Gothic—a preterite-present verb—has a direct comparative relationship to οἶδα, which is perfect in form, but present in meaning, has nothing to do with Wulfila's lexical choice here. It is doubtful that Wulfila was cognizant that these verbs are cognate and have developed along the same semantic lines.

Luke 20:10

ei akranis þis weinagardis gebeina imma

ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν (or, δῶσιν) αὐτῷ

6.1.1.4.8 Greek aorist subjunctive/future indicative : Gothic present indicative

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke and once in John. In both Greek passages, the verb in the purpose clause occurs in the aorist subjunctive in the most reliable and common manuscripts. In Jn. 15:16, however, there is a dispute as to whether the verb is in the aorist subjunctive or future indicative, TR, NA 27th ed., and the Majority Text favoring the aorist subjunctive (δῶη/δῶ), □ favoring the future indicative (δώσει).

a) Luke 14:12

*ibai aufto jah eis aftra haitaina þuk jah wairþiþ þus usguldand*¹⁵

μήποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντικαλέσωσίν σε καὶ γένηται ἀνταπόδομά σοι

b) John 15:16

*ei þatahvah þei bidjaip attan in namin meinamma, gibiþ izwis*¹⁶

ἵνα ὅ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δῶ/δῶη (or, δώσει) ὑμῖν

6.1.2 Telic clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence

Not all the Greek and Gothic passages exhibit upon comparison a direct purpose clause-to-purpose clause correspondence. A number of purpose clauses in Gothic are infinitival phrases in Greek, involving either the plain or articular infinitive. In a rare occurrence ὥστε + the infinitive is employed.

In the given correspondences, the articular infinitive employed to express purpose in Greek always occurs as τοῦ + infinitive. Consider the following examples:

¹⁵ Perhaps the *jah* clause was considered by Wulfila to stand outside the *ibai* clause.

¹⁶ Most likely a result clause in Gothic.

a) Luke 2:27 (see also Lk. 1:73; 2:24; 5:7)

καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς γονεῖς τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦν τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ νόμου περὶ αὐτοῦ ‘and when the parents had brought in the child Jesus in order [for] them to do according to the [matter] accustomed of the Law concerning him’
jah miþþanei innattaunhun berusjos þata barn Iesu, ei tawidedeina bi biuhtja witodis bi ina ‘and while the parents led in the child Jesus, so that they might do according to the custom of the Law concerning him’

b) Luke 4:42

...καὶ κατεῖχον αὐτὸν τοῦ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ‘...and they restrained him lest he depart from them’ or ‘they tried to keep him from departing from them’
...jah gahabaidedun ina, ei ni afliþi fairra im ‘...and they held him fast, so that he might not depart from them’

The conjunction ὥστε may be used with the infinitive to denote purpose. Its correspondence with a Gothic purpose clause is rare, occurring only once:

c) Matt. 27:1

Πρωῖας δὲ γενομένης συμβούλιον ἔλαβον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν ‘And with morning having occurred, all the high priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus so as to put him to death’
At maurgin þan waurþanana, runa nemun allai gudjans jah þai sinistans manageins bi Iesu, ei afdaupidedeina ina ‘At morning then having occurred (or, become), all the priests and the elders of the crowd took counsel concerning Jesus, so that they might put him to death’

This issue of whether this construction should be considered to denote purpose or result has been previously treated in section 4.1.2. The Gothic seems to denote purpose. If the clause were denoting result, the conjunction *swaswe* might be expected, along with the indicative mood (though it is not always required).

The bare infinitive may also signify purpose, as the following example indicates:

d) Luke 2:3

καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι ‘and all were journeying to be registered’

jah iddjedun allai, ei melidai weseina ‘and all went, so that they might be inscribed’

In one passage, a Gothic purpose clause occurs where no construction of any kind is found in Greek:

e) Matt. 27:42

καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν ‘let him come down now from the cross and we will believe in him’

atsteigadau nu af þamma galgin ei gasaihaima jah galaubjam imma ‘let him descend now off the gallows so that we may see and we will believe him’

The source of the Gothic *ei gasaihaima* is unknown. No Greek manuscript tradition appears to have a corresponding clause, such as ἵνα ἴδωμεν. We must assume that a purpose clause existed in the Greek Vorlage, for it is presumptuous to suppose that Wulfila—upon his own volition—interjected this construction into the Gothic text, even if it were to give a seemingly necessary clarification.

6.1.3. Telic-to-non-telic clausal correspondence

A number of telic clauses in Gothic correspond to non-telic clauses in Greek, which may denote the following:

- 1) imperative
- 2) manner
- 3) conditional clause
- 4) coordination
- 5) substantival clause (jussive noun clause, epexegetical clause)
- 6) ambiguity (purpose, result, or indirect request)

The following examples are given for comparative examination:

a) Matt. 9:30

ὁρᾶτε μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω ‘see, let no one know’ (3rd pers. sing. imperative in Greek)

saihvats ei manna ni witi ‘see, that no one know’ (clause of caution in Gothic)

b) Mark 3:6

...οἱ Φαρισαῖοι...συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν κατ’ αὐτοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν ‘...the Pharisees...gave counsel [i.e., deliberated] against him, how they might destroy him’ (ambiguous: could be a clause of manner **or** a purpose clause in Greek)

...*Fareisaieis*...*garuni gatawidedun bi ina, ei imma usqemeina* ‘...the Pharisees...made a counsel concering him, so that they might kill him’ (purpose clause in Gothic)

c) Mark 11:13

καὶ ἰδὼν συκῆν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσιν φύλλα ἦλθεν, εἰ ἄρα τι εὕρήσει ἐν αὐτῇ ‘and having seen a fig tree from afar having leaves, he came, if—consequently—he would find something on it’ (conditional clause in Greek)

jah gasaihvands smakkabagm fairraþo habandan lauf atiddja, ei aufto bigeti hva ana imma ‘and seeing a fig tree far away having foliage, he approached, so that—perhaps—
he might find something on it’ (purpose clause in Gothic)

d) Luke 6:37

Καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῇτε ‘And do not judge, and you will not be judged’
 (coordination in Greek’ see Blass and Debrunner 1961:184 for this use of οὐ μὴ with the
 aorist subjunctive to denote a definite negative future)

jah ni stojid, ei ni stojaindau ‘and do not judge, so that you are not judged’ (purpose
 clause in Gothic)

e) John 17:3

αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὃν
 ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ‘but this is eternal life, that they may know You, the only
 true G-d, and Jesus Christ, whom you sent’ (a substantival clause, likely explanatory, i.e.,
 epexegetical)

*soh þan ist so aiweino libains, ei kunneina þuk ainana sunjana gub jah þanei insandides,
 Iesu Xristu* ‘but this, then, is eternal life, so that they may know You, the one true G-d,
 and Jesus Christ, whom you sent’ (ambiguous: could be either a purpose clause or
 substantival clause)

Some clauses which are ambiguous in Greek as to their clausal type appear not to be
 purpose clauses in Gothic:

f) Mark 3:12

καὶ πολλὰ ἐπετίμα αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν φανερόν ποιήσωσιν ‘and he ordered them many
 things, so that they might not make him evident’ (purpose clause in Greek. Greek

normally employs the infinitive to indicate an indirect command. There are occasions in which *īva* + subjunctive may be employed as an indirect request construction. Therefore, this passage is ambiguous as to its clausal type.)

jah filu andbait ins ei ina ni gaswikunþidedeina ‘and he ordered them much that they not make him known’ (most likely an indirect request in Gothic)

g) Mark 11:28

ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς; ‘or who gave you this authority so that you might be doing these things?’ (clearly a purpose clause in Greek)

jah hvas þus þata waldufni atgaf, ei þata taujis? ‘and who gave you this authority, that you are doing this?’ (The lack of the subjunctive in Gothic seems to indicate a result, not a purpose, clause.)

h) John 12:7

ἄφες αὐτήν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό ‘let her be, that she may keep it unto the day of my burial’ (purpose clause in Greek)¹⁷

let ija, in dag gafilhis meinis fastaida þata ‘let her be; unto the day of my burial she kept this’ (independent clause in Gothic)

6.2 Syncritical analysis of result clauses

6.2.1 Ecclastic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

Direct clausal-to-clausal correspondence in Gothic and Greek is uncommon in the gospels. This is partially due to the fact that result clauses are not very common in either the Greek or the Gothic. In addition, since there are passages missing from the Gothic corpus, a number of ecclastic clausal correspondences also are missing. Furthermore, Greek frequently

¹⁷ In the Majority Text, *Textus Receptus*, and Codex Alexandrinus, the Greek has the following: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τετήρηκεν αὐτό ‘she has kept it unto the day of my burial.’ This rendering accurately corresponds to Wulfila’s Gothic and reflects the probable Greek in the Vorlage.

employs a conjunctive + infinitive whereas the Gothic construction is a subordinate clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction. Let us begin our investigation of ecclastic clauses with a comparison of the conjunctions employed, word-order correspondence, mood, and aspect/tense.

6.2.1.1 Conjunctions

There exists no one set conjunction-to-conjunction correspondence in ecclastic clauses in Gothic and Greek, both languages exhibiting a number of conjunctions to introduce result constructions. Consider the following correspondences:

a) swaei : ὥστε

swaei frauja ist sa sunus mans jah þamma sabbato

ὥστε κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου (Mk. 2:28)

b) swaswe : ὥστε

swaswe þanaseiþs ni sind twa...

ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶν δύο...(Mk. 10:8)

c) ei ni : ἵνα μὴ

ei ni froþeina imma

ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό (Lk. 9:45)

This passage may likely denote a purpose clause, though it is difficult to understand from the context that a matter of spiritual significance was deliberately, purposefully hidden from the disciples' understanding.

d) ei : ἵνα

þaruh frehun ina siponjos is qipandans: rabbei, was frawaurhta, sau þau fadrein is, ei blinds gabaurans warþ?

καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· ῥαββί, τίς ἡμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; (Jn. 9:2)

It is inconceivable that the parents purposefully committed transgression in order to produce a blind son. Hence, the above clause denotes more likely result than purpose. See also Jn. 12:38, in which the context seems to indicate result, although the structure appears to denote purpose.

6.2.1.2 Word order

In this correspondence, the Gothic word order slavishly imitates the Greek Vorlage. One exception exists in which the Gothic negative particle *ni* follows the adverb *þanaseiþs* ‘after that, longer.’ In Greek, the negation is unverbated with the negative particle preceding the adverb:

Mark 10:8

...*þanaseiþs ni* (negative particle follows)¹⁸

...οὐκέτι (negative particle precedes, and negative and adverbial are unverbated)

6.2.1.3 Mood

The mood correspondences are Greek indicative : Gothic indicative, Greek subjunctive : Gothic optative,¹⁹ or Greek subjunctive : Gothic indicative, as the following examples indicate:

a) Mark 2:28 (see also Mk. 10:8)

swaswe frauja ist sa sunus mans jah þamma sabbato (present indicative)

ὥστε κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου (present indicate)

b) Luke 9:45 (most likely a purpose clause; see also Jn. 12:38)

ei ni froþeina imma (preterite optative)

ἵνα μὴ αἴσθωνται αὐτό (aorist subjunctive)

¹⁸ The following passages show this collocation: Mk. 12:34; Lk. 15:19; 15:21; 20:40; Jn. 6:66; 14:30; 15:15. However, *ni þanaseiþs* is found in the following passages: Mk. 9:8; Jn. 14:19; 16:10; 16:25; 17:11. One passage (Jn. 16:21) shows *ni þanaseiþs ni*.

¹⁹ This correspondence is debatable and only valid if we treat Lk. 9:45 below as denoting result and not purpose.

c) John 9:2

ei blinds gabaurans warþ (preterite indicative, passive voice periphrastically constructed)

ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ (aorist passive subjunctive)

From the above examples, we may conclude that the Gothic conjunctions *swaei* and *swaswe*, and the Greek conjunction ὥστε, require the indicative mood. The conjunction *ei* in Gothic may require either the indicative or optative, but the corresponding Greek conjunction ἵνα always takes the subjunctive.

6.2.1.4 Aspect/Tense

A discussion of tense would be superfluous in light of the fact that the subject has been covered, albeit cursorily and peripherally, in the previous section on mood. What can be unequivocally stated is that the Gothic present tense always corresponds to the Greek present, and the Gothic preterite always corresponds in result clauses to the Greek aorist. Consider the following examples:

a) Mark 10:8

swaswe þanaseiþs ni sind twa

ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσιν δύο

(Gothic present : Greek present)

b) John 9:2

ei blinds gabaurans warþ

ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ

(Gothic preterite : Greek aorist)

In the matter of aspect, Gothic imperfective verbs correspond to the Greek present, Gothic perfective verbs to the Greek aorist:

c) Mark 2:28*ist* : ἔστιν (Gothic imperfective : Greek present)d) Mark 10:8*sind* : εἰσὶν (Gothic imperfective : Greek present)e) Luke 9:45*froþeina* : αἴσθωνται (Gothic perfective? [Streitberg 1920: 198] : Greek aorist)

The aspectual status of the Gothic verb *fraþjan* is unclear, save as it relates to the function of the verb within particular contexts. The very notion of ‘to understand’ seems resultative, hence, perfective. We may, therefore, assert that the verb *fraþjan* by nature is a perfective verb, or at least of dual aspectual function with a tendency more towards perfective than imperfective aspect.

f) John 9:2*gabaurans warþ* : γεννηθῆ (Gothic perfective : Greek aorist)g) John 12:38*usfullnodedi* : πληρωθῆ (Gothic perfective : Greek aorist)

6.2.2 Ecbatic clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence

In this set of passages, a number of Gothic clauses introduced by the conjunction *swaswe* (or *swaei*, *swe*) with the finite verb in the indicative correspond to Greek ὥστε + infinitive. In the Greek construction, only the present infinitive occurs. Except for one passage (Mk. 4:32), all verbs in Gothic are in the preterite tense. The majority of the passages containing this correspondence occurs in Mark.

Table 6.6 Frequency of Gothic ecbatic clause : Greek ecbatic non-clause correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	2	10	1	0

In most cases, the word order of the Gothic carefully follows that of the Greek. Consider the following:

a) Matt. 8:28

swaswe ni mahta manna usleip̃an þairh þana wig jainana

ὥστε μὴ ἰσχύειν τινὰ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης

b) Mark 15:5

swaswe sildaleikida Peilatus

ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν Πιλάτον

In some passages, the Gothic word order is slightly different from the Greek Vorlage.

c) Mark 1:45

swaswe is juþan ni mahta andaugjo in baurg galeip̃an

ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν

In the above passage, the subject of the clause in Gothic, *is*, precedes the adverbial phrase *juþan ni* ‘no longer’; in Greek, however, the pronoun *αὐτὸν*, corresponding to Gothic *is*, follows the adverbial.

d) Mark 3:20

swaswe ni mahtedun nih hlaif matjan

ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν

This passage is not technically a word-order discrepancy, but rather an example of difference in word-order type because of the presence of the pronoun *αὐτοὺς* in Greek, but no corresponding pronoun in Gothic. The nature of the Greek construction, coupled with the context in which it occurs, requires the pronoun in order to avoid confusion and ambiguity. Because the verb in Gothic is inflected for person, a pronoun in this case is not required.

e) Luke 5:7 (see above)

swe sugqun

ὥστε βυθίζεσθαι αὐτά

f) Mark 4:37

swaswe ita jupan gafullnoda ‘so that it was already filled’

ὥστε ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι τὸ πλοῖον²⁰ ‘so that the boat was already being filled’

Two discrepancies occur in this passage: 1) Gothic shows SV word order, but Greek shows VS; 2) Gothic has a pronoun subject, *ita* ‘it,’ whereas Greek has a substantive, τὸ πλοῖον ‘the boat.’ The *Textus Receptus*, on the other hand, exhibits ὥστε αὐτὸ ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι, corresponding in word order and pronoun precisely with the Gothic.

6.2.3 Ecclatic-to-non-ecclatic clausal correspondence

A small number of result clauses in Gothic correspond to non-result clauses in Greek.

Some of these correspondences are structurally or interpretively ambiguous.

6.2.3.1 Gothic ecclatic : Greek aetiological correspondence

Examples of this correspondence are found in every gospel except Luke. The following are representative examples.

a) Matt. 8:27

ei jah windos jah marei ufhausjand imma ‘that even the winds and sea obey him’

ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν ‘because even the winds and the sea obey him’

²⁰ The regular construction in result clauses in Classical Greek is acc. + infinitive (Smyth 1984: 508). The infinitive + acc. construction in NT Greek seems to be the result of Semitic interference.

b) Mark 1:27

ei miþ waldufnja jah ahmam þaim unhrainjam anabiudip jah ufhausjand imma ‘that with authority he commands even the unclean spirits and they obey him’

ὅτι κατ’ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει, καὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ
‘because according to authority he commands the unclean spirits, and they obey him’

The Greek in the above example is taken from the *Textus Receptus*, with which the Gothic text often agrees. The Nestle-Aland 27th ed. exhibits in the above passage a coordinating clause: διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ’ ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει ‘a new teaching according to authority; and he commands even the unclean spirits.’

c) John 7:35

hvadre sa skuli gaggan, þei weis ni bigitaima ina? ‘Whither might this [one] intend to go, that we would not find him?’

ποῦ οὗτος μέλλει πορεύεσθαι ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ εὐρήσομεν αὐτόν; ‘Where does this [one] intend to journey, that we will not find him?’

The Greek clause is ambiguous, being perhaps either a causal clause (possible, but improbable) or an exegetical ὅτι clause. The corresponding Gothic exhibits a hypothetical result, based upon the reasoning that, if Jesus were to depart, where could he possibly go that the ‘Jews’ would not find him. Such seems to be the force of the two optatives *skuli* and *bigitaima*.

6.2.3.2 Gothic ecclastic : Greek coordinate correspondence

As stated in the previous section, Mk. 1:27 in the Nestle-Aland 27th edition shows a Greek coordinate construction. Two other passages exhibit this correspondence in the gospels:

a) Mark 1:45

sawaswe is jupan ni mahta andaugjo in baurg galeiþan, ak uta ana auþjaim stadim was

‘so that he no longer could openly go into the city, but was out in waste places’

ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔξω ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις

ἦν ‘so that no longer could he enter into a city, but he was outside in desert places’

The actual, structural correspondences are identical, but what the correspondences represent is not clear. For example, the Greek conjunction ἀλλά is adversative, and in the passage above does not have a parallel structure with the result construction, which—unlike the coordinating clause—contains an infinitive rather than a finite verb. In the corresponding Gothic, on the other hand, both clauses contain finite verbs; these verb share the same tense and mood (preterite indicative). This does not conclusively prove that the *ak* clause in Gothic is part of the result clause. The Gothic, in fact, is ambiguous. The context from the Gothic, however, seems to indicate that Wulfila understood this event to be perceived as denoting result, inspite of the non-parallel structure displayed in the Greek.

b) Luke 5:6

jah þata taujandans galukun manageins fiske filu, swe natja dishnupnodedun ize ‘and doing this, they caught multitudes of fish—very [many], so that their nets were torn’

καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες συνέκλεισαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολὺ, διερρήσσετο δὲ τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν

‘and having done this, they caught a great abundance of fish, but their nets began to break’

The above passages in the Gothic and Greek contain no structural ambiguity. The corresponding passages exhibit two different clausal types.

6.2.3.3 Gothic ecbatic : Greek temporal correspondence

This is a rare correspondence, occurring only in Luke. It is arguable that the structure is ambiguous, both in Gothic and in Greek.

Luke 4:25

þan galuknoda himins du jeram þrim jah menops saihs, swe warþ huhrus mikils and alla airþa ‘when heaven was closed for three years and six months, so that there occurred a great hunger throughout all the earth’

ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ὥς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ‘when the sky had been shut for three years and six months, as there had occurred a great famine upon all the land’

The ὥς clause in Greek seems to indicate temporality rather than result, for result clauses in NT Greek tend to be introduced by ὥστε + infinitive or indicative mood. Although the Gothic *swe* clause could be ambiguous and interpreted as denoting temporality, such temporal clauses in Gothic are frequently introduced by *mipþanei* or *bipe*.

6.2.3.4 Gothic ecbatic : Greek telic correspondence

The two passages showing this correspondence could be purpose clauses in Gothic only if one accepts the possibility that such clauses in Gothic may contain the indicative mood. The Greek Vorlage leaves no doubt that these passages are to be perceived as purpose clauses, for they are introduced by ἵνα + subjunctive. Consider the following examples:

a) Mark 11:28

jah hvas þus þata waldufni atgaf, ei þata taujis? ‘and who gave you this authority, so that you are doing this?’

καὶ τίς σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς; ‘and who gave you this authority, so that you might do these [things]?’

In his Greek Vorlage, Streitberg (2000: 206) has ποιεῖς, obviously a reconstruction based upon the Gothic form, since no known manuscript tradition shows ποιεῖς, but rather ποιῇς. If we accept at face value the *Textus Receptus*, Majority Text, and Nestle-Aland 27th ed., then we are forced to conclude that Wulfila deliberately chose to render the Greek subjunctive into Gothic as an indicative. But what was Wulfila’s motive? Perhaps he believed that a result clause better gave the sense of the context, and that the Greek was not clear.

b) John 14:3

aftra qima jah franima izwis du mis silbin, ei þarei im ik, þaruh sijuh jah jus ‘again I am coming and [will] receive you unto myself, so that where I am, there even you will be’

πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήμψομαι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε ‘I will come again and receive you to myself, in order that where I am even you may be’

Manuscript evidence supports Greek ἦτε; Streitberg offers εἶτε.

In both passages, the Gothic exhibits the indicative mood in the *ei* clause. I conclude that these clauses should be treated as result, not purpose, clauses. The corresponding Greek, on the other hand, denotes purpose, in spite of Streitberg’s proposed Vorlage which contains the indicative mood in both passages.

6.2.3.5 Gothic ecbatic : Greek correlative equative correspondence

This correspondence is rare and occurs only in Mark.

Mark 4:33 (see also Mk. 9:13)

jah swaleikaim managaim gajukom rodida du im pata waurd, swaswe mahtedun hausjon ‘and with many such parables he spoke to them the word, so that (or, just as) they could hear’

Καὶ τοιαύταις παραβολαῖς πολλαῖς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον καθὼς ἠδύναντο ἀκούειν ‘And he was speaking to them the word with many such parables just as they were able to hear’

The Gothic is ambiguous as to its clausal type/structure; the Greek lacks this ambiguity.

6.3 Syncritical analysis of causal clauses

6.3.1 Aetiological clausal-to-clausal correspondence

6.3.1.1 Conjunctions

6.3.1.1.1 *Unte* : ὅτι

This is the most frequent causal correspondence in the four gospels. One may safely categorize this as the default correspondence for causal clauses:

a) Matt. 5:34

unte stols ist gudis...

ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ...

b) Mark 5:9

namo mein Laigaion, unte managai sijum

λεγιῶν ὄνομά μοι, ὅτι πολλοί ἐσμεν

c) Luke 1:48

unte insah du hnaiweinai þiujos seinaihos

ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ

d) John 6:2

unte gasehuun taikins þozei gatawida bi siukaim

ὅτι ἐθεώρουν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων

In table 6.7 below, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel, with Luke (the longest gospel) and John (the second shortest) exhibiting the most correspondences.

Table 6.7 Frequency of *unte* : *ὅτι* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	10	13	45	56
% of Total	8.07	10.48	36.29	45.16

6.3.1.1.2 *Unte* : καθότι

This correspondence is rare, occurring only twice and solely in Luke:

a) Luke 1:7

unte was Aileisabaiþ stairo

καθότι ἦν ἡ Ἐλισάβετ στείρα

b) Luke 19:9

unte jah sa sunus Abrahamis ist

καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν

Because this correspondence is so rare, a statistical table is not necessary.

6.3.1.1.3 *Unte* : διότι

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels:

Luke 2:7

unte ni was im rumis in stada þamma

διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι

6.3.1.1.4 *Unte* : ἐπεὶ

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels:

Matt. 27:6

unte andawairþi bloþis ist

ἐπεὶ τιμὴ αἵματός ἐστιν

6.3.1.1.5 *Unte* : ἐπειδήπερ

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels:

Luke 1:1

Unte raihtis managai dugunnun meljan insaht bi þos gafullaweisidons in uns waihtins

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων

It is probably more accurate to say that *unte raihtis* corresponds to ἐπειδήπερ, the presence of *raihtis* being Wulfila's means of calquing the Greek intensive conjunction.

6.3.1.1.6 *Þatei* : ὅτι

This is the second most frequently occurring correspondence in the gospels. It occurs in all the gospels except Mark, but is rare in Matthew and Luke, being primarily a stylistic feature found in John. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 11:20

þatei ni idreigodedun sik

ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν

b) Luke 2:11 (see also Lk. 19:13)

*þatei gabaurans ist izwis himma daga nasjands, saei ist Xristus frauja, in baurg
Daweidis*

ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτὴρ ὃς ἐστὶν Χριστὸς κύριος ἐν πόλει Δαυίδ

c) John 6:26

ak þatei matideduþ þize hlaibe jah sadai waurþuþ

ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφάγετε ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων καὶ ἐχορτάσθητε

In table 6.8 below, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel.

Table 6.8 Frequency of þatei : ὅτι correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	1	0	2	12
% of Total	6.67	0	13.33	80

6.3.1.1.7 *Dupe ei* : διότι

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels—in Luke:

Luke 1:13

dupe ei andhausida ist bida þeina

διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου

6.3.1.1.8 *Duþe ei : ἀνθ' ὧν*

Like the previous correspondence, this occurs only once and in Luke:

Luke 1:20

duþe ei ni galaubides waurdam meinaim

ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου

6.3.1.1.9 *Pandei : ἐπεὶ*

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke's gospel:

Luke 1:34

pandei aban ni kann?

ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω;

6.3.1.1.10 *Pandei : ὅτι*

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke's gospel:

Luke 16:3

pandei frauja meins afnimip fauragaggi af mis?

ὅτι ὁ κύριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ;

6.3.1.1.11 *Pande : ὅτι*

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke and once in John. *Pande* is merely an orthographical variation of *pandei*.

a) Luke 2:30

pande sehun augona meina nasein þeina

ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου

b) John 9:16

bande sabbate daga ni witaip

ὅτι τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρεῖ

6.3.1.1.12 *Ei* : ὅτι

This correspondence is rare in causal value, occurring only in John. However, because it also signals indirect discourse, one must sometimes rely on context to determine which of these constructions is present in a given passage.

a) John 8:22

qepun þan Iudaieis: nibai usqimai sis silbin, ei qipip: þadei ik gagga, jus ni maguþ qiman?

ἔλεγον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· μήτι ἀποκτενεῖ ἑαυτόν, ὅτι λέγει· ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν;

‘Therefore, the Jews were saying, “Surely he will not kill himself, because he says

<<Where I am going, you cannot come>>?’”

The context of the above passage clearly precludes interpreting the *ei/ὅτι* correspondence as anything other than causal. But consider the following:

b) John 9:17

þu hva qipis bi þana ei uslauk þus augona?

τί σὺ²¹ λέγεις περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἠνέφξεν²² σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς;

‘What do you say concerning him [Goth. ‘that one’], because [or, seeing that] he opened your eyes?’

²¹ TR has Σὺ τί...

²² TR has ἤνοιξε σου...

If we assume *hwa/τί* to be the object of their respective verbs (*qipis/λέγεις*), then the subordinate clauses in Gothic and Greek denote causality, or are epexegetical (i.e., explanatory). On the other hand, if we interpret *hwa/τί* to be the adverbial particle meaning ‘why?’, then the object of *qipis/λέγεις* could be the subordinate clause introduced by *ei/ὅτι*. In this case, the passage would convey ‘Why do you say, concerning him, that he opened your eyes?’ The context of the passage, however, does not permit this interpretation, for the blind man responds *ὅτι Προφήτης ἐστίν* : *patei praufetus ist* ‘he is a prophet.’ The function of *ὅτι/patei* here is to introduce a direct quote. If these conjunctions were actually meant to introduce a causal clause, then the interpretation *might* be admissible, that *hwa/τί* mean ‘why?’ in this context instead of ‘what?’ But to accept *hwa/τί* as conveying ‘why?’ is tantamount to perceiving the role of a prophet as merely a miracle worker, and that the blind man already knew that Jesus was a prophet before he had opened the blind man’s eyes; in other words, ‘Why do you say that he opened your eyes?’ ‘Because he is a prophet.’ What the context actually teaches is just the opposite. Since Jesus had opened the eyes of the blind man, he (the blind man) perceived the prophetic gift in Jesus; in other words, ‘Since this man has opened your eyes, what do you say about him?’ ‘He is a prophet.’

6.3.1.1.13 *þeei* : ὅτι

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in John’s gospel:

John 12:6

þatub-þan qap, ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi, ak unte þiubs was...

εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ ὅτι κλέπτῃς ἦν...

The passage above contains a parallel structure, namely, ‘not because he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief.’ It is unlikely that the force of the conjunction *þeei* in Gothic can denote anything other than cause in this context.

6.3.1.1.14 *In þizeī : ἀνθ’ ὧν*

This correspondence is rare and occurs only in Luke:

Luke 19:44

in þizeī ni ufkunþes þata mel niuhseinais þeinaizos

ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἔγνωσ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου

By employing the preposition *in* + the relative pronoun *þizeī*, Wulfila employs a calque of the Greek phrase ἀνθ’ ὧν (i.e., ἀντί + ὧν, gen. pl. of rel. pron.).

6.3.1.1.15 *þammei : ὅτι*

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Luke:

Luke 15:6

þammei bigat lamb mein þata fralusano

ὅτι εὗρον τὸ πρόβατόν μου τὸ ἀπολωλός

It is unclear why Wulfila employs *þammei*, rarely used as a causal conjunction, instead of *unte*, *þatei*, or *þande/þandei*. The manuscript tradition shows Greek ὅτι throughout. This correspondence clearly indicates that Wulfila did not always calque, or attempt to calque, Greek constructions, but rather employed native Gothic constructions that exhibited as closely as possible the meaning and structure of the Greek Vorlage.

We may summarize the conjunction correspondences as follows:

Table 6.9 Gothic : Greek causal conjunction correspondence

Gothic conjunction	Greek correspondence(s)
<i>unte</i>	ὅτι, καθότι, διότι, ἐπεί
<i>unte raihtis</i>	ἐπειδήπερ
<i>þatei</i>	ὅτι
<i>duþe ei</i>	ἀνθ' ὧν, διότι
<i>þande/þandei</i>	ὅτι, ἐπεί
<i>ei/þeei</i>	ὅτι
<i>þammei</i>	ὅτι
<i>in þizei</i>	ἀνθ' ὧν

The following table, in contrast to table 6.9 above, summarizes the Greek : Gothic correspondence:

Table 6.10 Greek : Gothic causal conjunction correspondence

Greek conjunction	Gothic correspondence(s)
ὅτι	<i>unte, þatei, þandei/þande, ei/þeei, þammei</i>
καθότι	<i>unte</i>
διότι	<i>unte, duþe ei</i>
ἐπεί	<i>unte, þandei/þande</i>
ἐπειδήπερ	<i>unte raihtis</i>
ἀνθ' ὧν	<i>duþe ei, in þizei</i>

We may conclude that no consistent one-to-one correspondence occurs, even to indicate stylistic variation. This seems to indicate that Gothic's style of discourse does not always directly correspond to the Greek's particular discourse style.

6.3.1.2 Word order

In most cases, the word order of the Gothic gospels slavishly follows that of the Greek Vorlage; this element of syntax is observable regardless of clausal type, whether it be independent or dependent. Although word-order discrepancies exist, most are relatively insignificant and stem from basic differences in the Gothic and Greek idioms. The differences in word order that occur are 1) placement discrepancies, 2) object-type discrepancies, which may

have an effect on word-order type, 3) additions/deletions, which also affect word-order type, 4) subject-type discrepancies, which—although not affecting word-order type per se—show significant difference in syntax.

The passages under examination may be categorized into two main groups:

1) those passages with discrepancies that can be rectified through comparison with other manuscripts which better reflect the Greek Vorlage underlying the Gothic, such as the *Textus Receptus*;

2) those passages that cannot be reconciled with any documents in the manuscript tradition.

Since clauses of the second type are more numerous than those of the first and underscore more clearly the contrast in structure between the Gothic and Greek, we will examine this category first.

6.3.1.2.1 Differences in word order irreconcilable from the manuscript tradition

Unlike passages that can be reconciled through comparison with manuscripts not based upon NA 27th ed. (e.g., TR, Majority Text), this category indicates probable, if not real, discrepancies that occur between Gothic and Greek in regard to word order in causal clauses. Let us briefly examine pertinent examples of word-order discrepancies within this category.

In a small number of passages, Greek places the demonstrative *after* the substantive where Gothic has it *before*:

a) John 11:9

unte liuhap bis fairhaus gasaihiþ

ὅτι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου βλέπει

In one passage, the Greek shows a demonstrative where it is notably lacking in the Gothic:

b) Luke 15:32

unte broþar þeins _ dauþs was jah gaqiunoda

ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὗτος νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἔζησεν

A discrepancy in word order may be observed in the addition/deletion of a subject:

c) Matt. 11:23

unte...eis weseina und hina dag

ὅτι...ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον (absence of any subject pronoun)²³

It is unclear why Wulfila felt the need to include a subject pronoun in Gothic where one does not occur in Greek (see also Lk. 14:14; 19:4; Jn. 14:17). However, when one observes the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. preterite in Gothic, a subject pronoun may well be needed for clarification:

d) Luke 19:4

unte is and þata munaida þairhgaggan

ὅτι _ ἐκείνης ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι

But in the passage in Mt. 11:23, the verb *weseina* is unequivocally 3rd pers. pl.; therefore, a subject pronoun would seem to be superfluous.

An enclosed participial/adjectival construction acting substantivally in Greek may be arranged differently in Gothic:

²³ Notice also the discrepancy in the number of the verb. In Gothic, the verb is plural; in Greek, it is singular. This apparent discrepancy is easily explained in that the Greek word for 'Sodom' (Σόδομα), which occurs in the embedded protasis within the causal clause, is neuter plural, hence requiring the verb in the singular in Greek.

e) Luke 16:15

unte þata hauho in mannam andaset in andwairþja gudis (prepositional phrase *in mannam* modifying *þata hauho* follows the substantival phrase)

ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλὸν βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ (prepositional phrase ἐν ἀνθρώποις is enclosed between the definite article and adjective ὑψηλὸν, which here acts substantivally)

We may conclude that **þata in mannam hauho* would not be expected style in Gothic (although this phrase certainly would not be incomprehensible).

In some passages, direct and indirect objects, or prepositional phrases, do not always coincide in the two languages. Consider the following examples:

f) Mark 8:2

unte ju dagans þrins miþ mis wesun... (prepositional phrase)

ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι (dative object of a compound intransitive verb)

g) John 9:22

unte ohtedun sis Iudaiuns (dative of interest)

ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους (no dative)

h) John 12:11

unte managai in þis garunnun Iudaiei jah galaubidedun Iesua (dative object of the verb *galaubidedun*)

ὅτι πολλοὶ δι' αὐτὸν ὑπήγον τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐπίστευον εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν (accusative object of the preposition εἰς)

i) John 12:6

ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi (accusative of respect, immediately following the conjunction *þeei*)

οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ (dative of respect, at the end of the clause)

In some passages, the transitivity of the corresponding verbs does not coincide, exhibiting a difference in clause type:

j) Luke 4:43

unte duþe mik insandida ‘because, for that reason, he sent me’ (transitive verb, with pronominal object)

ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην ‘because for this [purpose] I was sent’ (passive voice verb [intransitivized])

Other examples showing that the Gothic is not strictly a calque of the Greek, but instead displays either its own syntax/style or Wulfila’s interpretation, are as follows:

k) Matt. 11:21

unte iþ waurþeina in Twre jah Seidone landa...

ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο...

Two points may be observed in the above passage: 1) Gothic places the verb immediately after the conjunction *iþ*; Greek places it after the prepositional phrase introduced by *ἐν*. 2) The object of the Gothic preposition *in* is the noun *landa*, with the nouns for ‘Tyre’ and ‘Sidon’ (i.e., *Twre* and *Seidone*) being in the genitive case; the Greek exhibits no word corresponding to Gothic *landa* (Gk. γῆ), and the words for ‘Tyre’ and ‘Sidon’ are in the dative, being the objects of the preposition *ἐν*.

l) Luke 4:41

unte wissedun [silban] Xristu ina wisan

ὅτι ἤδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι

Gothic shows *silban* (Gr. ἐαυτόν). Perhaps Wulfila interpreted the context as requiring the addition of this word in his Gothic translation.

m) Luke 6:24

unte ju habaid gaplaiht izwara

ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν

The presence of the Gothic adverb *ju* ‘already’ is only a minor difference and should be seen as a probable interpretative addition made by Wulfila to clarify the meaning of the text. However, another explanation for the discrepancy here should not be overlooked, namely, that of scribal error. It is possible that a scribe may have unintentionally omitted an ‘s’ on the end of *ju*. If that is the case, then *jus* would make sense as a subject pronoun, leaving out the possibility of an interpretative addition to the text.

n) Luke 6:25

unte gaunon jah gretan duginnid ‘because you are beginning to mourn and weep’

ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε ‘because you will experience sorrow and will weep’

Gothic employs *duginnan* + infinitive; Greek, the future tense. By employing the verb *duginnan*, Wulfila clearly is attempting through periphrasis to bring out in Gothic the force of the Greek future.

o) John 6:26

ni þatei sehup taiknins jah fauratanja ‘not because you saw signs and wonders’

οὐχ ὅτι εἶδετε σημεῖα ‘not because you saw signs’

The presence of Gothic *jah fauratanja* may be based upon a Greek Vorlage unknown to us, but not to Wulfila, or an interpolation given by Wulfila for clarification.

p) John 9:16

þande sabbate daga ni witaip ‘since he does not observe the day of the Sabbath’

ὅτι τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρεῖ ‘because he does not keep the Sabbath’

Greek does not exhibit the word for ‘day.’

6.3.1.2.2. Differences in word order reconciled through comparison with the *Textus*

Receptus

Passages under this category do not show any deviation in word order from the *Textus Receptus*, but do with the Nestle-Aland 27th ed. The discrepancies are of two major types: 1) those exhibiting a difference in word-order type; 2) those containing an element in one language (usually in Gothic) that is lacking in the other (Greek). The following passages are indicative of the first category:

a) Matt. 5:36

unte ni magt ain tagl hweit aiþþau swart gataujan (infinitive ends the clause and follows both complementary accusatives)

ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ποιῆσαι ἢ μέλαιναν (infinitive follows only the first of the two complementary accusatives)²⁴

b) Luke 8:30

unte unhulþons managos galipun in ina

ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν δαιμόνια πολλὰ εἰς αὐτόν²⁵

²⁴ TR: ...μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ἢ μέλαιναν ποιῆσαι

²⁵ TR: ὅτι δαιμόνια πολλὰ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτόν

The placement of the verbs is different.

c) John 19:7

unte sik silban gudis sunu gatawida

ὅτι υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν²⁶

Notice in the above passage that there are two important elements whose placement does not coincide in the two languages. First, the reflexive pronoun immediately follows the conjunction and precedes the object complement in Gothic. In Greek, on the other hand, the object complement immediately follows the conjunction and precedes the direct object. In addition, the genitive precedes its head in Gothic (characteristic of a head-last/verb-final language), but the genitive follows the head in Greek (gudis sunu : υἱὸν θεοῦ).

The following are examples of passages containing an element in one language not found in the corresponding passage of the other.

d) Luke 14:17

unte ju manwu ist allata ‘because everything is already prepared’

ὅτι ἤδη ἑτοιμά ἐστιν²⁷ ‘because it is already prepared’

e) John 14:17 (see also Jn. 14:28 and 16:10)

unte ni saihiþ ina, nih kann ina ‘because it does not see him, nor know him’

ὅτι οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ γινώσκει²⁸ ‘because it does not see it, nor know’

6.3.1.3 Mood

Nearly all causal clauses in the Gothic and Greek gospels correspond in the indicative mood, indicating that the indicative mood is the default mood usage in causal clauses. However, both Gothic and Greek may exhibit (in rare occurrences) no verb at all:

²⁶ TR: ὅτι ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐποίησεν

²⁷ TR: ὅτι ἤδη ἑτοιμά ἐστι πάντα

²⁸ TR: ὅτι οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτό, οὐδὲ γινώσκει αὐτό

a) Matt. 7:13 (see also Lk. 16:15)

unte braid daur jah rums wigs...

ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς...

Sometimes a causal clause contains an adjoined conditional construction wherein the Gothic employs the optative, the Greek the indicative mood:

b) Matt. 11:21 (see also Mt. 11:23; Lk. 10:13)

unte ip waurþeina in Twre jah Seidone landa mahteis þos waurþanos in izwis, airis þau in sakkau jah azgon idreigodedeina

ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμενοι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν

The adjoined clauses in both the Gothic and Greek are past contrary-to-fact conditions, the Gothic displaying the preterite optative, the Greek the aorist indicative.

Although the optative in Gothic is explainable in the above example from its use in an embedded contrary-to-fact condition, nevertheless there exist two passages in John in which the presence of the Greek indicative corresponding to the Gothic optative seems to defy explanation:

c) John 7:22

dupþe Moses atgaf izwis bimait, ni þatei fram Mose sijai, ak us attam...

διὰ τοῦτο Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν περιτομήν—οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Μωϋσέως ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων...

d) John 12:6

þatuf-þan qap, ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi, ak unte þiubs was...

εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅτι κλέπτῃς ἦν...

It may be argued that the optative mood in the above passages in Gothic functions in causal clauses much as the subjunctive may in Latin—to indicate the cause as related from other than the narrator’s/speaker’s viewpoint. In that case, Jesus would be saying in Jn. 7:22 ‘not because it is (reportedly) from Moses,’ and in Jn. 12:6 not because he (reportedly) was concerned for the poor.’ This explanation, however, is unlikely since the construction is not attested elsewhere in Gothic. The presence of the optative is more likely due to negation of the entire causal clause, not just an element within the clause. Either explanation clearly demonstrates Gothic syntax independent of Greek influence and attests that Wulfila’s Gothic is not a mere calque of the Greek.

6.3.1.4 Aspect/Tense

The issue of aspect/tense correspondence in Gothic and Greek has previously been discussed in sections 6.1.1.4 and 6.2.1.4, treating purpose and result clauses respectively. In these constructions, aspect is salient in Greek, tense concord in Gothic.²⁹

In causal clauses, on the other hand, neither aspect in Greek nor tense concord in Gothic seems to be the prominent verbal feature. In Greek and Gothic causal clauses, the most salient verbal feature is tense (except for a couple of notable exceptions in Gothic where tense *and* mood play a key role), coupled with aspect (though the aspectual dichotomy in Gothic is not as well-pronounced as it is in Greek). Hence, we may safely say that both Greek and Gothic construct causal clauses in a very similar manner. This section treats causal clause correspondence in Gothic and Greek in two categories: 1) tense and 2) aspect. The tense correspondences covered are as follows:

²⁹ This is not to devalue the importance of aspectual correspondence between the Greek present/aorist and the Gothic imperfective/perfective verbs. The statement given above, however, concerns *prominence*, not mere *existence*, in respect to subordinate structure.

Greek	Gothic
Present	Present
Present	Preterite
Imperfect	Present
Imperfect	Preterite
Future	Present
Perfect	Present
Perfect	Preterite
Pluperfect	Preterite
Aorist	Present
Aorist	Preterite

The aspectual correspondences will follow those of tense.

6.3.1.4.1 Greek present : Gothic present

This is the most frequently occurring tense correspondence in Greek and Gothic causal clauses. All examples of this correspondence exhibit the indicative mood in both languages.

Consider the following:

a) Matt. 5:34

unte stols ist gudis...

ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ...

b) Mark 9:41

unte Xristaus sijuþ

ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε

c) Luke 5:8

unte manna frawaurhts im, frauja

ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁματωλός εἰμι, κύριε

d) John 9:16

þande sabbate daga ni witaiþ

ὅτι τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρεῖ

In clauses without a verb, one must assume that the tense would be present if a verb overtly occurred:

e) Matt. 7:13

unte braid daur jah rums wigs sa brigganda in fralustai (implied *ist* after *braid* and *rums*)

ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν (implied ἐστὶν after *πλατεῖα* and *εὐρύχωρος*)

f) Luke 16:15

unte þata hauho in mannam andaset in andwairþja gudis (implied *ist* after *mannam*)

ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλὸν βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ (implied ἐστὶν after *ὑψηλὸν*)

The frequency of present : present correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 6.11 Frequency of Greek present : Gothic present tense correspondence in causal clauses in the gospels

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	8	7	16	29
% of Total	13.3	11.7	26.7	48.3

6.3.1.4.2 Greek present : Gothic preterite

This correspondence is rare, occurring only in Mark and John. Consider the following:

a) Mark 8:2

unte ju dagans þrins miþ mis wesun jah ni haband hwa matjaina ‘because already for three days they have been with me, and they do not have what they may eat’

ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν ‘because already for three days they have been remaining [lit. ‘remain’] with me and they do not have what they may eat’

This discrepancy in tense is the result of the difference in idiom between the two languages. A durative perfect, i.e., an action that takes place over a period of time with present or past

resultative force, does not normally exist as a separate tense in any Indo-European dialect, but the notion exists as a type of action (Aktionsart) with a particular tense. In Greek, this notion is conveyed through the present tense accompanied by certain adverbs to aid in denoting this type of action (here, the adverb employed is ἤδη; cf. the use of *iam* in Latin). In Gothic, the preterite is employed with the adverb *ju*. Consider another example:

b) John 8:45

þatei sunja rodida ‘because I spoke the truth’

ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγω ‘because I tell the truth’

This discrepancy is difficult to account for. No known manuscripts show an alternate reading in Greek, such as εἶπον. Streitberg (2000) does not reconstruct a Greek aorist in his Vorlage. His suggestion that a variant in a Vulgate manuscript (namely, *locutus sum* for *loquor*) can account for the discrepancy is unconvincing in light of the fact that no known Vulgate manuscripts show such a variant reading. If, however, we interpret the tense of the Greek verb λέγω as a broad-band present, meaning ‘I have been telling the truth,’ then the preterite of the Gothic verb *rodida* is easily explicable.

6.3.1.4.3 Greek imperfect : Gothic present

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels:

Mark 9:38

unte ni laisteip unsis ‘because he does not follow us’

ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει ἡμῖν ‘because he was not following us’

This apparent discrepancy can easily be rectified through comparison with the *Textus Receptus* and Majority Text, both which show ἀκολουθεῖ.

6.3.1.4.4 Greek imperfect : Gothic preterite

This correspondence occurs quite frequently in the four gospels, the verbs in Gothic being primarily imperfective. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 9:36

unte wesun afdauidai jah frawaurpanai swe lamba ni habandona hairdeis

ὅτι ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐρριμένοι ὥσεί πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα

b) Mark 3:30

unte qeþun: ahman unhrainjana habaiþ

ὅτι ἔλεγον: πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει

c) Luke 1:7

unte was Aileisabaiþ stairo

καθότι ἦν ἡ Ἐλισάβετ στεῖρα

d) John 6:2

unte gasehun taiknins þozei gatawida bi siukaim

ὅτι ἐθεώρουν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων

The presence of the verb *gasehun* with the *ga-* perfective prefix appears to be a problematic correspondence to the Greek imperfect. However, it should be noted that *ga-* does not always designate a verb in Gothic as exhibiting perfective aspect. The prefix could be used to indicate a nuance in a Gothic lexeme, employed due to the fact that Gothic lacks the richness of vocabulary so indicative of the Greek language. However, this is not the case with the verb *gasaihan*, which has an imperfective form *saihan*. The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 6.12 Frequency of Greek imperfect : Gothic preterite tense correspondence in causal clauses in the gospels

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	1	1	11	9
% of Total	4.55	4.55	50	40.9

6.3.1.4.5 Greek future : Gothic present

This correspondence occurs predominantly in Luke. Since Gothic lacks a future, often the present tense is employed in conjunction with adverbs denoting future time (i.e., soon tomorrow, the next day, etc.), or periphrasis is used to convey the future activity. On some occasions, the future may be indicated by the verb in the optative mood. The optative, surprisingly, is not used in this correspondence, but periphrasis is fairly common. A number of these verbs in Gothic are clearly perfective. Consider the following examples:

a) Luke 1:37

unte nist unmahteig guda ainhun waurde

ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα

b) John 16:14

unte us meinamma nimip jah gateihþ³⁰ izwis

ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήμψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν

The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 6:13 Frequency of Greek future : Gothic present tense correspondence in causal clauses in the gospels

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	0	0	8	2
% of Total	0	0	80	20

³⁰ Notice that the verb *gateihþ*, containing the perfectivizing prefix *ga-*, has a future meaning in the present tense. This is expected of perfective verbs (cf. Slavic perfective verbs).

6.3.1.4.6 Greek perfect : Gothic present

This correspondence never occurs in Matthew, and rarely in Mark and Luke. Most passages containing Gothic presents are preterite-present verbs (*witan* and *kunnan*) corresponding to Greek οἶδα. In other passages, the Gothic verb is mostly a periphrastic consisting of the verb *wisan* in the present employed with the preterite participle. Consider the following:

a) Mark 4:29

unte atist asans ‘because the harvest is near’

ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμός ‘because the harvest has come near’

b) Luke 4:6

unte mis atgiban ist ‘because it is given up to me’ (periphrastic, with a resultative force)

ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται ‘because it has been handed over to me’

c) John 8:14

unte wait huapro qam jah huap galeiþa ‘because I know from where I came and to where I go’ (preterite-present verb)

ὅτι οἶδα πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω ‘because I know from where I came and to where I go’ (οἶδα is perfect in form, but present in meaning)

Although the perfect tense in Greek sometimes may function as a past tense, it often conveys an action that is resultative or stative. Wulfila clearly understood the contexts of such uses of the perfect and demonstrated this knowledge by not translating every Greek perfect as a present in Gothic, as the next section demonstrates. The frequency of this correspondence is shown in the table below:

Table 6.14 Frequency of Greek perfect : Gothic present tense correspondence in causal clauses in the gospels

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	0	1	1	6
% of Total	0	12.5	12.5	75

6.3.1.4.7 Greek perfect : Gothic preterite

This correspondence is uncommon and occurs only in John. Wulfila likely perceived that the Greek perfect in these passages was more closely resultative in force, or even simple past, than stative. Consider the following example:

John 6:38

unte astaig us himina

ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ‘because I came down out of heaven’ or

‘because I have come down out of heaven’

Other passages in John containing this correspondence are: 16:6; 16:11; 16:27; 17:8.

6.3.1.4.8 Greek pluperfect : Gothic preterite

This correspondence is rare and never occurs in Matthew. In addition, it involves only two lexemes in Greek: οἶδα and ἔρχομαι. In regard to οἶδα, one may categorize this correspondence as the past tense of the Greek perfect : Gothic present correspondence. Consider the following examples:

a) Mark 1:34

unte kunbedun ina ‘because they knew him’

ὅτι ἤδεισαν αὐτόν

Although ἤδεισαν is pluperfect in form, the force of its meaning is simple past.

b) Luke 4:41

unte wissedun [silban] Xristu ina wisan

ὅτι ἤδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι

Notice in the above example that Gothic employs a different verb from what is seen in the first example.

c) John 7:30

unte nauhþanuh ni atiddja heila is

ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ

d) John 8:20

unte nauhþanuh ni qam heila is

ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ

Notice that in the two passages from John, the Greek verb ἐληλύθει corresponds to two different Gothic lexemes: *atiddja* and *qam*. This is evidence that Wulfila was not always calquing the Greek Vorlage. The lack of a true perfect in Gothic has led Wulfila to interpret as well as translate the sacred text (an endeavor which applies to all translators). The fact that he saw the Greek perfect as having multiple functions (present perfect, resultative, stative, aoristic, etc.) and that he translated this perfect in a number of different ways into Gothic (present, preterite) indicates his genuine and acute knowledge of the Greek *and* Gothic languages.

6.3.1.4.9 Greek aorist : Gothic present

This is a rare correspondence occurring only in Luke, the aorist always occurring in the passive voice. The fact that these aorists are rendered by Wulfila into the Gothic present strongly indicates that the aorist in these passages functions as a perfect passive. That the Gothic

corresponding construction is a periphrasis made with the past participle also supports this conclusion. Consider the following examples:

a) Luke 1:13

duþe ei andhausida ist bida þeina ‘because your prayer is heard (or, has been heard)’

διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου ‘because your petition was heard (or, has been heard)’

b) Luke 2:11

þatei gabaurans ist izwis himma daga nasjands... ‘because a savior is born (or, has been born) to you on this day...’

ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτὴρ... ‘because a savior was born (or, has been born) to you today...’

In light of the fact that nearly every Greek aorist corresponds to the Gothic preterite, this aorist : present correspondence is significant and another indicator that Wulfila’s translation—although containing a number of calques—exhibits genuine Gothic syntax.

6.3.1.4.10 Greek aorist : Gothic preterite

This correspondence occurs with the second most frequency in causal clauses (only the correspondence Greek present : Gothic present occurs with greater frequency). It is rare in Mark and uncommon in Matthew. The following examples are representative of this correspondence:

a) Matt. 11:20

þatei ni idreigodedun sik

ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν

b) Mark 6:17

unte þo galiugaida

ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν

c) Luke 1:20

duþe ei ni galaubides waurdam meinaim

ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου

d) John 7:23

unte allana mannan hailana gatawida in sabbato?

ὅτι ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ὑγιῇ ἐποίησα ἐν σαββάτῳ;

The frequency of this correspondence is shown in the table below:

Table 6.15 Frequency of Greek aorist : Gothic preterite tense correspondence in causal clauses in the gospels

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	3	1	19	19
% of Total	7.143	2.381	45.238	45.238

6.3.1.4.11 Aspectual correspondence between the Greek aorist/present and Gothic presumed perfective/imperfective verbs

In order to determine to what extent one may ascertain the existence and consistency of use of the perfective/imperfective verbal aspectual dichotomy in Gothic, it is necessary to collate the correspondences of the Gothic verbs with their respective Greek counterparts. Such a comparison should establish two constants:

- 1) which Gothic verbs Wulfila classified as perfective and which imperfective;
- 2) whether Wulfila was consistent in his use of perfective verbs to correspond to the Greek aorist (and future), and imperfective verbs to correspond to the Greek present (and imperfect).

Let us first begin our investigation by assuming that Gothic perfective verbs correspond to Greek verbs in the aorist. Consider the following correspondent sets:

Greek aorist	Gothic verbal correspondence
μετενόησαν	<i>idreigodedun sik</i>
ἐγένοντο	<i>waurþeina</i>
ἐγενήθησαν	<i>waurþeina</i>
ἐγάμησεν	<i>galiugaida</i>
ἐπεχείρησαν	<i>dugunnun</i>
ἐπίστευσας	<i>galaubides</i>
ἐπέβλεψεν	<i>insahv</i>
ἐποίησεν	<i>gatawida, gawaurhta</i>
ἐπεσκέψατο	<i>gaweisoda</i>
εἶδον	<i>sehvn</i>
ἀπεστάλην	<i>insandida</i>
ἡγάπησεν	<i>frijoda</i>
εἰσῆλθεν	<i>galipun</i>
ἀπέκρυσας	<i>affalht</i>
ἀπεκάλυψας	<i>andhulides</i>
εὔρον	<i>bigat</i>
ἀπέλαβεν	<i>andnam</i>
ἐγένου	<i>wast</i>
ἔγνωσ	<i>ufkunþes</i>
ἐφάγετε	<i>matidedup</i>
εἶπεν	<i>qap</i>
ἐδοξάσθη	<i>hauhiþs was</i>
ἠνέωξεν	<i>uslauk</i>
ἤκουσας	<i>andhausides</i>
ἤκουσαν	<i>hausidedun</i>
ἐλάλησα	<i>rodida</i>
ἐγνώρισα	<i>gakannida</i>
ἦλθεν	<i>qam</i>
συνήχθη	<i>gaiddja</i>

We observe important, noticeable trends in the Gothic verb. For example, most of the above verbs in Gothic contain a preverb, either the perfective prefix *ga-* (*gatawida*, *gawaurhta*, *gaweisoda*, etc.) or an adverbial prefix (*insahv*, *andnam*, *affalht*, *bigat*, *ufkunþes*, *uslauk*). It is evident that a number of these Gothic preverbs correspond to Greek preverbs (*insahv*: ἐπέβλεψεν; *andnam*: ἀπέλαβεν). However, a number of Gothic preverbated verbs correspond to non-preverbated Greek ones (*andhausides*: ἤκουσας). In addition, preverbation does not always

occur in a particular Gothic lexeme (*hausidedun*: ἤκουσαν). Hence, the use of preverbs with certain lexemes to indicate that a verb is perfective is inconsistent.

Certain Gothic verbs never occur with a preverb (at least, not in causal clauses): *waurpeina*, *sehvun*, *frijoda*, *wast*, *matidedup*, *rodida*, *qam*, *qap*). This is because some of these verbs are inherently imperfective (e.g., *wast*, *rodida*) or are imperfective with perfective counterparts (*sehvun* ~ *gasaihvan*, *matidedup* ~ *gamatjan*), whereas others are inherently perfective without the need of a demarcative preverb (*waurpeina*, *qam*, *qap*).

It is possible, on the other hand, that these correspondences have nothing to do with aspect, but instead with tense, for all the Gothic verbs here occur in the preterite. If a similar pattern of preverbation in Gothic occurs in Gothic present : Greek future correspondence, then one may conclude the likelihood of this pattern as a result of aspect—not simply tense—correspondence. Consider the following:

Greek future	Gothic verbal correspondence
οὐκ ἂδυνατήσῃ	<i>nist unmahteig</i>
χορτασθήσεσθε	<i>sadai wairþiþ</i>
γελάσετε	<i>ufhlohjanda</i>
πεινάσετε	<i>gredagai wairþiþ</i>
πενθήσετε	<i>gaunon...duginnid</i>
κλαύσετε	<i>gretan...duginnid</i>
ταπεινωθήσεται	<i>gahnaiwjada</i>
ἥξουσιν	<i>qimand</i>
ἔσται	<i>ist</i>
λήμψεται	<i>nimiþ</i>
ἀναγγελεῖ	<i>gateiþiþ</i>

Notice a similar pattern of preverbation as observed in the Greek aorist : Gothic preterite correspondence:

ταπεινωθήσεται : *gahnaiwjada*

ἀναγγελεῖ : *gateiþiþ*

γελάσετε : *ufhlohjanda*

In addition, certain verbs presumably inherently perfective in Gothic also appear in this correspondence:

πεινάσετε : *gredagai wairþiþ*

From the evidence, we may conclude that perfective verbs in Gothic either a) tend to be preverbated, or b) are inherently perfective and, hence, need no perfectivizing prefix.

In order for the above conclusion to be irrefutable, then we should see no (or very few) examples of preverbation in what are presumably imperfective verbs, which should correspond to Greek verbs in the present and imperfect tenses. Consider the following correspondent sets:

Greek present/imperfect	Gothic verbal correspondence
ἐστίν	<i>ist</i>
δύνασαι	<i>magt</i>
ἀνατέλλει	<i>urranneiþ</i>
βρέχει	<i>rigneiþ</i>
φιλοῦσιν	<i>frijond</i>
ὑπακούει	<i>ufhausjand</i> ³¹
εἰσπορεύεται	<i>galeiþiþ</i>
ἔχουσιν	<i>habam</i> ³²
φρονεῖς	<i>frapjis</i>
γινώσκω	<i>kann</i>
ἀπέχετε	<i>habaid</i>
ἀκολουθεῖ	<i>laistiþ</i>
ἀφαιρεῖται	<i>afnimip</i>
μαρτυρῶ	<i>weitwodja</i>
λέγει/λέγω	<i>qīþiþ/rodida</i>
ποιῶ	<i>tauja</i>
χωρεῖ	<i>gamot</i>
τηρεῖ	<i>witaiþ</i>
τίθημι	<i>lagja</i>
βλέπει	<i>gasaihiþ</i>
πορεύομαι	<i>gagga</i>
ζῶ	<i>liba</i>
πιστεύουσιν	<i>galaubjand</i>
ὑπάγω	<i>gagga</i>
προσμένουσιν	<i>wesun</i>

³¹ Greek employs a singular verb with a plural subject. Gothic's use of a plural verb is more consistent syntactically.

³² Greek: καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσιν; Gothic: *Jah þahtedun miþ sis misso qīþandans unte Hlaibans ni habam* (Mk. 8:16).

ἦσαν	<i>wesun</i>
ἔλεγον	<i>qebun</i>
ἦν	<i>was</i>
ἐξήρχετο	<i>usiddja</i>
συνείχοντο	<i>dishabaidai wesun</i>
ἤμελλεν	<i>munaida</i>
ἐθεώρουν	<i>gasehvun</i>
ἐζήτουν	<i>sokidedun</i>
ἐφοβοῦντο	<i>ohtedun</i>
ἐβάσταζεν	<i>bar</i>
ὑπήγον	<i>garunnun</i>

Most Gothic verbs in this correspondence lack preverbation (*rigneip*, *habam*, *frapjis*, *laistip*, *witaiþ*), including *tauja*, which is preverbated when corresponding to the Greek aorist (*gatawida* : ἐποίησεν). The verb *wairþan*, which is inherently perfective, never occurs in this group. However, a number of non-preverbated perfectives also occur in this correspondence. This is probably because these verbs (e.g., *qipþan*) exhibit dual aspect. One apparent inconsistency is that a number of Gothic verbs that should be classified here as imperfective contain preverbs. A closer examination, however, reveals that—in the majority of instances—the corresponding Greek verb also contains a preverb:

ἀνατέλλει : *urranneiþ*

ὑπακούει : *ufhausjand*

ἐξήρχετο : *usiddja*

ἀφαιρεῖται : *afnimip*

It is clear that the purpose of the preverbs in Gothic verbs in these examples is to bring out more accurately the sense of the Greek. In four correspondences, the Gothic verb contains the prefix *ga-* with no preverbation at all in the Greek:

χωρεῖ : *gamot*

πιστεύουσιν : *galaubjand*

βλέπει : *gasaihwiþ*

ἐθεώρουν : *gasehvun*

The presence of the prefix *ga-* in *gamot* and *galaubjand* may be explained in that these verbs never occur without this prefix. We may, hence, conclude that the *ga-* prefix is a morpheme inherent to these particular lexemes. In the matter of *gasaihwiþ* and *gasehvun*, a solution to this problem is speculative. The fact that *gasaihvan* corresponds to two different Greek lexemes (βλέπω, θεωρέω) adds to the difficulty in finding a solution, since one cannot assume that the *ga-* prefix in this case is semantically or lexically particularized.

In spite of some inconsistencies, we may, therefore, conclude that imperfective verbs in Gothic generally lack preverbation, but when preverbation does occur, it is either mostly a calque of Greek preverbation, or an inherent part of the lexeme.

6.3.2 Aetiological clausal-to-non-clausal correspondence

In this correspondence, the Gothic causal clause corresponds to the Greek preposition *διά* + articular infinitive. This correspondence is attested only in Mark and Luke. Consider the following examples:

a) Mark 4:5 (see also Mk. 4:6 and 5:4)

in þizei ni habaida diupaizos airþos

διά τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς

b) Luke 2:4 (see also Lk. 8:6; 9:7; 18:5; 19:11)

duþe ei was us garda fadreinais Daweidis

διά τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυίδ

The Gothic may contain a causal clause where no corresponding portion exists in the NA text, but does in the TR:

c) Matt. 6:13

unte þeina ist þiudangardi jah mahts jah wulþus in aiwins. amen.

TR: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

d) Mark 15:42

unte was paraskaiwe

TR: ἐπεὶ ἦν Παρασκευή

e) Luke 17:10 (see also Lk. 9:56)

unte þatei skuldedum taujan gatawidedum

TR: ὅτι ὁ ὀφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν

f) John 16:16

unte ik gagga du attin

TR: ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸς πατέρα

6.3.3 Aetiological-to-non-aetiological clausal correspondence

This correspondence consists of three main types: 1) subordinate causal clauses in Gothic that correspond to non-subordinate causal clauses in Greek; 2) causal clauses in Gothic that correspond to non-causal clauses in Greek; 3) causal clauses (or, presumably causal clauses) in Greek that correspond to non-causal clauses in Gothic.

6.3.3.1 Gothic subordinating aetiological : Greek coordinating aetiological correspondence

The issue of this correspondence is not cause, but subordination, in which Gothic causal clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction correspond to Greek clauses containing a

semi-coordinating conjunction. This conjunctive correspondence is almost always Gothic *unte* : Greek γάρ. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 25:42 (see also Mt. 6:14; 6:24; 7:25; 9:16; 9:24)

unte gredags was jan-ni gebuþ mis matjan ‘because I was hungry, and you did not give me [something] to eat’

ἐπείνασα γάρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν ‘for I was hungry and you did not give me [something] to eat’

b) Mark 7:27 (see also Mk. 1:22; 1:38; 4:25; 5:8; 5:28; 8:38; 9:31; 9:40; 10:14; 11:18; 13:22)

unte ni goþ ist niman hlaib barne jah wairpan hundam ‘because it is not good to take the bread of the children and throw [it] to dogs’

οὐ γάρ ἐστὶν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν ‘for it is not good to take the bread of the children and throw [it] to the houndedogs’

c) Luke 8:52 (see also Lk. 2:10; 6:23; 7:5; 7:6; 8:18; 8:29; 9:44; 9:48; 9:50; 18:16)

unte ni gaswalt, ak slepiþ ‘because she has not died, but is sleeping’

οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει ‘for she has not died, but is sleeping’

d) John 8:42 (see also Jn. 7:39³³ and 16:7)

unte ik fram guda urrann jah qam ‘because I proceeded out of and have come from G-d’

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξηλθὼν καὶ ἦκω ‘for I came out of and have arrived from G-d’

The Greek coordinating conjunction γάρ does not always correspond to Gothic *unte*.

Consider the following:

³³ The Gothic in Jn. 7:39 does not closely correspond to the Greek of NA 27th ed. However, it does correspond somewhat more closely to the Greek of the TR:

unte ni nauhþanuh was ahma sa weiha ana im (note explanatory addition in Gothic)

NA 27th ed.: οὐπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα

TR: οὐπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον

e) John 6:6

ih silba wissa þatei habaida taujan ‘but he himself knew what he had³⁴ to do’

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἤδει τί ἔμελλεν ποιεῖν ‘for he himself knew what he was about to do’

The Gothic clause above is actually adversative instead of causal. This example further validates the notion that Wulfila’s Gothic is not in all particulars a calque of the Greek Vorlage.

6.3.3.2 Gothic aetiological : Greek non-aetiological correspondence

A number of variant non-aetiological clausal types in Greek correspond to aetiological clauses in Gothic. Consider the following examples:

a) Mark 8:17

unte daubata habaiþ hairto izwara ‘because you have your heart hardened’³⁵

πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν,³⁶ ‘Do you have your heart hardened?’

In the example above, Gothic shows the subordinating conjunction *unte*. No corresponding conjunction appears in the Greek.

b) Luke 1:35 (see also Lk. 7:7)

duþe ei <jah> saei gabairada weihs haitada sunus gudis ‘because also he who is born holy is called G-d’s Son’

διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ ‘Therefore, also the holy [thing] being conceived will be called Son of G-d.’

In this passage, the Gothic subordinating conjunction corresponds to a Greek adverb (διὸ).

³⁴ Gothic *habaida* here does not connote necessity, but probably intent (i.e., ‘had in mind’).

³⁵ One may consider this Gothic construction of *haban* + past participle to be an example of the perfect tense in Gothic. This is unlikely, however, as a comparison with the Greek Vorlage clearly demonstrates. In addition, *daubata* is not a past participle in Gothic, but rather an adjective cognate with Eng. ‘deaf,’ which is an example of semantic narrowing (i.e., ‘hard of hearing’). The original meaning of the word was probably ‘without feeling,’ and was narrowed in Eng. to the loss of a particular sense: hearing. *Daufs* can also mean ‘deaf’ in Gothic, but probably denotes the word’s original connotation in the above passage. Hence, we may render the Gothic of Mk. 8:17: ‘because you have your heart past feeling.’

³⁶ TR and MT have ἔτι (ἔτι πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν); it is probable that the manuscript of the Greek Vorlage upon which the Gothic is based showed ὅτι as a variant, due to scribal error.

c) Luke 5:34 (see also Jn. 9:4, where Gothic *unte* corresponds to Greek ἕως)

unte sa brupfads miþ im ist ‘because the bridegroom is with them’

ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐστίν ‘while the bridegroom is with them’

Here, the Gothic causal clause corresponds to a Greek temporal clause.

d) John 5:47

þande nu jainis melam ni galaubeiþ, hwaiwa meinaim waurdam galaubjaiþ? ‘Since, therefore, you do not believe that one’s [Moses’] writings, how will you believe my words?’

εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν οὐ πιστεύετε, πῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ῥήμασιν πιστεύσετε; ‘But if you do not believe that one’s writings, how will you believe my words?’

The Gothic subordinate clause is ambiguous, *þande* being either a causal or conditional conjunction. Why Wulfila chose this conjunction is unclear since the conjunction *jabai* would have left no doubt as to the clausal type, especially in light of the fact that the Greek conjunction is unambiguous.

e) Mark 11:3

jah jabai hvas iggqis qibai: duhve þata taujats? qibaits: þatei frauja þis gairneiþ ‘and if anyone should say to you: “Why are you doing this?” you should say: “Because the Lord needs this”’

καὶ εἰάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ· τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; εἶπατε· ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρειάν ἔχει ‘and if anyone says to you: “Why are you doing this?” say, “The Lord has need of it”’

The Gothic passage contains a conjunction, which could introduce a causal clause or a direct/indirect statement. The corresponding Greek contains no conjunction, indicating that the corresponding clause can only be a direct quote. Most of the reliable Greek manuscripts (e.g.,

Majority Text, *Textus Receptus*, and Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi Rescriptus) contain the conjunction ὅτι which, like Gothic *patei*, is ambiguous and may indicate a direct/indirect statement or causal clause.

In two passages, however, the Gothic is not ambiguous, although the Greek may be:

f) Luke 1:58 (see also Jn. 15:27)

jah hausidedun bisitands jah ganipjos izos, unte gamikilida frauja armahairtein sein bi izai ‘and her neighbors and kinsmen heard, because the Lord magnified his mercy concerning her’

καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ περίοικοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτῆς ‘and her neighbors and relatives heard that the Lord was extending his mercy with³⁷ her’

The Greek subordinate clause could be ambiguous, but the context strongly supports its being an indirect statement. Although, according to Lambdin (2006: 352), *unte* may introduce an indirect statement, I do not find evidence that convincingly supports this usage, at least not in this context. Indirect statements in Gothic are introduced by *ei* or *patei*, at least in most cases. It is puzzling to conclude that Wulfila would have employed a conjunction, that in nearly all cases introduces a causal or temporal clause, to introduce an indirect statement when two commonly occurring conjunctions (*ei*, *patei*) were at his disposal. Hence, it seems more likely that the two passages in question (Lk. 1:58, Jn. 15:27) are true causal clauses in Gothic, but indirect statements in Greek.

Some causal clauses may also be interpreted as epexegetical, or complementary, clauses. Consider the following:

³⁷ Probably meaning ‘with regard/respect to.’

g) Luke 4:36

hwa waurde þata, þatei miþ waldufnja jah mahtai anabiudip þaim unhrainjam ahmam jah usgaggand? ‘What word [lit. of words] [is] this, because [or, that] with authority and might he commands the unclean spirits and they go out?’

τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν καὶ ἐξέρχονται; ‘What [is] this word, that [or, because] in authority and power he commands the unclean spirits and they come out?’

The context in the above passage supports interpreting the Gothic and corresponding Greek clauses as either causal or epexegetical. However, consider the following example:

h) Luke 10:20

sweþauh þamma ni faginop, ei þai ahmans izwis ufhausjand: ip faginod in þammei namna izwara gamelida sind in himinam ‘Therefore, do not rejoice in this, that the spirits obey you: but rejoice because [or, in that] your names are written in the heavens’

πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν ὑποτάσσεται, χαίρετε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ‘nevertheless, do not rejoice in this, that the spirits are submissive to you, but rejoice that [or, because] your names have been inscribed in the heavens’

One may conclude that the clauses in question are also ambiguous. However, that the Gothic employs the conjunction *ei* in the first subordinate clause, but *þammei* in the second, leaves questions, especially since Greek employs the same conjunction (ὅτι) in both instances. It can be argued that the Gothic exhibits no real discrepancy here, since *þamma...ni faginop, ei* is essentially equivalent to *ni faginod in þammei*, both probably introducing substantival rather than causal clauses.

6.3.3.3 Greek aetiological : Gothic non-aetiological correspondence

This correspondence is very infrequent and is lacking in Mark. Although the clauses occurring in this correspondence are structurally ambiguous in both Greek and Gothic, the structure of the Gothic appears to be more non-causal than causal based upon the conjunctions employed coupled with the context of their usage. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 8:27 (see also Lk. 8:25)

ποταπός ἐστιν³⁸ ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν; ‘What sort [of man] is he, because even the winds and the sea obey him’

hwileiks ist sa, ei jah windos jah marei ufhausjand imma? ‘What sort [of man] is this, that even the winds and sea obey him?’

Ὅτι in Greek may commonly function as a causal conjunction or a complementizer introducing a direct/indirect statement or epexegetical (or other substantival) clause. Rarely, if ever, does it introduce a result clause. The structure and context of the main clause does not support the use of ὅτι here in introducing either a result clause or indirect statement. Hence, it most likely introduces an epexegetical clause. And the same can be said for the Gothic particle *ei*, which is rarely employed as a causal conjunction.

b) Luke 19:34 (see also Lk. 15:27 and 19:31)

...τί λύετε τὸν πῶλον; [from the end of 19:33] οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· ὅτι ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔχει ‘“Why are you loosing the colt?” And they said, “Because the Lord has need of it.”’

duhve andbindats pana fulan? ip eis qepun: frauin þaurfts þis ist. ‘“Why do you unbind the foal?” But they said, “There is need of it for the Lord”’ (dative of possession, meaning “The Lord needs it”)

³⁸ TR shows ἐστιν οὗτος.

The Greek clearly shows a conjunction, ὅτι; Gothic exhibits non conjunction. It is unclear as to why Wulfila elected to leave out a corresponding conjunction here (most likely *patei*).

Streitberg's reconstructed Greek Vorlage contains no conjunction either (nor do TR and MT).

Hence, the real discrepancy in this case lies among the Greek manuscripts, not between the Greek and Gothic languages.

c) John 12:41 (see also Jn. 6:46; 14:22; 16:4; 16:17)

ταῦτα εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας ὅτι³⁹ εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ 'Isaiah said these [things], because he saw his glory'

pata qap Esaeias, pan sahu wulpu is 'Isaiah said this, when he saw his glory'

The discrepancy in the above passages is due to a difference in the various Greek manuscripts, not between the Gothic and Greek languages.

6.4 Conclusions

The telic, ecbatic, and aetic clauses in the Gothic gospels are not calques of the Greek Vorlage, but rather carefully thought-out translations that express as literally as possible the forms and meaning of the Greek without violating the grammar or stylistic conventions of Gothic. This conclusion is born out by the following observations:

1) Gothic and Greek do not share the same conventions of mood employment. In addition, when Greek violates its own rules for mood, Gothic does not calque the Greek in this regard, but instead maintains its own convention.

2) Although Gothic contains an aspectual dichotomy, just as Greek does, the function and nuance of aspect in Gothic are different from those of Greek. In addition, aspect in Gothic is more lexically and derivationally based; conversely in Greek, aspect is a grammatical category, predominantly based upon stem alternation. Gothic employs perfective verbs to correspond to

³⁹ The conjunction is attested here primarily in Codex Alexandrinus. Other reliable manuscripts show ὅτε.

verbs in the Greek aorist and future, and imperfective verbs to correspond to verbs in the Greek present and imperfect. Often what is the same Greek lexeme in two different aspects are two different lexemes in Gothic.

3) Purpose and causal clauses in Gothic sometimes correspond to the Greek articular infinitive; result clauses with infinitival phrases, with or without ὥστε.

4) Purpose and causal clauses in Gothic sometimes correspond to non-purpose clauses/constructions in Greek.

5) An ambiguous clause in Greek is not always clearly ambiguous in Gothic.

6) Of the various conjunctions employed to indicate purpose, result, or cause, no absolute one-to-one correspondence exists between the two languages.

7) Although the Gothic slavishly imitates the word order of the Greek Vorlage, it resists violating its own word-order constraints in order to do so.

8) A subordinating conjunction in Gothic sometimes corresponds to a coordinating conjunction in Greek, even though the same Greek conjunction often corresponds to a Gothic coordinating conjunction.

9) The tense systems do not coincide. That is because tense is closely interconnected to aspect in Greek (in the indicative mood), but in Gothic, tense is more a matter of reference point, and outside the realm of aspect.

10) Although a number of discrepancies between the two languages can be reconciled by a comparison of variant readings contained within different Greek manuscript traditions, nevertheless, discrepancies still remain that cannot be rectified through this process. Hence, we may safely conclude that such discrepancies are a result of Gothic's own style and grammar, and

that Wulfila understood well the differences in style and grammar between the two languages, being—presumably—a native speaker of both.

CHAPTER 7

HYPOTAXIS IN OLD ENGLISH

7.0 Introduction

Given the number of grammars of Old English, a treatment of Old English hypotaxis may seem superfluous. The majority of the standard reference and introductory grammars, however, emphasize two areas: 1) historical phonology and 2) morphology. Campbell's grammar (1959) is particularly useful and one of the finest treatments in the field concerning these two areas. This emphasis on phonology and morphology has had a cost in that syntax—until relatively recently—has been neglected. The few grammars in which syntax has been discussed have given cursory treatments, the emphasis being mostly on case usage and word order (e.g., Lass 1998; Bean 1983). Some texts do treat hypotaxis, but are quite limited in their scope (e.g., Mitchell 2001; Mitchell and Robinson 2001; Fischer, Kemenade, et al. 2000; McLaughlin 1983). Of the texts given above, only Mitchell and Robinson's text mentions purpose, result, and causal clauses, but the treatment is extremely brief.

On the other hand, Mitchell's monumental *Old English Syntax* (1987) exhaustively analyzes hypotaxis, the emphasis being almost exclusively on works of original Old English composition and not translations. With the publication of Mitchell's work, and since the Old English corpus is voluminous—being one of the largest corpora in the vernacular during the Medieval period—the benefit or justification for a study of hypotaxis in the Old English version of the Gospels may seem highly questionable. This statement would hold true if our examination were to be done in isolation. A comparative analysis of the OE gospels with the Latin Vorlage,

however, can give insights into 1) how the Anglo-Saxons understood the workings of their own language, 2) how the Anglo-Saxon translators perceived the Latin Vorlage from which they were translating, and 3) the extent to which constructions found in the OE gospels are native Germanic or simply calques.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to grapple with the above issues through an examination of telic, ecclastic, and aetiological hypotactic clauses in the OE gospels in respect to their use of conjunctions, word order, mood, and—when/if applicable—aspect. A comparison of these OE constructions with their Latin correspondences follows this chapter and is the apex of this particular investigation of OE hypotaxis.

7.1 Final (purpose) clauses

Mitchell (1987:414-418) treats purpose and result clauses in OE together as similar (if not the same) entities¹ for the following reasons:

1) both clausal types are in actuality *final* clauses, since they both look to the end, or *telos*, of an action, purpose clauses underscoring the *aim*, result clauses the *consequence*;

2) the difference in mood between these two clauses is due not to a difference in clausal type, but rather to whether the aim has met fulfillment (the subjunctive is employed only when it is implied that the aim has not met its outcome);

3) since the forms of the OE indicative and subjunctive are often identical, ambiguity in form often makes it difficult to discern whether the clause indicates purpose or result;

4) the two clausal types are introduced by the same conjunctions, except for *þe læs* (*þe*).

Although there is much to be said for Mitchell's position, an examination of the syntax of the OE gospels reveals a strong, universal tendency for purpose clauses to contain the subjunctive and result clauses the indicative mood. In addition, the distinction in form of the indicative and

¹ Mitchell and Robinson (2001: 94-95) also treat purpose and result clauses in this manner.

subjunctive moods, except when they occur in the preterite, is completely transparent. The fact that negative purpose clauses are often introduced by *þe læs* (*þe*), but negative result clauses never contain this conjunctival phrase, further indicates the marked distinction between the two clause types. That both purpose and result clauses employ the same conjunction (*þæt*) does not validate treating them similarly (cf. Greek ὅτι, Latin *quod/quoniam* and *ut*, and Gothic *þatei* and *unte*, all of which may introduce different types of clauses in their respective languages). Hence, we shall in this study treat purpose and result clauses separately.

The construction of purpose clauses in the OE gospels is nearly uniform. Clauses are introduced by the conjunction *þæt*, followed by the verb in the subjunctive mood. Unlike Greek and Latin, which employ a special non-indicative negative particle in purpose clauses, OE employs the same negative particle—*ne*—which is employed in main clauses with the indicative mood (cf. Gothic *ni*). However, a significant number of negative purpose clauses in the OE gospels employ a special negative—*þe læs* (*þe*) (cf. Gothic *ibai*). Clauses introduced by *þe læs* (*þe*) are about as frequent as those introduced by *þæt ne*. This section will categorize purpose clauses in the OE gospels into 3 types:

- 1) clauses introduced by the conjunction *þæt*; the negative contains *ne*;
- 2) clauses introduced by *þe læs* (*þe*);
- 3) subcategories of final clauses.

7.1.1 Final clauses with *þæt*

These clauses may be categorized into two types: 1) positive final clauses introduced by *þæt*; 2) negative final clauses introduced by *þæt* + the negative particle *ne*. Since the structure of these two clausal types is the same, except for the presence of *ne* in negative clauses, we will treat these clauses as being essentially the same clausal type. In addition to employing *þæt* + a

finite verb in the subjunctive mood, OE may express purpose using the inflected infinitive (also known as the gerund; see Moore 1977) preceded by the preposition *to*. The inflected infinitive of purpose is not as common as the *þæt* clause.

Final clauses introduced by *þæt* are by far the most common purpose constructions in the OE gospels. Affirmative clauses occur in the following passages:

Matthew (1:22; 2:8; 2:15; 2:23; 3:13; 4:1; 4:14; 5:13; 5:15; 5:16; 5:45; 6:1; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16;

7:5; 8:17; 9:6; 10:1; 11:1; 12:10; 12:17; 13:14; 13:35; 14:15; 14:29; 15:33; 18:16; 19:13;

19:16; 20:28 (2); 21:4; 21:32; 21:34; 22:11; 22:15; 23:5; 23:15; 23:26; 23:35; 24:1;

24:17; 24:18; 24:45; 26:2; 26:4; 26:12; 26:16; 26:56; 26:58; 26:59; 27:1; 27:35; 28:1)

Mark (1:38; 2:10; 2:17; 3:2; 3:14; 3:21; 4:21 (2); 4:22; 5:12; 5:14; 5:23; 5:32; 6:12; 6:31;

6:36 (2); 6:41; 6:45; 7:9; 8:6; 9:21; 9:30; 10:13; 10:17; 10:37; 10:40; 10:45 (2); 11:25;

11:28; 12:2; 12:12; 12:13; 12:15; 13:15; 13:16; 14:10; 14:12; 14:49; 14:55; 15:11; 15:15;

15:20; 15:32; 16:1)

Luke (1:4; 1:9; 1:17; 1:74; 2:5; 2:6; 2:21; 2:22; 2:24; 2:27; 2:35; 3:7; 3:12; 4:10; 4:11; 4:16;

4:29; 5:7; 5:15; 5:24; 6:7; 6:18; 6:34; 6:42; 8:10; 8:16; 8:35; 9:1; 9:9; 9:16; 9:28; 9:51;

9:52; 10:25; 11:33; 11:50; 11:54; 12:36; 12:42; 14:10; 14:17; 14:23; 15:1; 15:15; 15:29;

16:4; 16:9; 16:24; 16:28; 17:31; 18:10; 18:15; 18:18; 19:4; 19:12; 19:15; 20:10; 20:14;

20:20 (2); 21:22; 21:36 (2); 21:38; 22:8; 22:30 (2); 22:47; 22:52; 23:26; 23:32; 24:29;

24:45)

John (1:7 (2); 1:8; 1:12; 1:19; 1:22; 1:31; 3:15; 3:16; 3:17 (2); 3:21; 4:34; 4:36; 5:7; 5:20; 5:23;

5:26; 5:27; 5:34; 5:36; 5:40; 6:5; 6:7; 6:28; 6:30; 6:38; 7:3; 7:4; 7:32; 8:6; 8:59; 9:3; 9:36;

9:39; 10:10 (2); 10:31; 10:38; 10:39; 11:4; 11:8; 11:15; 11:19; 11:31; 11:42; 11:52;

11:53; 11:55; 11:57; 12:5; 12:7; 12:9; 12:10; 12:20; 12:36; 12:38; 12:47; 13:2; 13:15;

13:18; 13:19; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31; 15:2; 15:11; 15:16 (2); 15:25; 16:4;
 16:24; 16:33; 17:1; 17:2; 17:11; 17:12; 17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24;
 17:26; 18:9; 18:28 (2); 18:32; 18:36; 18:37; 19:4; 19:24; 19:28; 19:35; 19:36; 20:31 (2))

John contains the largest number of *þæt* clauses, followed by Luke, Matthew and Mark.

Table 7.1 Frequency of positive purpose clauses introduced by *þæt*

Total # of positive <i>þæt</i> clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
276	56	20.2	46	16.6	73	26.4	102	36.8

Negative *þæt* clauses are found in the following passages:

Matthew (6:18; 7:1; 17:26; 26:41)

Mark (3:9; 4:12; 14:38)

Luke (4:42; 8:10; 8:12; 16:28; 22:40; 24:16)

John (3:15; 3:16; 3:20; 4:15 (2); 6:12; 6:50; 7:23; 7:35; 12:35; 12:40; 16:1; 19:31)

As with the positive clauses, John's gospel contains the largest number of negative *þæt* purpose clauses, followed by Luke, Matthew, and Mark.

Table 7.2 Frequency of negative purpose clauses introduced by *þæt* (+ *ne*)

Total # of negative <i>þæt</i> clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
26	4	15.4	3	11.5	6	23.1	13	50

7.1.1.1 Word order in *þæt* purpose clauses

In respect to the subject (S), verb (V), and/or object (O), one may observe eight different word-order possibilities in the OE gospels. Three types are predominant (SV, SOV, SVO); the other types (VS, V-no overt S/O, OV, OSV, OVS) are relatively uncommon or rare.

Unlike in Latin (or Greek), verb-initial clauses in the OE gospels are uncommon. V-initial (no overt S/O) occurs only once in the entire OE gospel corpus involving purpose clauses:

þæt beo æfre mid eow ‘that he may be ever with you’ (Jn. 14:16). VS clauses occur only in Matthew and John (mostly in Matthew). The clauses in Matthew are limited to one (apparently) formulaic phrase: *þæt gefylled wære þæt fram drihte gecweden wæs þurh þone witegan* ‘that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled’ (Mt. 1:22. See also Mt. 2:15; 2:23; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14; 13:35; 21:4; 23:35; 27:35). Except for Mt. 13:14, the subject in these clauses in Matthew is the relative pronoun *þæt*. In a similar way we see the pronominal antecedent of a relative particle acting as subject in this word-order type in the few passages in John: *þæt ætgædere geblission se þe sæwþ and se ðe ripð* ‘that he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together’ (Jn. 4:36); *þæt ne swelte se ðe of him ytt* ‘that he who eats of it may not die’ (Jn. 6:50).

Object-initial clauses are very rare. Those with OV word order occur only in John: *þæt me ne þyrste* ‘that I may not thirst’ (lit. ‘that it not thirst me’) (Jn. 4:15); *þæt me do on þone mere þonne þæt wæter astyred bið* ‘that (he) may put me into the pool when the water is stirred’ (Jn. 5:7). OVS word order occurs only once in the OE gospels: *þæt eow eower synna forgyfe eower heofenlica fæder se ðe on heofonum ys* ‘that your Heavenly Father who is in the heavens may forgive you your sins’ (Mk. 11:25). OSV word order occurs only in the Synoptic gospels: *þæt him² man þenode* ‘that a man might serve him’ (Mt. 20:28. See also Mk 10:45); and *þæt adla hi gehældon* ‘and that they might heal sicknesses’ (Lk. 9:1).

Subject-initial purpose clauses predominate in the OE gospels, the three types being about equal in frequency. One may safely assert that the subject-initial clauses are unmarked. In addition, since purpose clauses without an overt subject are rare in the OE gospels, it is very probable that the status of OE as a pro-drop language was beginning to wane by the time that the gospels had been translated from the Latin Vorlage. SV word order occurs most frequently: *þæt*

² Note that *þenian* takes a dative object.

he wære fram deofle costud ‘that he might be tempted by the devil’ (Mt. 4:1); *þæt wyt sitton on þinon wuldre an on þine swyðran healfe and oþer on þine wynstran* ‘that we may sit in your glory, one on your right side and the other on your left’ (Mk. 10:37); *þæt hi wæron gefullode fram him* ‘that they might be baptized by him’ (Lk. 3:7); *þæt moyses æ ne sy toworpen* ‘that the Law of Moses may not be broken down’ (Jn. 7:23).

SOV word order is also extremely common: *þæt he hine fullode* ‘that he might baptize him’ (Mt. 3:13); *þæt ge eower laga healdon* ‘that you may maintain your laws’ (Mk. 7:9); *þæt hi hyne nyðer bescufon* ‘that they might shove him down’ (Lk. 4:29); *þæt we andwyrde bringon þam ðe us to þe sendon* ‘that we may bring an answer to those who sent us to you’ (Jn. 1:22).

When compared to Greek and Latin, SVO clauses in OE are surprisingly common: *þæt hi geseon eowre godan weorc and wuldrian eowerne fæder þe on heofonum ys* ‘that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:16); *[n]e com ic na þæt ic clypode rihtwise ac synfulle* ‘I did not come that I might call the righteous but the sinfull’ (Mk. 2:17); *þæt ðu oncnawe þara worda soþfæstnesse of ðam ðe þu gelæred eart* ‘that you may perceive the truth of the words from which you are taught’ (Lk. 1:4); *þæt he demde middanearde* ‘that he might judge the world’ (Jn. 3:17).

A number of clauses contain more than one type of word order. Nearly all of these are in the Synoptic gospels. SV-(S)OV is the most common of these: *þæt ic cume and³ me to him gebidde* ‘that I may come and pray to him’ (Mt. 2:8); *þæt hi faran on gehende tunas and him mete bicgan* ‘that they may travel into the nearby towns and buy food for themselves’ (Mk. 6:36); *þæt hi comun and him⁴ fylston* ‘that they might come and assist them’ (Lk. 5:7). Only one passage in John contains a purpose clause exhibiting more than one word-order type: *þæt ge gan*

³ Conjunction reduction of *ic*.

⁴ The verb *fylstan* takes a dative object.

and *blæda beron and eowre blæda gelæston* ‘that you may go and bear fruits and your fruits may last’ (Jn. 15:16. Notice that the word order exhibited here is SV-(S)OV-SV). SV-(S)VO word order occurs only once—in Matthew: *ac þæt he þenode and sealde his sawle lif to alysednesse for manegum* ‘but that he might serve and give his soul’s life to the redemption for many’ (Mt. 20:28). SVO-OV word order occurs only once—in Luke: *þæt he dyppe his fingers lið on wætere and mine tungan gehæle* ‘that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and heal my tongue’ (Lk. 16:24). SOV-(S)V occurs only in Luke: *þæt hi hyne gehyrdon and wæron of hyra adlum gehælede* ‘that they might hear him and might be healed from their sicknesses’ (Lk. 6:18. See also Lk. 19:12 and 21:36).

Table 7.3 below includes the collated data of positive and negative clauses. In clauses with more than one word-order type, each part of the clause is categorized separately according to type.

Table 7.3 Word-order types in purpose clauses with þæt (ne)

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	0	0	0	1
VS	11	0	0	2
SV	22	21	32	54
SVO	13	6	14	36
SOV	16	23	37	22
OV	0	0	0	2
OSV	1	1	1	0
OVS	0	1	0	0

Approximately 39% of the purpose clauses containing direct objects are VO. It is evident, then, that OV was not only a frequent word-order possibility, but perhaps a default one in subordinate clauses at this stage in the development of OE. If, in this case, OV was the unmarked word order, then VO must have indicated some emphasis, whether stylistic or

otherwise, highlighting an added importance within the discourse of either the verb or direct object. By importance is meant *heaviness* of the element/argument in question, and not essentiality. For example, compare the following:

a) *þæt he hine fullode* ‘that he might baptize him’ (Mt. 3:13).

b) *þæt men hig geseon* ‘that men may see them’ (Mt. 6:5).

The above passages exhibit SOV word order. Nothing within the narrative indicates an added heaviness with respect to the direct object, which is light (pronouns tend to be clitics and have a slighter emphatic ictus than nouns, verbs, or adjectives). Consider, on the other hand, the following:

c) *þæt hit onlihte eallum þe on þam huse synt* ‘that it may illuminate all that are in the house’ (Mt. 5:15).

d) *þæt hi geseon eowre godan weorc and wuldrian eowerne fæder þe on heofonum ys* ‘that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in the heavens’ (Mt. 5:16).

The clauses in Mt. 5:15 and 5:16 display SVO word order. We might assume that the determining factor concerning VO/OV word order is the presence of a noun vs. pronoun direct object. This, however, is not the case. Consider the following:

e) *þæt he hys hand on hig asette and hig gebletsode* ‘that he might put his hand on them and bless them’ (Mt. 9:13).

f) *þæt ic ece lif hæbbe* ‘that I may have eternal life’ (Mt. 19:16).

In these two passages, we see noun direct objects, but SOV word order. In light of this data, therefore, we may conclude that heaviness (if it is a factor) is not determined solely by whether the direct object is a noun or pronoun.

A closer examination of examples c) and d) shows that the direct objects are antecedents of following relative clauses. This appears to be an indicator of heaviness, since direct objects in OV purpose clauses in the OE gospels never act as antecedents. Hence, the following factors appear to indicate heaviness of the direct object and necessitate VO rather than OV word order:

- 1) whenever the direct object is the antecedent of a following relative clause;
- 2) whenever the direct object is a noun clause, i.e., indirect statement or indirect question;
- 3) if the pronoun subject and pronoun object have the same form: *þæt hig adryfun hig ut* ‘that they might drive them out’ (Mt. 10:1);
- 4) if the direct object is modified by an inflected numeral or definite article: *þæt ge don anne elpeodine* ‘that you may make one convert’ (Mt. 23:15); *þæt he gesawe þone ende* ‘that he might see the end’ (Mt. 26:58).

All other clauses containing pronoun objects⁵ are light; those containing noun objects can be either light or heavy.

Factor #4 above seems, at first glance, problematic. Consider, for example, the following:

g) *þæt hig woldon þone hælend on hys spræce befon* ‘that they might catch the Savior in his speech’ (Mt. 22:15).

The noun phrase *þone hælend* is the direct object in the clause. If we analyze the clause as SOV (*þone hælend* being the object of the infinitive *befon*, and not the object of the modal *woldon*), then the above passage violates rule #4. However, if we understand *woldon* to be the determinative verb and not *befon*, then this rule is not violated. Yet, this cannot be the case, as the following clearly demonstrates:

⁵ In John 17:1, we find an example that contradicts this rule for pronoun word order: *þæt þin sunu geswutelige þe* ‘that your son may reveal **you**.’ This exception can be explained as a calquing of the Latin word order: *ut Filius clarificet te*.

h) *þæt hig woldon geseon þa byrgene* ‘that they might see the grave’ (Mt. 28:1).

i) *þæt he wolde geseon þa ðe þær sæton* ‘that he might see those who sat there’ (Mt. 22:11).

These two clauses contain direct objects that are undoubtedly heavy. Furthermore, these objects immediately follow the infinitive *geseon*, not the modal *woldon/wolde*. Therefore, *þone hælend* is more likely the object of *befon* and not of *woldon* in passage g) above, which we may now safely categorize as SOV. That being the case, why does Mt. 22:15 seem to violate rule #4?

To solve this problem, we must acknowledge the peculiarities of the OE gospel text. First, consider the fact that the name ‘Jesus’ never occurs in the OE gospels, but is replaced with the word *hælend* preceded by the definite article.⁶ We may assume that this convention is done out of reverence for the sacred name. Second, the fact that *þone hælend* never occurs as an object in known VO clauses is significant. Third, proper names do not seem to be heavy, as indicated by the following:

j) *þæt he him barraban forgefe* ‘that he might give them Barabbas’ (Mk. 15:11).

The clause above is clearly SOV, with *barraban* being treated as light. The phrase *þone hælend* is also light, being treated as a proper name. Therefore, the above rule concerning the definite article is not violated.

7.1.1.2 Mood in *þæt* purpose clauses

With one apparent exception, which we will briefly examine, the subjunctive mood is employed throughout in purpose clauses in the OE gospels. Like Latin and Gothic, OE employs a rule of sequence of tenses from which it never deviates, the present subjunctive being consistently employed in primary sequence and the preterite subjunctive in secondary. The one

⁶ Although in Mt. 22:15 Latin has the object pronoun *eum* instead of *Iesum*, the Anglo-Saxon translators, out of reverence and knowledge of the antecedent of the Latin pronoun *eum*, chose to render it into OE as *þone hælend*.

exception, which contains the verb in the indicative mood, may be semantically ambiguous: *and ætbryt þæt word of hyra heortan þæt hig þurh þone geleafan hale ne gewurðað* ‘and he takes away the word from their heart that they not become whole through faith’ (Lk. 8:12). The context of the passage seems to indicate purpose, but the structure can only be construed as denoting result. The Anglo-Saxon translator may well have intended this passage to be a result clause. However, an alternate reading in the critical apparatus of Liuzza’s text (1994) gives *geweorðon*, clearly a present subjunctive form and indicating purpose—not result. With this evidence in mind, we may safely declare that without exception the subjunctive mood occurs in purpose clauses in the OE gospels.

The system of tense sequence in OE functions in the same manner as what one finds in Latin and Gothic. (See the pertinent sections covered in Chapters 3 and 5.) The ratio of primary to secondary clauses is nearly 1:1 in Matthew and Mark. Luke prefers clauses in secondary sequence slightly over those in primary sequence. John favors by a significant margin primary sequence over secondary. This is probably a result of the long discourses in John which contain either imperatives or a narrative in present tense. We may demonstrate the sequence of tenses diagrammatically as follows:

Sequence	Verbal formation
Primary	Present indicative, present subjunctive, present imperative + present subjunctive
Secondary	Preterite indicative + preterite subjunctive

As stated before, the system of sequence of tenses is closely adhered to in the OE gospels, i.e., primary tense in the main clauses followed by primary sequence (present subjunctive) in the subordinate clause, secondary tense followed by secondary: *hwæt godes do ic þæt ic ece lif hæbbe* ‘What good [thing] shall I do that I may have eternal life?’ (Mt. 19:16);

þa com se hælend fram galilea to iordane to iohanne þæt he hine fullode ‘then came the Savior from Galilee to the Jordan to John, that he might baptize him’ (Mt. 3:13); *fare we on gehende tunas and cestra þæt ic ðar bodige* ‘Let us go into the neighboring towns and cities, that I may preach there’ (Mk. 1:38); *þa sende he to þam tiligum his þeow on tide þæt he þæs wingearðes wæstm onfenge* ‘then he sent to the tillers his servant in time, that he might receive the fruit of the vineyard’ (Mk. 12:2); *eala fæder abraham gemilsa me and send lazarus þæt he dyppe his fingers lið on wætere and mine tungan gehæle* ‘alas, Father Abraham, pity me and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and heal my tongue’ (Lk. 16:24); *Ða atynde he him andgyt þæt hig ongeton halige gewritu* ‘Then he revealed to them the sense, that they might understand the Holy Scriptures’ (Lk. 24:45); *þa hwile þe ge leoht habbon gelyfað on leoht þæt ge syn leohtes bearn* ‘then while you have the light, believe in the light that you may be children of the light’ (Jn. 12:36); *þa for se deofol on iudas heortan scariothes þæt he hine belæwde* ‘then the devil went into Judas Iscariot’s heart, that he might betray him’ (Jn. 13:2). These examples should suffice to establish the rigidity of the rule governing the sequence of tenses.

Although the use of mood in the OE gospels compares favorably with that employed in native OE texts, the translator(s) of the OE gospels used peculiar subjunctive forms in the plural. For example, consider the following ‘standardized’ forms of the subjunctive of *faran* ‘to go/travel’:

Present Subjunctive

<i>ic fare</i>	<i>we faren</i>
<i>þu fare</i>	<i>ge faren</i>
<i>he fare</i>	<i>hi(e) faren</i>

Preterite Subjunctive

*ic fore we foren**þu fore ge foren**he fore hi(e) foren***Table 7.4 Occurrences of the subjunctive mood in *þæt*⁷ purpose clauses according to sequence of tenses⁸**

Sequence	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primary	30	50	24	49	35	44	78	69
Secondary	30	50	25	51	44	56	35	31

⁷ Includes negative *þæt* purpose clauses.⁸ The data, giving the specific occurrences by gospel, are as follows:Matthew

Primary: 2:8; 5:13; 5:15; 5:16; 5:45; 6:1; 6:2; 6:4; 6:5; 6:16; 6:18; 7:1; 7:5; 9:6; 13:14; 14:15; 15:33; 17:26; 18:16; 19:16; 23:5; 23:15; 23:26; 23:35; 24:17; 24:18; 24:45; 26:2; 26:41; 26:56.

Secondary: 1:22; 2:15; 2:23; 3:13; 4:1; 4:14; 8:17; 10:1; 11:1; 12:10; 12:17; 13:35; 14:29; 19:13; 20:28 (2); 21:4; 21:32; 21:34; 22:11; 22:15; 24:1; 26:4; 26:12; 26:16; 26:58; 26:59; 27:1; 27:35; 28:1.

Mark

Primary: 1:38; 2:10; 4:12; 4:21 (2); 4:22; 5:12; 5:23; 6:36 (2); 7:9; 9:30; 10:17; 10:37; 10:40; 11:25; 11:28; 12:15; 13:15; 13:16; 14:12; 14:38; 14:49; 15:32.

Secondary: 2:17; 3:2; 3:9; 3:14; 3:21; 5:14; 5:32; 6:12; 6:31; 6:41; 6:45; 8:6; 9:21; 10:13; 10:45 (2); 12:2; 12:12; 12:13; 14:10; 14:55; 15:11; 15:15; 15:20; 16:1.

Luke

Primary: 1:4; 1:17; 1:74; 2:35; 4:10; 4:11; 5:24; 6:34; 6:42; 8:10 (2); 8:12; 8:16; 10:25; 11:33; 11:50; 12:36; 12:42; 14:10; 14:23; 16:4; 16:9; 16:24; 16:28 (2); 17:31; 18:18; 20:14; 21:22; 21:36 (2); 22:8; 22:30 (2); 22:40.

Secondary: 1:9; 2:5; 2:6; 2:21; 2:22; 2:24; 2:27; 3:7; 3:12; 4:16; 4:29; 4:42; 5:7; 5:15; 6:7; 6:18; 8:35; 9:1; 9:9; 9:16; 9:28; 9:51; 9:52; 11:54; 14:17; 15:1; 15:15; 15:29; 18:10; 18:15; 19:4; 19:12; 19:15; 20:10; 20:20 (2); 21:38; 22:47; 22:52; 23:26; 23:32; 24:16; 24:29; 24:45.

John

Primary: 1:22; 3:15 (2); 3:16 (2); 3:17; 3:21; 4:15 (2); 4:34; 4:36; 5:7; 5:20; 5:23; 5:34; 5:36; 5:40; 6:5; 6:7; 6:12; 6:28; 6:30; 6:38; 6:50; 7:3; 7:4; 7:23; 7:35; 9:36; 9:39; 10:10 (2); 10:38; 11:4; 11:15; 11:31; 11:42; 12:7; 12:35; 12:36; 12:40; 12:47; 13:15; 13:18; 13:19; 14:3; 14:13; 14:16; 14:29; 14:31; 15:2; 15:11; 15:16 (2); 15:25; 16:1; 16:4; 16:24; 16:33; 17:2; 17:11; 17:12; 17:13; 17:19; 17:21 (3); 17:22; 17:23 (2); 17:24; 17:26; 18:37; 19:4; 19:24; 19:35; 20:31 (2).

Secondary: 1:7 (2); 1:8; 1:12; 1:19; 1:31; 3:17; 5:26; 5:27; 7:32; 8:6; 8:59; 9:3; 10:31; 10:39; 11:8; 11:19; 11:52; 11:53; 11:55; 11:57; 12:5; 12:9; 12:10; 12:20; 12:38; 13:2; 18:9; 18:28 (2); 18:32; 18:36; 19:28; 19:31; 19:36.

Compare with the forms typically found in the OE gospels:

Present Subjunctive

ic fare *we faron*

þu fare *ge faron*

he fare *hig faron*

Preterite Subjunctive

ic fore *we foron*

þu fore *ge foron*

he fore *hig foron*

The forms given above for the plural subjunctive are not exclusively used. The standardized form is sometimes used, but rarely: *þæt hi...gehyrende gehyren and ne ongyten*⁹ ‘that they...hearing may hear and not understand’ (Mk. 4:12). The subjunctive plural may also end in *–an*: *þæt we gefyllan swa mycele mænegu* ‘that we may fill so great a crowd’ (Mt. 15:33). This ending is strictly limited to the present subjunctive. The alternate ending *–un* may occur in both the present and preterite subjunctive plural, its frequency in the latter is much greater than in the former: *þæt ge oncnawun and gelyfon þæt fæder ys on me and ic on fæder* ‘that you may recognize and believe that the Father is in me and I in the Father’ (Jn. 10:38); *þæt hig hine gescyldgudun* ‘that they might accuse him’ (Lk. 20:20). No syntactic or phonological features exist that necessitate the use of one subjunctive plural ending over another (save for *–an*, which is limited in its use to the present tense). Although the ending *–un* occurs in the present, it has a greater tendency to occur in the preterite.

The presence of the subjunctive plural ending *–on* (*–un*) is puzzling. Given the fact that the ending *–en* is not only non-ubiquitous, but rare, we must account for the use of *–on* as the

⁹ Contrast with Lk. 8:10, which shows *ongyton*.

probable default subjunctive plural ending in the OE gospels. Certain key factors, therefore, may explain this seemingly aberrant form. First, it is important to note that the ending *-en* never occurs in the preterite subjunctive, meaning that *-on* had replaced *-en* throughout the preterite and mostly in the present. Second, this ending *-on* is identical in form to that of the preterite indicative plural, which—at first glance—seems to be the source of this subjunctive ending. The question, however, is why this preterite indicative ending spread to the preterite subjunctive. I propose that this occurred by analogy through the following process.

1) In strong verbs, the 2nd person sing. preterite indicative and subjunctive are identical in form: *þu bære* ‘you bore’ (indicative) or ‘you might bear’ (subjunctive). In weak verbs, the 1st and 3rd person sing. preterite indicative and subjunctive have identical forms: *ic/he demde* ‘I/he judged’ (indicative) or ‘I/he might judge’ (subjunctive).

2) Because the ending *-e* can be indicative or subjunctive, depending on the person and class of verb, the subjunctive ending *-e* can be confused with the indicative, and the indicative can be perceived as contaminating the subjunctive paradigm.

3) If one assumes that the preterite subjunctive sing. ending *-e* is the result of contamination with the preterite indicative sing. ending *-e*, then we may see the following analogy:

Preterite indicative *þu bære : ge bæron*

Preterite subjunctive *þu bære : ge x*

x = bæron

Preterite indicative *ic/he demde : we/hig demdon*

Preterite subjunctive *ic/he demde : we/hig x*

x = demdon

Since *-e* is employed throughout the preterite subjunctive sing. paradigm, and *-on* is likewise used throughout the preterite indicative pl., then by analogy the ending *-on* is used throughout the preterite subjunctive pl. as well.

The process of analogy also explains the presence of *-on* in the present subjunctive plural.

Preterite subjunctive *þu bære : ge bæron*

Present subjunctive *þu bere : ge x*

x = beron

Although most purpose clauses in the OE gospels contain verbs in the subjunctive mood exhibited by inflection (i.e., *-e*, *-on/-un/-en/-an*), some clauses contain periphrastic subjunctives, which consist of the verbs *willan* or *magan* in the preterite subjunctive employed with the infinitive.

Ex. *wolde/woldon deman* ‘would judge’

mihte/mihton deman ‘might judge’

The rules of word order in purpose clauses apply in that the infinitive—not the modal—is treated as the primary verb and will end the clause if the object is considered to be light.

Light direct object: *þæt hig woldon þone hælend on hys spræce befon* ‘that they might catch the Savior in his speech’ (Mt. 22:15).

Heavy direct object: *þæt he wolde geseon þa ðe þær sæton* ‘that he might see those who sat there’ (Mt. 22:11).

The following passages contain clauses using the preterite subjunctive of *willan*:

Matthew (22:11; 22:15; 26:4; 26:16; 28:1)

John (7:3; 8:59; 10:31; 10:39; 11:8; 11:19; 11:52; 11:53; 11:55; 12:9; 12:10; 12:20).

Clauses containing the preterite subjunctive of *magan* occur only twice, in Jn. 11:57 and Jn. 12:5.

Not only do these periphrastic subjunctives occur solely in the preterite, but they also never occur in negative purpose clauses, regardless of whether such clauses contain the negative particle *ne* or are introduced by the negative final conjunctival phrase *þe læs* (*þe*).

7.1.1.3 Aspect in *þæt* purpose clauses

Mitchell (1985: 363-369) challenges the existence of aspect in OE as a grammatical category. In addition, he doubts that such a category may be postulated for Germanic—including Gothic. This position flies in the face of the views held by Streitberg (1920) and Lambdin (2006), and it is not the purpose of this section to validate the stance of Streitberg and Lambdin concerning aspect in Gothic (though I concur with their position, as I have already made clear in the chapter on Gothic hypotaxis). This section, on the other hand, grapples with the issue of aspect as a grammatical category in OE.

It is difficult to substantiate the claim that OE contains the grammatical category of aspect. Although the prefixes *a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *of-*, *to-* are considered to denote perfective aspect (Mitchell 1985: 367), this is not their only function. If aspect does exist in OE, it is not the type of aspect employed in either Greek or the Slavic languages.

To establish whether a dichotomy of imperfective vs. perfective verbs exists in the OE gospels seems elusive given the fact that aspect as a grammatical category does not exist in Latin, the language from which the OE gospels were translated. A comparison of the OE with both Latin and Greek, however, may give some indication as to whether OE verbs exhibit some aspectual nuance. Consider the following passages from the Lord's Prayer, one taken from Matthew, the other from Luke:

a) Matt. 6:11

τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δοῦς ἡμῖν σήμερον

Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie

urne gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us todæg

b) Luke 11:3

τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν

panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis cotidie

syle us todæg urne dæghwamlican hlaf

In the passage from Matthew, Greek exhibits the aorist imperative; in that from Luke, the present imperative. Neither Latin nor Old English are capable of showing this aspectual nuance through inflection, since they contain no dichotomy of aspect in the imperative mood. Latin arguably attempts to express this nuance by using different adverbs (*hodie* vs. *cotidie*). This argument is not convincing in that the Greek also employs different adverbs (σήμερον vs. τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν). The corresponding OE, however, uses the same adverb in both clauses (*todæg*), but the position of the verb *syle* 'give' is different, occurring in the same position as Latin *da* in Matthew, but heading the clause in Luke. Does this change in word order demonstrate an aspectual nuance? The evidence is inconclusive.

Hence, we may state that the real dichotomy of verbal category that exists in purpose clauses in the OE gospels is one of tense (present vs. preterite), not one of aspect; this tense system OE shares with both Latin and Gothic. Like Gothic, but unlike Latin, the OE tense system is binary, containing only two true tenses: past and non-past. Unlike Gothic or Latin, OE is strictly tense oriented, with no specific indicators of aspectual nuance (the *ge-* prefix in OE is primarily a marker of the past participle or a derivational marker, unlike Gothic *ga-*, which often

functions as an aspectual marker); nor does there appear to be any synergy of tense and aspect within the indicative mood, as Latin seems to display, since aspect—as previously stated—does not exist as a grammatical category. It is best, therefore, to treat the grammatical category of aspect as non-existent in OE.

Let us, on the other hand, briefly examine purpose clauses in OE to determine whether a true dichotomy of aspectual function exists between non-prefixed and prefixed verbs. Compare the following:

wuldrian : si gewuldrod

wrehton : gewregdon

sealdon : gesealdon

healdon : gehealdon

sette : gesettun, asetton

do : ado, fordo

gan : gegan

smyredon : wære gesmyryd

demde : syn fordemedede

arwurðigeon : sin gearwurþode

wyrceon : gewyrcon

slea : ofslean

The above pairs give the entire comparative corpus of non-prefixed : prefixed verbs that occur in purpose clauses in the OE gospels. In the case of the verbs *wuldrian*, *smyredon*, *demde*, and *arwurðigeon*, notice that the corresponding prefixed verb is always the past participle, which often takes the *ge-* prefix, *fordemedede* being the exception here. The issue, then, does not seem to

be one of aspect. However, the issue does remain as to whether there is any aspectual nuance in the remaining correspondences. Consider the following:

c) Matt. 12:10

Ys hit alyfed to haelenne on restedagum þæt hi wrehton hyne ‘“Is it allowed to heal on restdays [Sabbaths]” that they might accuse him.’

d) Mark 3:2

and hi gymdon hwæper he on restedagum gehælde þæt hi hine gewregdon ‘And they noticed whether he would heal on the restdays, that they might accuse him.’

It is difficult to discern a real semantic nuance between *wrehton* and *gewregdon*. Both have the same lexical meaning and translate the same Latin verb: *accusarent*. One could make the argument that the *ge-* prefix in *gewregdon* results from consonance with *gehælde*, but that position is inconsistent with what we find elsewhere: *Ða gymdon þa boceras and farisei hwæper he on restedæge hælde þæt hi hyne gewregdon* ‘Then the scribes and Pharisees noticed whether he would heal on the restday, that they might accuse him’ (Lk. 6:7).

The prefix *ge-* can, however, exhibit a clear semantic distinction in some verbs. This does not seem to indicate a change in aspect, but rather a shift in the lexical meaning. For example, *gan* means ‘to go/walk,’ but *gegan* means ‘to enter.’¹⁰ The prefixes *a-*, *of-*, and *for-*, on the other hand, always show a clear semantic nuance or distinction:

don ‘do, make, put’ (*ado* ‘remove, extract’/*fordo* ‘ruin, destroy’);

deman ‘judge’ (*fordeman* ‘condemn’);

slean ‘strike, slay’ (*ofslean* ‘cut off, kill’).

¹⁰ One can argue that *gegan* denotes a true degree of perfection in that the notion of ‘going/walking’ describes the process of movement *toward* a goal, but ‘entering’ is the actual completion of it. The concept of ‘entering,’ however, can be as much a process as ‘walking/going,’ which itself can denote completed or punctiliar activity: ‘having gone/having walked.’

These prefixes seem to have an intensifying role, but this is not a matter of aspect—which is inflectional¹¹—but one of semantic shift (e.g., intensity), which is derivational. The remaining prefixed verbs have no unprefixed counterparts in purpose clauses. This is not to say that unprefixed correspondences do not exist in main clauses or other clausal types. These verbs are given below:

Verbs with <i>ge-</i> prefix
<i>gefylled wære, gefyllan, gefyllydne</i> ¹²
<i>gebidde, gebæde, gebædun, woldon gebiddan</i>
<i>geseon, sy gesewen, gesawe, gesawon, geseo</i>
<i>sin geherede</i>
<i>geunrotsigeon</i>
<i>gebletsode</i>
<i>gehyren, gehyrdon</i>
<i>gefengon, woldon gefon</i>
<i>gelyfon, gelyfdon</i>
<i>gecyrre, syn gecyrrede</i>
<i>gewite</i>
<i>wurdon gehælede, gehældon, gehæle</i>
<i>gewurðað</i>
<i>gegearwodon</i>
<i>sy gesoht</i>
<i>gewistfullude</i>
<i>gescyldgudun</i>
<i>gecneowun</i>
<i>wære geswutelud</i>
<i>geblission</i>
<i>wolde gesomnian</i>
<i>woldon gehalgian, syn gehalgode</i>
<i>gelæston</i>
<i>gemunon</i>
<i>syn geendode</i>

¹¹ This is not to say that aspect can only be indicated through inflection. Aspect, in fact, can be marked in a number of ways, such as prefixation, suffixation, infixation, stem alternation (including ablaut), or suppletion. The real issue is not how OE shows aspect, but whether such a grammatical category actually exists in the language.

¹² Not part of a periphrastic construction; simply the masc. acc. sing. of the past participle used predicatively.

Verbs with <i>a-</i> prefix
<i>sy aworpen</i>
<i>adryfun</i>
<i>si ahangen</i>
<i>syn awrigene</i>
<i>apwegene wæron</i>
<i>ateo</i>

Verbs with <i>for-</i> prefix
<i>sy fortreden</i>
<i>forspilde</i>
<i>forgyfe, forgefe</i>
<i>forfleon</i>
<i>forwurðe</i>

Verbs with <i>be-</i> prefix
<i>wolde befon, befengon, befon</i>
<i>woldon besyrwan</i>
<i>wolde belæwan, belæwdon, belæwde</i>
<i>bescufon</i>
<i>nære besmitene</i>

Verbs with <i>of-</i> prefix
<i>ofprungon</i>

Verbs with <i>to-</i> prefix
<i>syn toworpen</i>

Two commonly employed verbs have the *on-* prefix: *oncnawan* ‘know, recognize, perceive’ and *ongytan* ‘understand.’ Although it is not considered a perfective prefix, *on-* seems to function like the other prefixes given above, i.e., derivationally.

7.1.2 Purpose clauses with *þe læs* (*þe*)

The function of the conjunctival phrase *þe læs* (*þe*) apparently is to negate the entire purpose clause. Most of these clauses are introduced by *þe læs*, relatively few by *þe læs þe*; the frequency of these negative clauses is far lower than that of clauses introduced by *þæt*. These negative clauses occur in the following passages:

Clauses introduced by *þe læs*

Matthew (7:6; 13:15; 13:29; 15:32; 26:5; 27:64)

Mark (4:12; 13:36; 14:2)

Luke (4:11; 12:58; 14:8; 14:12; 14:29; 18:5)

John (12:42)

Clauses introduced by *þe læs þe*

Matthew (4:6; 5:25; 25:9)

John (5:14)

No discernible semantic or syntactic distinction exists between *þe læs* and *þe læs þe*. Hence, these two conjunctive phrases will be treated in the same manner.

Table 7.5 Frequency of negative purpose clauses introduced by *þe læs (þe)*

Total # of clauses with <i>þe læs (þe)</i>	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
20	9	45	3	15	6	30	2	10

Matthew and Luke, the longest gospels, contain the greatest number of *þe læs (þe)* clauses.

There is usually no correlation between gospel length and number of clauses. Although Matthew and Luke share a substantial amount of material (i.e., so-called ‘Q’) not shared by Mark, this does not explain why Matthew and Luke contain the largest number of *þe læs (þe)* clauses, since this feature concerns OE and not Greek or Latin. The presence of *þe læs (þe)* should be seen as simply a stylistic variant of *þæt ne*.

7.1.2.1 Word order in *þe læs (þe)* purpose clauses

With the exception of one problematic passage (Jn. 12:42), every *þe læs (þe)* purpose clause is subject-initial. Clauses with intransitive verbs frequently are verb-final: *þe læs þe ðin*

fot æt stane ætsporne ‘lest your foot stumble at a stone’ (Mt. 4:6). Only two SV clauses¹³ are not verb-final: *þe læs to mycel styrung wurde on þam folce* ‘lest also there should occur a great disturbance among the people’ (Mt. 26:5); *þe læs heo æt neahstan cume me behropende* ‘lest she finally come bothering me’ (Lk. 18:5).

In regard to clauses containing transitive verbs, few are SVO: *þe læs þe we and ge nabbon genoh* ‘lest we and you not have enough’ (Mt. 25:9; see also Mt. 27:64); *þe læs...þu hæbbe edlean* ‘lest you have retribution’ (Lk. 14:12). Most clauses with transitive verbs are SOV: *þe læs ge þone hwæte awurtwalian* ‘lest you uproot the wheat’ (Mt. 13:29).

As observed in the other languages so far studied, purpose clauses in the OE gospels (both positive and negative) may contain elements, such as adverbs and prepositional/participial phrases, that intervene between the main elements of subject, verb, and direct object: *þe læs hig mid hyra fotum hig fortreden and hig þonne ongean gewende eow tosylton* ‘lest they trample them down with their feet and they then, turning against (you), tear you apart’ (Mt. 7:6). This passage contains two SOV clauses. In the first clause, a prepositional phrase (*mid hyra fotum*) intervenes between the subject and the object-verb; in the second, both an adverb (*þonne*) and a participial phrase (*ongean gewende*) intervene as such.

It is unclear, however, how to determine the word order in certain clauses: *þe læs þe...þu sy on cwertern send* ‘lest you be sent into prison’ (Mt. 5:25). The question is whether one should treat the inflected verb *sy* (3rd person sing., pres. subj. of *beon*) as the main element for the sake of word order, or consider the past participle *send* to be the actual main verbal element. In intransitive clauses of this type, I have thought of treating the inflected verb as the main element. In clauses containing modals with transitive infinitives, I have treated the infinitive as the main

¹³ This does not include those clauses containing more than one word-order type. Even in these passages, only one clause is debatably non-verb-final.

verbal element. In the case of Mt. 5:25 above, the essential word order of SV is not changed, no matter how *sy...send* is interpreted. However, what is changed by how *sy...send* is interpreted is whether or not one views the clause as verb-final. In addition, how one interprets *beon* + past participle does affect word-order classification in some cases: *þe læs hi hwænne syn gescyrede and him sin hyra synna forgyfene* ‘lest they at any time be converted and their sins be forgiven them’ (Mk. 4:12). If the main verbal element is *sin*, then the clause exhibits VS word order (the only occurrence of this pattern in *þe læs* clauses); if the main element is *forgyfene*, then the clause exhibits SV order.

To consider the copula as the main verbal element for the purpose of word-order classification, but the transitive infinitive as the main verbal element when it is employed in conjunction with a modal, is inconsistent and untenable. In both cases, the lexical semantic force lies not in the copula or the modal, but in the participle or infinitive. On the other hand, since participles function primarily as adjectives, and infinitives function as nouns, the use of lexical semantic force as a criterion does not appear as valid in the case of participles as it does in that of infinitives. For, if both participles and infinitives are to be treated identically in regard to word order, may one maintain that in every clause containing a predicate adjective the semantics of the copula is predicated upon that of the adjective?¹⁴ The situation in OE seems to be difficult to determine precisely.

¹⁴ The answer seems to be a resounding ‘Yes!’ Consider the American Indian languages Lakota and Cherokee, which contain no adjectives but rather stative verbs. Consider also the fact that Hebrew contains both adjectives and stative verbs.

Table 7.6 Word-order types in purpose clauses with *þe læs* (*þe*)

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
SV	6	3	2	1
SVO	3	0	1	0
SOV	5	1	3	0
VS?	0	1	0	0
OSV?	0	0	0	1

One clause is extremely problematic in determining word order. Consider the following: *þe læs hig ma ut adrife of hyra gesomnunge* (Jn. 12:42). How to identify the subject and direct object is unclear. If we understand that pronoun *hig* to be the subject, then there exists a problem of subject-verb concord (**hig drife*; should be *hig drifen*). Some manuscripts do contain a reading that rectifies this problem by exhibiting *drifen* for *drife*.¹⁵ If, on the other hand, *drife* is original and, hence, *hig* is the direct object of *drife*, then we are left with the dilemma of finding a subject for the verb within the clause. Manuscript evidence¹⁶ does support an alternate reading for *ma* ‘more, moreover’—i.e., *man* ‘one’ (cf. Germ. *man*). In light of these factors, two alternate readings result in two different word-order types:

a) *þe læs hig ma ut adrifen of hyra gesomnunge* ‘lest they, moreover, drive [them] out of their synagogue’ (SV[O]).

b) *þe læs hig man ut adrife of hyra gesomnunge* ‘lest one drive them out of their synagogue’ (OSV).

The Latin Vorlage seems more strongly to support the reading in b) over that in a). In this case, the word order OSV is unique to purpose clauses introduced by *þe læs* (*þe*).

¹⁵ Two manuscripts in particular that show this variant reading are: Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 38; and London, British Library Royal I. A xiv.

¹⁶ Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.11.

7.1.2.2 Mood in *þe læs* (*þe*) purpose clauses

In these negative purpose clauses, only the subjunctive mood occurs. In addition, the verbs occur predominantly in primary sequence. The two exceptions treat the same event:

a) Matt. 26:5

þe læs to mycel styrung wurde on þam folce ‘lest too great a disturbance occur among the people’

b) Mark 14:2

þe læs þæs folces gehlyd wurde ‘lest a noise of the people occur’

7.1.2.3 Aspect in *þe læs* (*þe*) purpose clauses

The issue of aspect has already been treated in section 7.1.1.3. That having been said, it is noteworthy that half the clauses introduced by *þe læs* (*þe*) contain verbs with the so-called perfective prefixes *ge-*, *a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *of-*, and *to-*. Consider the following:

fortreden ‘trample down’

toslyton ‘tear to pieces’

geseon ‘see’

gehyron ‘hear’

gehæle ‘heal’

awurtwalion ‘uproot’

geteorian ‘grow weak’

forstelton ‘steal away’

forgyfene ‘forgiven’

gescyrede ‘converted’

gemete ‘meet, find’

agynnan ‘begin’

getide ‘happen’

adrife ‘expel’

Clearly, these prefixes add semantic intensity or flavor to the verb, and in some cases act derivationally (e.g., *getidan* ‘to happen’ from *tid* ‘time, occasion’). As in the case of *þæt* clauses, aspect as a grammatical category is difficult to prove in *þe læs* (*þe*) clauses.

7.1.3 Subcategories of final clauses

Some final clauses do not fit neatly into one of the above categories. These subcategories can be classified into two main groups: 1) clauses of effort and 2) clauses of caution.

7.1.3.1 Clauses of effort

Clauses of effort follow an imperative and embody telic and ecbatic nuances simultaneously. They—like other purpose clauses in the affirmative—are introduced by the complementizer *þæt*, and occur only in Luke: *do þæt ðu beo fram him alysed* ‘make sure that you may be absolved by him’ (Lk. 12:58). Since the verb in the main clause is always in the imperative mood, the verb in the subordinate clause is always in the present subjunctive (primary sequence). In addition, the verbs in the subordinate clause are always intransitive and, hence, contain no direct objects. The word order, therefore, is consistently SV. Only one clause contains a verb with a so-called perfectivizing prefix (*alyse* ‘absolved, set free’) (Lk. 12:58).

7.1.3.2 Clauses of caution

Clauses of caution are negative clauses of effort. Like clauses of effort, clauses of caution are dependent upon a verb of striving or exertion in the imperative mood.¹⁷ The

¹⁷ One passage contains a verb in the indicative mood in the main clause: *Hig forwandiað þæt hig ne don minum suna swa* ‘They will be in awe that they not do so to my son’ (Mt. 21:37). This indicative cannot be stating an actual fact, but rather the wish, intention, or expectation of the speaker (here, the Lord of the vineyard) concerning the hired workers. The sense is not that the workers respect the son to the point of not treating him in a certain

governing verb in cautionary clauses, however, more frequently denotes warning or avoidance.

In addition, these clauses are almost always introduced by *þæt...ne*, rarely by *þe læs (þe)*.¹⁸ The verb in the subordinate clause is always in the present subjunctive. The word-order types are more varied than what one finds in clauses of effort, as indicated in the table below.

Table 7.7 Word-order types in clauses of caution

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
SV	2	0	2	0
SVO	2	0	0	0
SOV	2	1	0	0
VS?	0	0	1	0
OSV	1	1	0	0

It appears questionable that VS word order exists, especially since clauses of caution are rare or non-existent in all the gospels, except Matthew (and here, they are uncommon), and also from the fact that this word order is found in none of the other gospels with this clausal type.

Consider, however, the passage in question: *warna þæt þæt leoht þe ðe on is ne syn þystru* ‘Take heed that that light which is in you not be darkness’ (Lk. 11:35). In the NE translation I have given, the word order is unequivocally SV (with a following predicate nominative). This translation, however, does not accurately correspond to the OE subject-verb concord, for it is problematic to analyze *þæt leoht* (sing. nom. neuter) as the subject, since the verb *syn* is plural in number. On the other hand, the noun *þystru* is nom. pl. and, therefore, could function as the subject of the verb *syn*. However, this is obviously not the case. The OE *syn* has been attracted

manner (that would make the clause ecbatic and would normally require *dop*, not *don*), but rather that the Lord of the vineyard expects the workers to reverence his son, with the result that they will not treat the son in a certain way. In light of this usage, the indicative here is not an anomaly.

¹⁸ Only one passage contains *þe læs*: *Warniað eow þe læs eower heortan gehefegude syn on oferfylle and druncennesse and þises lifes carum and on eow se færlīca dæg becume [swa swa grin]* ‘Take heed for yourselves lest your hearts be made heavy in gluttony and drunkenness and the cares of this life, and that unexpected day arrive upon you [as a snare]’ (Lk. 21:34-[35]).

to *bystru*, but it still goes with *leoht*. The problem is that *bystru*, like Latin *tenebrae*, is used in the plural.

In regard to aspect, the following verbs occur with the so-called perfectivizing prefixes:

beswice ‘deceive;’ *beswicene* ‘deceived’

gedrefede ‘troubled, shocked’

gehefegude ‘made heavy, weighed down’

becume ‘arrive’

7.2 Result (consecutive) clauses

Like final clauses, result clauses in OE employ the conjunctive particle *þæt*. The main difference structurally between final and consecutive clauses in OE is the mood of the verb, being subjunctive in the former and predominantly indicative in the latter. In addition, consecutive clauses are introduced by some adjective or adverb of quality or quantity (‘so great, so quickly’). This notion of quality or quantity is frequently indicated by the adverb *swa*. Hence, we may categorize consecutive clauses into two types: 1) those introduced by *swa þæt*; 2) those introduced by *þæt*. Result clauses introduced by *þæt* contain verbs predominantly in the indicative mood, there being a few debatable subjunctive clauses. *Swa þæt* clauses always employ the indicative.

The following passages contain result clauses in the OE gospels:

Matthew (3:9; 8:24; 8:28; 12:22; 13:2; 13:54; 15:31; 15:33; 24:24; 27:14)

Mark (1:27 (2); 1:45; 2:12; 3:10; 3:20; 4:1; 4:32; 4:37; 4:40; 7:37; 8:25; 9:25; 11:28; 15:5)

Luke (1:43; 2:6; 3:8; 3:23; 5:7; 8:12; 8:25; 12:1; 23:22; 24:16)

John (3:16; 9:2; 12:23)

Table 7.8 Frequency of result clauses in the OE gospels

Total # of clauses	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
39	11	28.2	15	38.5	10	25.6	3	7.7

7.2.1 Word order in result (consecutive) clauses

All result clauses are subject-initial except one, which is object-initial: *þæt him windas and sæ hyrsumiað* ‘that the winds and the sea obey him’ (Mk. 4:40; OSV word order). Most subject-initial result clauses exhibit SV word order: *swa þæt he eode on scyp and þær sæt* ‘so that he went onto a ship and sat there’ (Mt. 13:2); *þæt ða beop on gedwolan gelædde gyf hyt beon mæg þe gecorene wærun* ‘that those will be led into error—if it can be (so)—who were chosen’ (Mt. 24:24). Clauses containing transitive verbs with overt objects are infrequent and contain only three types of word order, OSV (see above), SVO, and SOV:

SVO

- a) *swa þæt he sealde his ancennendan sunu* ‘so that he gave his first-born son’ (Jn. 3:16).
 b) *þæt he mæg of þysum stanum aweccan abrahames bearn* ‘that he can from these stones awaken Abraham’s children’ (Mt. 3:9).

SOV

- c) *swa þæt he beorhtlice eall geseah* ‘so that he saw everything clearly’ (Mk. 8:25).
 d) *þæt he mæg of þysum stanum abrahames bearn aweccan* ‘that he can awaken from these stones Abraham’s children’ (Lk. 3:8).

The word-order types by frequency in the four gospels are given in the table below.

Table 7.9 Word-order types in OE result clauses

Word-order type	Frequency			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
SV	9	8	5	2
SVO	2	3	2	1
SOV	0	3	4	0
OSV	0	1	0	0

7.2.2 Mood in result (consecutive) clauses

As stated beforehand, result clauses introduced by *swa þæt* always contain verbs in the indicative: *swa þæt þæt scyp wearð ofergoten mid yþum* ‘so that the ship became flooded [lit. overpoured] with waves’ (Mt. 8:24). Verbs in secondary sequence predominate. One passage, however, contains the verb(s) in primary sequence: *swa þæt heofnan fuhlas cumaþ and eardiaþ on his bogum* ‘so that heaven’s birds come and dwell in its boughs’ (Mt. 13:32).

On the other hand, clauses introduced by *þæt* may contain the verb in either the indicative or subjunctive, with the former predominating: *and yþa he awearp on þæt scip þæt hit gefylled wæs* ‘and it cast waves onto that ship that it was filled’ (Mk. 4:37). The majority of these clauses (a little more than half) are in primary sequence. Clauses in secondary sequence occur only in Mark and Luke: *and eft him to com swa micel menigu þæt hi næfdon hlaf to etanne* ‘and afterwards there came to him so great a crowd that they did not have bread to eat’ (Mk. 3:20); *and se hælend wæs on ylde swylce þritig winter þæt menn wendon þæt he wære iosepes sunu* ‘and the Savior was in age as [if] thirty years, that men supposed that he was Joseph’s son’ (Lk. 3:23).¹⁹

¹⁹ The fact that Jesus was about thirty years old does not logically result in men’s supposition of his genealogy. Rather, his humanity, of which his age is a characteristic, has resulted in men’s logically supposing him to be the son of Joseph. In other words, his humanity has hidden his real identity—Son of G-d. Here, we have an example in which syntax holds significant theological implications.

Four clauses introduced by *þæt* unequivocally contain verbs in the subjunctive mood. It is debatable as to whether these clauses are true result clauses or are not better classified as denoting purpose. Consider the following: *Ða cwædon hys leorningcnihtas hwar nime we swa fela hlafa on þis westene þæt we gefyllan swa mycele mænegu* ‘Then his disciples said, “Where are we to obtain so many loaves in this desert that we may fill so great a crowd?”’ (Mt. 15:33). The factors determining whether a clause denotes purpose or result are 1) intention and 2) fulfillment, respectively. In the above passage, the subordinate clause introduced by *þæt* clearly indicates intention, and seems to lack fulfillment. Hence, it is most likely a purpose clause. However, the presence of the phrase *swa fela hlafa* ‘so many loaves’ is characteristic of what one finds in a main clause introducing a result clause. If, in fact, Mt. 15:33 were an indicative statement instead of a deliberative question, the subordinate clause would most likely denote result: *we nimað her swa fela hlafa on þis westene þæt we gefyllað swa mycele mænegu* ‘we obtain here so many loaves in this desert that we fill so great a crowd.’ In the case of this passage (Mt. 15:33), it seems that the subordinate clause indicates intention and *likely* (or, in this context, *unlikely*) fulfillment, or what grammarians have called *natural* result, rather than *actual* result.

Two clauses in Luke contain verbs in the subjunctive:

a) Luke 1:43

and hwanum is me ðis þæt mines drihtes modor to me cume ‘and whence is this to me, that my Lord’s mother should come to me?’

b) Luke 23:22

ne mette ic nan þing yfeles on þissum men þæt he si deapes scyldig ‘I found nothing evil in this man that he should be guilty of death.’

The subordinate clauses in these two passages cannot logically be said to denote purpose, and it is difficult to conceive the subordinate clause in Lk. 1:43 as indicating result. The *þæt* clauses indicate natural result, which is why the verb in each clause is in the subjunctive mood. In Lk. 23:22, Pilate finds nothing that would *naturally* result in condemning Jesus to death; in Lk. 1:43, Elizabeth wonders what occasion has occurred for her that would *naturally* bring Mary to her. Main clauses that contain a negation or ask a question (or both) often introduce this type of result clause.

This principle seems to be borne out in the following passage from John: *Lareow, hwæt syngode þes oððe his magas þæt he wære blind geboren* ‘Teacher, who sinned, this [man] or his kinsmen, that he would be born blind’ (Jn. 9:2). The main clause is interrogative and, therefore, seems likely to introduce a natural result clause.²⁰ The problem of whether this subordinate clause could denote purpose has already been treated in previous chapters (as stated before, purpose here would be illogical). The force of the subjunctive mood seems to indicate the characteristic and expected result of sin, not what has actually occurred in the case of the man born blind.

7.2.3 Aspect in result (consecutive) clauses

The issue of aspect in the OE gospels has already been treated in section 7.1.1.3. Nearly twice as many passages containing consecutive clauses show verbs without a so-called perfective prefix as those with one. Below is given a list of verbs with a perfective prefix, and of those without one.

²⁰ Of course, a main clause need not be an interrogative or contain a negative in order to introduce a natural result clause. This construction just happens to be the *tendency* in the OE gospels.

Without ‘perfective’ prefix	With ‘perfective’ prefix
<i>spræcon</i>	<i>mæg...aweccan</i>
<i>hyrsumiað</i>	<i>geseah</i>
<i>spæc</i>	<i>gefyllan</i>
<i>wearð ofergoten</i>	<i>beop...gelædde</i>
<i>mihte faran</i>	<i>bebyt</i>
<i>eode/mihte...gan</i>	<i>gefylled wæs</i>
<i>sæt</i>	<i>gehyrdon</i>
<i>cumap</i>	<i>wæron besencte</i>
<i>eardiap/eardian magon</i>	<i>gewurðað</i>
<i>wundredon/wundrode</i>	<i>gecneowun</i>
<i>cwædon</i>	<i>wære...geboren</i>
<i>beon/si</i>	<i>byð geswutelod</i>
<i>æthrinon</i>	
<i>hæfdon/næfdon</i>	
<i>do</i>	
<i>cume</i>	
<i>ceude</i>	
<i>wendon</i>	
<i>wregdon</i>	
<i>sealde</i>	

7.3 Causal clauses

Causal clause structure in the OE gospels is uniform and predictable, at least in reference to the mood of the verb employed, which is unaffected by the various conjunctions that can introduce the clause. Embedded clauses with the subjunctive do occur, but are rare. This section will treat this phenomenon as well as other issues, such as conjunctions employed, word order, mood, and tense/aspect.

7.3.1 Conjunctions in causal clauses

Most causal clauses in the OE gospels are introduced by the conjunctive phrase *forþam þe*: *forþam þe he bepæht wæs fram þam tungelwitegum* ‘because he was deceived by the astrologers’ (Mt. 2:16). The following passages are introduced by this conjunction:

Matthew (2:16; 2:18; 2:23; 5:4; 5:5; 5:6; 5:7; 5:8; 5:9; 5:10; 5:12; 5:34; 5:35 (2); 5:36; 6:26;
7:13; 11:20; 12:41; 12:42; 13:5; 13:6; 13:11; 13:13; 13:16 (2); 14:5; 14:24; 17:14; 18:32;
20:7; 20:15; 21:46; 24:12; 24:42; 24:44; 25:13; 25:21; 25:23)

Mark (3:30; 6:17; 6:34; 12:24; 14:27; 16:14)

Luke (1:1; 1:7; 1:48; 1:49; 1:68; 2:4; 4:6; 4:18; 4:41; 6:19; 6:20; 6:24; 6:25 (2); 6:27; 6:35; 8:6;
8:13; 8:30; 9:7; 9:12; 9:22; 9:53; 10:21; 11:8; 11:18; 11:31; 11:32; 11:44; 11:46; 11:52;
12:3; 12:15; 12:40; 12:51; 13:2; 13:14; 13:31; 13:33; 14:14; 14:17; 15:27; 16:3; 16:8 (2);
16:15; 16:24; 17:9; 17:19; 18:5; 18:11; 18:14; 18:23; 19:3; 19:5; 19:11 (2); 19:17; 19:21;
19:43; 19:44; 20:37; 21:22; 21:28; 23:8; 24:9; 24:44)

John (1:17; 1:30; 1:50; 2:18; 3:17; 3:18; 3:21; 3:23; 4:22; 5:16; 5:18; 5:27; 5:38; 5:39; 6:2;
6:26 (2); 6:38; 6:41; 7:1; 7:23; 7:30; 7:39; 8:14; 8:16; 8:20; 8:29; 8:43; 8:44 (2); 8:45;
8:47; 9:22; 10:4; 10:5; 10:13; 10:17; 10:26; 10:33; 11:10; 12:6; 12:11; 12:18; 12:49;
14:12; 14:17; 14:28; 15:19; 16:3; 16:4; 16:6; 16:16; 16:21; 16:27; 18:2; 19:7; 19:20;
19:31; 19:38; 21:17)

The second most commonly employed causal conjunction in the OE gospels is *forþam*, which seems to be either a stylistic variant of *forþam þe* or a causal conjunction indicating less rhythmic stress within the discourse: *forþam hyra ys heofena rice* ‘because theirs is the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 5:3). The following passages contain clauses introduced by *forþam*:

Matthew (5:3; 6:25; 9:36; 11:21; 11:23; 11:26; 11:29; 15:23; 15:32; 16:17; 16:23; 23:10; 23:13;
23:15; 23:25; 23:27; 25:8; 27:6)

Mark (1:34; 4:5; 4:6; 4:29; 5:4; 5:9; 7:19; 8:2; 8:17; 8:33; 9:40; 10:22; 11:18; 11:24)

Luke (1:13; 1:20; 1:34; 1:35; 1:37; 2:11; 2:30; 4:32; 4:43; 5:8; 6:21 (2); 7:7; 7:47 (2); 8:37; 8:42; 9:38; 9:49; 10:13; 10:21; 11:6; 11:48; 12:17; 12:22; 12:32; 13:24; 14:11; 15:6; 15:9; 15:24; 15:32; 19:4; 19:9; 23:29; 23:31; 23:34)

John (1:15; 2:24; 2:25; 5:30; 7:7; 7:8; 8:22; 8:37; 10:36; 11:9; 11:15; 11:41; 11:47; 12:39; 13:11; 13:29; 14:17; 14:19; 14:28; 15:5; 15:15; 15:21; 15:27; 16:9; 16:10; 16:11; 16:14; 16:19; 16:21; 16:26; 16:32; 17:9; 17:14; 17:24; 18:18; 19:42; 20:13)

The conjunction *forþam* is clearly a univerbation and grammaticalization of the preposition *for* with the demonstrative *se* in the dative case. This is born out in one passage where the conjunction is non-univerbated, and *forþam* and *þe* are intervened by another element: *næs na for þam anum þe he þæne restedæg bræc* ‘it was not only because he broke the Sabbath’ (Jn. 5:18). In another passage, the preposition *on* is used instead of *for*: *ne blissige ge on þam þe eow synt gastas underþeodde* ‘Do not rejoice because the spirits are subject to you’ (Jn. 5:18). In addition to being univerbated with the dative case of the demonstrative, the preposition *for* may also be univerbated with the demonstrative *se* in the instrumental case. This conjunction occurs only twice and in John’s gospel: *na forþi þe heo of moyse sy ac of fæderon* ‘not because it is from Moses, but from the fathers’ (Jn. 7:22); *forþig þe him gebyrode to þam þearfon* ‘because he cared for the poor’ (Jn. 12:6). This conjunction is seemingly employed when the main clause contains a negative that challenges the validity of the cause given in the subordinate clause, or when the causal clause itself is negated.

The conjunction *þa* may connote causality and introduce a causal clause in OE. This is rare in the gospels and occurs only in Matthew: *ða he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian* ‘because he was righteous and did not want to divulge her’ (Mt. 1:19); *þa ic sealde þæt rihtwise*

blod ‘because I gave the righteous blood’ (Mt. 27:4). The semantic nuance of *þa*—if any exists—seems unclear, unless it is to connote a clause that is circumstantial as well as causal.

The frequency of the causal conjunctions in the OE gospels is summarized in the tables below.

Table 7.10 Frequency of conjunctions employed in causal clauses in the OE gospels

Conjunction	# of Occurrences	%
<i>forþam þe</i>	172	60.563
<i>forþam</i>	106	37.323
<i>for þam...þe</i>	1	.352
<i>on þam þe</i>	1	.352
<i>forþi(g) þe</i>	2	.704
<i>þa/ða</i>	2	.704
Total	284	

Table 7.11 Distributive frequency of the OE causal conjunctions employed by gospel

Conjunction employed	Occurrences by Gospel							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<i>forþam þe</i>	39	66.1	6	30	67	63.8	60	60
<i>forþam</i>	18	30.5	14	70	37	35.2	37	37
<i>for þam...þe</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
<i>on þam þe</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
<i>forþi(g) þe</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
<i>þa/ða</i>	2	3.4	0	0	0	0	0	0

7.3.2 Word order in causal clauses

Causal clauses in the OE gospels contain a greater variety of word-order types than we have observed in purpose or result clauses. This greater variation is more likely the result of stylistic and discourse features than of grammatical/syntactic constraints.

Matthew exhibits a fairly broad range of word-order types, with most clauses being subject-initial. Of these clauses, most exhibit SV word-order: *forþam ðe heo com fram landes*²¹ *gemærum to gehyranne salomones wisdom* ‘because she came from the borders of the earth to hear Solomon’s wisdom’ (Mt. 12:42). It is not unusual for these clauses to be verb-final, i.e., with the predicate preceding the verb: *forþam ðe he nazarenisc byð genemned* ‘because he will be called a Nazarene’ (Mt. 2:23). An element, such as a participle, may intervene between the conjunction and subject. This is an extremely rare occurrence: *forþam þe lociende hig ne geseoþ and gehyrende hig ne gehyraþ ne ne ongytaþ* ‘because looking they do not see and hearing they do not hear, nor understand’ (Mt. 13:13).²²

Transitive clauses in Matthew mostly exhibit SVO word-order: *forþam ðe ge nyton ne þone dæg ne þa tide* ‘because you do not know either the day or the time’ (Mt. 25:13). The direct object may (rarely) be an indirect command or indirect question: *forþam þe ge nyton on hwylcyre tid eower hlaford cuman wyle* ‘because you do not know at which time your Lord intends to come’ (Mt. 24:42; indirect question); *forþam ic secge eow þæt ge ne sin ymbhydige eowre sawle* ‘because I say to you that you not be anxious for your soul’ (Mt. 6:25; indirect command/request). Nearly all causal clauses exhibiting SOV word order in Matthew occur in the Sermon on the Mount: *forþam þe hi eorðan agun* ‘because they will possess the earth’ (Mt. 5:4). In one passage containing a modal and infinitive, the infinitive is treated as the governing element and, hence, the clause is analyzed as SOV: *forþam þe þu ne miht ænne locc gedon hwitne oððe blacne* ‘because you cannot make one lock of hair white or black’ (Mt. 5:36).

Object-initial causal clauses are extremely rare in the OE gospels and occur only twice in Matthew. One passage contains a clause showing OSV word order: *forþam þe us nan mann ne*

²¹ OE *landes* here probably connotes more accurately the concept of Latin *terra* ‘earth’ than that of ‘land, territory.’

²² *Lociende* and *gehyrende* here clearly denote concession within the realm of their circumstantial function.

hyrode ‘because no man hired us’ (Mt. 20:7). The other object-initial clause exhibits OVS word order: *forþam hit þe ne onwreah flæsc ne blod* ‘because neither flesh nor blood revealed it to you’ (Mt. 16:17).

Clauses exhibiting verb-initial word order are also quite rare, all such clauses showing VS word order: *forþam hyra ys heofena rice* ‘because theirs is the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 5:3; see also Mt. 5:10). The subject of a VS clause may be an infinitival phrase: *forþam þe eow is geseald to witanne heofena rices gerynu* ‘because to you is given to know the secrets of the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 13:11). Ambiguity may occur, in which the clause may exhibit either SV or VS word order, depending on what is perceived to be the subject and predicate: *forþam an crist is eower lareow* (Mt. 23:10). This clause may be understood in the following ways:

- 1) ‘because one Christ is your teacher’ (i.e., ‘because only one Christ—not many Christs—is your teacher’)
- 2) ‘because one—Christ—is your teacher’ (i.e., ‘because only one person—Christ—is your teacher’)
- 3) ‘because your teacher is one—Christ’ (i.e., ‘because your teacher is one person, who is the Christ’)
- 4) ‘because your teacher is one Christ’ (i.e., ‘because your teacher is the one, true Christ’)

Word-order variation in Mark is more limited than in the other gospels. Most causal clauses in Mark exhibit SVO word order: *and forþam hit næfde eorðan þiccnesse...* ‘and because it did not have thickness of earth’ (Mk. 4:5). The direct object may be a direct or indirect statement: *forþam hi wiston þæt he crist wæs* ‘because they knew that he was the Christ’ (Mk. 1:34; indirect statement); *forþam þe hi cwædon he hæfð unclænne gast* ‘because they said

“He has an unclean spirit” (Mk. 3:30; direct statement). Clauses with SV word order are nearly as common as those with SVO: *forþam þæt rip æt is* ‘because the harvest is near’ (Mk. 4:29). Notice that the predicate precedes the verb in this passage. This is the most common word-order feature in SV causal clauses in Mark. SOV occurs only twice in Mark: *forþam hit wyrtruman næfde* ‘because it did not have root(s)’ (Mk. 4:6); *forþam ge hlafas nabbað* ‘because you do not have loaves’ (Mk. 8:17).

Like Matthew, Luke contains a fairly broad range of word-order types, the greatest number of causal clauses exhibiting SV word order: *forþam ic eom synfull mann* ‘because I am a synfull man’ (Lk. 5:8). Clauses with verb-final position are very frequent: *forþam þe mægen of him eode* ‘because power went from him’ (Lk. 6:19). Other subject-initial word-order types are relatively frequent: *Forðam mine eagan gesawon þine hæle* ‘because my eyes have seen your salvation’ (Lk. 2:30; SVO); *forþam ic were ne oncnawe* ‘because I do not know a man’ (Lk. 1:34; SOV). There does not appear to be any factor determining whether a clause will exhibit OV or VO word order.

Verb-initial causal clauses in Luke are uncommon, most being of the type VS: *forþam nis ælc word mid gode unmihtelic* ‘because every word is not impossible with G-d’ (Lk. 1:37). One clause exhibits VO word order: *forþam þe wiston þæt he crist wæs* ‘because they knew that he was the Christ’ (Lk. 4:41). This is the only passage demonstrating pro-drop in the hypotactic clauses investigated in this study.

Object-initial causal clauses in Luke are rare, all exhibiting OVS word order: *forþam þe me micle þing dyde se ðe mihtig is* ‘because he who is mighty did many things for me’ (Lk.

1:49). The subject of the clause may be an infinitival phrase: *forþam eowrum fæder gelicode eow rice syllan* ‘because it pleased your father to give you the kingdom’ (Lk. 12:32).²³

One clause seems to pose the problem of ambiguity: *forþam þe hit gebyreð þæt mannes sunu fela þinga þolige* ‘because it is fitting that the Son of Man endure many things’ (Lk. 9:22). If one analyzes *hit* as the subject (and, hence, the clause as exhibiting SVO word order), then, one must grapple with the function of the *þæt* clause. If the *þæt* clause is the subject, one may view *hit* as a ‘dummy’ pronoun, similar to the syntactic feature found in NE. Although such a use of the pronoun is not a required feature in OE, it does not seem to be an impossible or unlikely use. In this case, therefore, the above clause probably exhibits VS word order.

Nearly all causal clauses in John show subject-initial word order. Of these word-order types, SV and SVO are the most common, each being about equal in frequency: *forþam þe æ wæs geseald þurh moysen* ‘because the Law was given through Moses’ (Jn. 1:17); *forðam þe he dyde þas þing on restedæg* ‘because he did those things on the Sabbath’ (Jn. 5:16). Clauses exhibiting SOV word order are uncommon: *forðam þe ge tacnu gesawon* ‘because you saw signs’ (Jn. 6:26).

VS word order is rare in John: *forþam þe þær wæron manega wætro* ‘because many waters were there’ (Jn. 3:23; see also Jn. 2:25). V (no overt S) occurs only twice: *forþam þæra iudea gearcung wæs* ‘because it was the Jews’ preparation’ (Jn. 19:42; see also Jn. 12:6).

A number of clauses contain more than one word-order type. Consider the following examples:

SV-(S)VO

a) *forþam min freond com of wege to me and ic næbbe hwæt ic him toforan lege* ‘because my friend has come from the way to me and I do not have what I may lay before him’ (Lk. 11:6).²⁴

²³ Note that the object of *gelicode* (*eowrum fæder*) is in the dative case.

b) *and forþam þe þu eart man and wyrcest þe to gode* ‘and because you are a man and make yourself into G-d’ (Jn. 10:33).

c) *ac forþam þe he wæs þeof and hæfde scrin and bær þa ðing þe man sende* ‘but because he was a thief and had the coffer and bore the things that a man sent [i.e., put into it] (Jn. 12:6).

SV-(S)OV

d) *ða he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian* ‘because he was righteous and did not want to divulge her’ (Mt. 1:19).²⁵

e) *forþam þe he geneosode and his folces alysednesse dyde* ‘because he drew near and made his people’s freedom’ (Lk. 1:68).

f) *Forþam þe ge ne synt of middanearde ac ic eow geceas of middanearde* ‘because you are not of the world, but I chose you from the world’ (Jn. 15:19).

SVO-SV

g) *forþam ge clænsiað þæt wiðutan caliceas and dexas and ge synt innan fulle reaflices and unclænnysse* ‘because you cleanse that [which is] outside the cups and dishes and you are inside full of plunder and uncleanness’ (Mt. 23:25).

h) *forþam he hæfde ane dohtor nean twelf wintre and seo forðferde* ‘because he had one daughter nearly twelve years old and she had died’ (Lk. 8:42).

SVO-(S)OV

i) *forþam he oft mid fotcoppsum and racenteagum gebunden toslat þa racenteaga and þa fotcoppas tobræc* ‘because he, often bound with leg-irons and chains, tore apart the chains and smashed the leg-irons’ (Mk. 5:4).

²⁴ i.e., ‘I do not have anything to set before him.’

²⁵ It can be argued that the modal *nolde* should be considered the essential governing constituent with the infinitival phrase *hi gewidmærsian* as its direct object. In that case, the word order would be SVO, not SOV.

SOV-(S)VO

j) *forþam hi þry dagas me geanbidiað and nabbað hwæt hi eton* ‘because they have been awaiting me for three days and do not have what they may eat’ (Mk. 8:2).

SV-SOV-(S)VO-(S)VO

k) *forþam ðe þa dagas to ðe cumað and þine fynd þe betrymiað and behabbað þe and genyrwað þe æghwanun* ‘because the days are coming to you and your enemies will surround you and contain you and confine you from everywhere’ (Lk. 19:43).

Table 7.12 Word-order types in causal clauses in the OE gospels

Word-order Type	Frequency by Gospel			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
V-initial (no S/O)	0	0	0	2
VS	3	0	8	2
VO	0	0	1	0
SV	35	8	59	51
SVO	15	11	25	44
SOV	6	3	15	8
OVS	1	0	3	0
OSV	1	0	0	0

The data in the chart above indicate a tendency toward subject-initial clauses across the gospels. In addition, all non-S-initial clauses require a subject, the exception being the one passage in Luke. We may conclude, then, that the OE of the time in which these gospels were composed had begun to lose pro-drop as a syntactic feature, except in the case of conjunction reduction, at least in subordinate clauses. Furthermore, one notices that SVO word order is far more common than SOV, indicative of the development of another syntactic change: the shift from OV to VO.

Table 7.13 General comparison of word-order types in OE causal clauses

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Subject-initial	280	93
Verb-initial	16	5.3
Object-initial	5	1.7

7.3.3 Mood in causal clauses in the OE gospels

Causal clauses in the OE gospels contain the finite verb almost exclusively in the indicative mood, both the present and preterite tenses occurring in all four gospels:

Matthew

forþam þe heo is godes þrysetl ‘because it is G-d’s throne’ (5:34; present tense).

forþam hyt wæs swa gecweme beforan þe ‘because it was so acceptable before you’ (11:26; preterite tense).

Mark

forþam þæt rip æt is ‘because the harvest is near’ (4:29; present tense).

forþam eall seo menigu wundrode be his lare ‘because all the crowd wondered at his teaching’ (11:18; preterite tense).

Luke

forþam þe ðu eart stið man ‘because you are a harsh man’ (19:21; present tense).

forþam þe he gleawlice dyde ‘because he did prudently’ (16:8; preterite tense).

John

forþam þe ic fare to fæder ‘because I go to the Father’ (16:16; present tense).

forþam þu lufodest me ær middaneard gesett wæs ‘because you loved me before the world was established’ (17:24; preterite tense).

Although the indicative mood is nearly universal in causal clause usage, the presence of the subjunctive in some causal clauses needs explication. As observed in Greek, Latin, and Gothic, the subjunctive occurs in causal clauses which contain an embedded conditional clause that requires the subjunctive (Gothic, optative) mood. These clauses represent identical passages found in Matthew and Luke. Consider the following OE examples:

a) *forþam gyf on tyro and sydone wærun gedone þa mægnu þe gedone synt on eow, gefyrn hi dydun dædbote on hæran and on axan* ‘because if in Tyre and Sidon were done the miracles which are done in you, they long ago would have done repentance in hair-cloth and ashes’ (Mt. 11:21; see also Mt. 11:23).

b) *forþam gif on tyro and on sidone gewordene wæron þa menegu þe on eow gedone synt, gefyrn hig on hæran and on axan hreowsunge dydon* ‘because if in Tyre and in Sidon there had occurred²⁶ the miracles which are done in you, they long ago would have done repentance in hair-cloth and ashes’ (Lk. 10:13).

If we isolate the conditional constructions from the causal clauses, we notice that these conditions are past contrary-to-fact, a type of conditional clause constructed with the verb in the preterite subjunctive in both the protasis and apodosis. These subjunctives, then, are clearly not dependent upon any causality or causal construction, but rather are determined by the conditional clause in which they appear. We may, hence, eliminate these three passages containing embedded conditional clauses from being true causal clauses with the subjunctive.

Since certain forms of the preterite subjunctive in the OE gospels are identical to those of the preterite indicative, the question arises as to how one might determine the mood of the verbs in Mt. 11:21, 23 and Lk. 10:13. The presence of the conditional conjunction *gyf/gif* is not necessarily the determinative factor, since certain conditional clauses may contain the verb in the

²⁶ Or, were done.

indicative mood: *forþam gif hig on grenum treowe þas þing doð hwæt doð hig on þam drigean* ‘because if they do these things in a green tree, what do they in the dry’ (Lk. 23:31). Here, the verbs in the protasis and apodosis are in the indicative mood. The conjunction *gif* indicates the conditional clause; the type of conditional clause, however, is indicated by the mood of the verb. Although the form of the verbs in Mt. 11:21, 23 and Lk. 10:13 are ambiguous, the context of the passages supports interpreting these clauses as being contrary-to-fact conditions containing the verb in the preterite subjunctive.

Two additional passages in Luke contain apparent subjunctive verb forms: *forþam ic funde min scep þe forwearð* ‘because I found my sheep which perished’ (Lk. 15:6); *forþam ic funde minne scylling þe ic forleas* ‘because I found my shilling that I had lost’ (Lk. 15:9). If the verbs in these causal clauses were preterite indicative, we should expect *fand* instead of *funde*. Also, if *funde* is indeed preterite subjunctive, then we must ascertain its function in these clauses. There simply does not appear to be any syntactic necessity for the use of the subjunctive here, for these verbs seem to function in the same manner as verbs in the preterite indicative. Liuzza (2000) suggests that *funde* is an alternate preterite indicative form. No explanation is given concerning the form’s development, though it is likely that it is either based upon the preterite subjunctive or formed through leveling of the paradigm.

As in Gothic (see section 5.3.3), a negated causal clause in OE contains the verb in the subjunctive: *na forþi þe heo of moyse sƿ ac of fæderon* ‘not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers’ (Jn. 7:22). In spite of the given exceptions, we may safely declare that the indicative mood is default for causal clauses in the OE gospels.

7.3.4 Aspect, tense, and Aktionsart in causal clauses in the OE gospels

As stated previously, aspect in OE has a debatable status, at least as a discernible grammatical category. The six so-called ‘perfectivizing’ prefixes (*a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *of-*, *to-*) do occur with a number of verbs in causal clauses, though most causal clauses do not have verbs with these prefixes.

Verbs with ‘perfectivizing’ prefixes appear in three limited grammatical arrangements: 1) as finite verbs; 2) as infinitives employed with a modal; 3) as past participles in passive periphrastic constructions. The infinitive constructions are not numerous and contain verbs with only the prefixes *ge-* and *of-*. The clauses containing passive periphrastics are far more numerous than those containing infinitives. The majority of past participles in these clauses contain the prefix *ge-* (cf. *ge-* in Modern German past participles). About one-third of these participles, however, contain the prefix *a-*, and one participle—debatably—contains *be-*: *forþam þe he bepæht wæs fram þam tungelwitegum* ‘because he was deceived by the astrologers’ (Mt. 2:16).²⁷ Clauses containing finite verbs are the most frequent type. All ‘perfectivizing’ prefixes are found in this type except *for-*, the most common prefix being *ge-*, which occurs far more frequently than all other prefixes combined.

The prefixed infinitives seem to convey a semantic nuance that is probably not aspectual. Consider the following infinitives:

- 1) *nolde...gewidmærsian* ‘was unwilling...to divulge’ (Mt. 1:19. There does not appear to be any semantic or aspectual distinction between this infinitive and the non-prefixed *widmærsian*).
- 2) *ne miht...gedon* ‘cannot ...make’ (Mt. 5:36. There is no clear, apparent distinction between *gedon* and *don*).

²⁷ Liuzza (2000) considers *bepæht* to be functioning more as an adjective than a participle. If so, then the past participle may contain only two ‘perfectivizing’ prefixes: *a-* and *ge-*.

3) *pohton...geendebyrdan* ‘thought...to arrange’ (Lk. 1:1. Cf. the noun *endebyrdnes* ‘order, arrangement,’ which noticeably lacks the prefix *ge-*).

4) *wyle ofslean* ‘wants to kill’ (Lk. 13:31. The difference in meaning between *ofslean* ‘kill, cut off’ and *slean* ‘strike, slay’ is clear and identifiable. One may argue that the prefix *of-* here adds intensifying or perfective aspect to the verb. If, indeed, this is the case, it is not a conclusive example of aspect, at least not as one sees in the dichotomy of the Greek system—punctiliar vs. durative—or in that of the Gothic/Slavic system—perfective vs. imperfective).

5) *ne magon...gehyran* ‘cannot...hear’ (Jn. 8:43. The non-prefixed counterpart of this verb does not occur in the OE gospels).

In causal clauses containing these types of verbs, aspect does not appear to play a role.

It can be argued, however, that aspect as a grammatical category indeed is present in causal clauses containing past participles employed in the passive periphrastic. This construction certainly denotes completed action, and the past participle may occur in conjunction with either the present or preterite tense of the verb *beon*.

Present passive periphrastic

a) *forþam þe eow is geseald to witanne heofena rices gerynu* ‘because to you is given/has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 13:11);

b) *forþam ure leohtfatu synt acwencte* ‘because our lanterns are extinguished/have been extinguished’ (Mt. 25:8. Verbs with the *a-* prefix occur only in non-past passive periphrastic constructions).

A careful examination of the context in which these above examples lie points to completed aspect in the verb, namely, resultative and perfective. Neither of the above examples seems to convey a progressive passive (i.e., ‘is being given’ or ‘are being extinguished’). In light of the

fact that all examples of the present passive periphrastic denote resultative/completed action, it is difficult not to perceive this construction as denoting some degree of aspectual nuance.

Future passive periphrastic

The OE verb *beon* has two present tense conjugations, each based upon a different PIE root. PIE *H₁es- is primarily employed in OE as the present tense of the verb ‘to be,’ PIE *bhuH₂- as the future. Thus, OE *eom*, *eart*, *ys/is*, and *sind/synt* are used to form the present passive periphrastic, and *beo*, *bist*, *byð*, *beoð* are used in the future passive periphrastic. Consider the following examples:

c) *forþam ðe he nazarenisc byð genemned* ‘because he will be called a Nazarene’ (Mt. 2:23);

d) *Forþam...se ðe hine nyðerað se bið upahafen* ‘Because...he who humbles himself, will be lifted up’ (Lk. 14:11).

Past passive periphrastic

e) *forþam þe æ was geseald purh moysen* because the Law was given²⁸ through Moses’ (Jn. 1:17);

f) *forþam þe he bepæht wæs fram þam tungelwitegum* ‘because he was deceived/had been deceived by the astrologers’ (Mt. 2:16).

Although the evidence given above is not overwhelming, there does appear to be an aspectual nuance in the passive periphrastic constructions.

Passive periphrastics do not depend upon the presence of the so-called ‘perfectivizing’ preverbs. Three passages, all in Luke, contain passive periphrastic constructions with the participle lacking a ‘perfectivizing’ prefix. Consider the following:

g) *ne blissige ge on þam þe eow synt gastas underbeodde* ‘do not rejoice because the spirits are subjected/have been subjected to you’ (Lk. 10:20);

²⁸ ‘had been given’?

h) *forþam þe...þæt ge on earum spræcun on beddcofun bið on hrofum bodud* ‘because...what you spoke in ears in the bedchambers will be preached on roofs’ (Lk. 12:3);

i) *forþam þe ic eom on þis lige cwylmed* ‘because I am tormented/am being tormented in this flame’ (Lk. 16:24).

Since the participle *underþeodde* already contains a preverb, the presence of another preverb might seem superfluous or awkward.²⁹ Hence, there does not appear to be the need or possibility or a ‘perfectivizing’ prefix in this case. On the other hand, the participle *cwylmed* lacks a preverb because, in this context, it is functioning as a non-resultative passive **or** simply as an adjective. The activity is not completed, but instead is continuous. Concerning the participle *bodud*, it is unclear why no preverb occurs unless it is to avoid possible confusion with the past participle of *bebeodan* ‘to command,’ *beboden*, or with the noun *gebod* ‘a command.’ These debatable exceptions do not detract from the evidence that the passive periphrastic construction in OE *tends* to contain a so-called ‘perfectivizing’ preverb.

Aspectual nuance seems more difficult to discern in causal clauses containing preverbated finite verbs, which may occur in either the present or preterite tense. Consider the following:

Present tense

j) *forþam þe hi god geseoð* ‘because they will see G-d’ (Mt. 5:8. At first glance, this seems to be a classic example of perfective aspect, i.e., a verb with a perfectivizing prefix in the present tense, but with future meaning. However, in light of the fact that the verb *geseon* is never found in the OE gospels without the *ge-* prefix except once—in the inflected infinitive *to seonne*, Lk. 7:25, the *ge-* prefix probably does not distinguish *geseon* here as a perfective verb);

²⁹ Cf. NHD untrennbar verbs, in which the *ge-* prefix characteristic of the past participle cannot occur. However, trennbar verbs consistently have the *ge-* prefix. Cf. *ein übergesetzter Fluß* ‘a crossed river’ vs. *ein übersetztes Buch* ‘a translated book.’

k) *forþam þe hi...awaciað on þære costnunge timan* ‘because they...weaken in time of temptation’ (Lk. 8:13);

l) *forþam ge belucað heofona rice beforan mannum* ‘because you look the kingdom of the heavens before men’ (Mt. 23:13).

Preterite tense

m) *forþam þu minum wordum ne gelyfdest* ‘because you did not believe my words’ (Lk. 1:20);

n) *forþam þe ðu þas ðing wisum and gleawm behyddest...* ‘because you have hidden these things [from] the wise and prudent...’ (Lk. 10:21);

o) *forþam þe ðu...lytlingum awruge* ‘because you have revealed [them] to infants’ (Lk. 10:21);

p) *forþam hig ofslogon hig...* ‘because they killed them’ (Lk. 11:48);

q) *forþam he oft mid fotcoppsum and racenteagum gebunden toslat þa racenteaga and þa fotcoppas tobræc* ‘because he, often bound with leg irons and chains, tore apart the chains and smashed [to pieces] the leg irons’ (Mk. 5:4).

Since most of these verbs occur exclusively with a certain prefix in every context, we may conclude that aspect does not function identifiably as a grammatical category in causal clauses containing prefixed finite verbs. The frequency of the three categories of prefixed-verb constructions in OE causal clauses in the gospels is given in the table below.

Table 7.14 Frequency of prefixed-verb constructions in causal clauses in the OE gospels

Construction Type	Prefix Employed	Frequency by Gospel			
		Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Finite Verb	<i>ge-</i>	4	3	15	19
	<i>be-</i>	3	0	3	1
	<i>a-</i>	0	0	3	0
	<i>of-</i>	0	0	1	0
	<i>to-</i>	0	2	0	0
Participle in the Passive Periphrastic	<i>ge-</i>	7	0	7	5
	<i>be-</i>	1	0	0	0
	<i>a-</i>	1	1	4	2
Modal + Infinitive	<i>ge-</i>	2	0	1	1
	<i>of-</i>	0	0	1	1

Although aspectual nuance exists in the OE causal clauses, albeit in a limited way, the feature of Aktionsart working within the tense system indisputably occurs. Let us, therefore, examine the range of Aktionsarten that may occur in OE causal clauses, both in the present and preterite tenses. Consider the following examples of present tense types:³⁰

Instantaneous Present

forþam þe ge secgað þæt ic on belzebug deofolseocnessa ut adrife ‘because you say that I in Beelzebug drive out demonic possessions’ (Lk. 11:18).

Progressive Present

forþam þe ic eom on þis lige cwylmed ‘because I am being tormented in this flame’ (Lk. 16:24).

Iterative Present

Forþam heo clypað æfter us ‘because she keeps shouting out after us’ (Mt. 15:23).

Customary Present

Forþam ge clænsiað þæt wiðutan ys caliceas and dexas ‘because you cleanse what is outside the cups and dishes’ (Mt. 23:25).

³⁰ See Chapter 3, section 3.3.6 for an explanation of all these Aktionsarten.

Gnomic Present

Behealdað heofonan fuglas forþam þe hig ne sawað ne hig³¹ ne ripað ne hig ne gadriað on berne

‘Consider the birds of heaven, because they do not sow nor reap nor gather in a barn’ (Mt. 6:26).

Resultative (Perfective) Present

forþam ure leohtfatu synt acwencte ‘because out lanterns are extinguished’ (Mt. 25:8).

Conative Present

Hwæt do ic forþam þe min hlaford mine gerefscire fram me nymð ‘What am I to do, because my lord is taking my stewardship from me’ (Lk. 16:3).

Futuristic Present

forþam þe mannes sunu cymð þære tide þe ge ne wenað ‘because the Son of Man will come at the time that you do not suppose’ (Lk. 12:40).

The preterite tense may exhibit the following types of action in causal clauses in OE:

Aoristic Preterite

forþam þe hig næfdon wyrtrum ‘because they did not have root’ (Mt. 13:6).

Progressive Preterite

forðam eall seo menigu wundrode be his lare ‘because all the crowd were wondering at his teaching’ (Mk. 11:18).

Inchoative Preterite

forþam þe manega foron fram þam iudeon for his þingon and gelyfdon on þone hælend ‘because many began to go from the Jews on account of him and began to believe in the Savior’ (Jn. 12:11).

³¹ The repeated pronominal subjects are not translated here.

Iterative Preterite

forþam þe mægen of him eode and he ealle gehælde ‘because power kept on going from him and he healed all’ (Lk. 6:19).

Customary Preterite

forþam þe se hælend oftrædlice com ðyder mid his leorningcnihton ‘because the Savior would come there frequently with his disciples’ (Jn. 18:2).

Resultative Preterite

forþam min freond com of wege to me and ic næbbe hwæt ic him toforan lecge ‘because my friend has come from the way to me and I do not have what I may lay before him’ (Lk. 11:6).

Consummative Preterite

Forþam mine eagan gesawon þine hæle ‘Because my eyes have seen your salvation’ (Lk. 2:30).

Dramatic (Immediate Past) Preterite

forþam ic funde minne scylling þe ic forleas ‘because I have [just now] found my shilling that I had lost’ (Lk. 15:9).

Gnomic Preterite

Se ðe ne gelyf[ð] him biþ gedemed, forþam þe he ne gelyfde on ðone naman þæs acennendan godes suna ‘He who does not believe him will be judged, because he did not believe on the name of the first-born Son of G-d’ (Jn. 3:18).

Pluperfective Preterite

forþam þe manega deoflu on hine eodun ‘because many devils had gone into him’ (Lk. 8:30).

Proleptic Preterite

forþam þe he geneosode and his folces alysednesse dyde ‘because he visited and made his people’s redemption’ (Lk. 1:68). This passage is proleptic in that the action has not yet occurred but the event is described as having already taken place.

Allegorical Preterite

forþam þe he gleawlic dyde ‘because he did prudently’ (Lk. 16:8; part of an instructional narrative relating to events within the narrative that occur in past time); *Ic andete þe fæder drihten heofones and eorðan forþam þe ðu þas ðing wisum and gleawum behyddest and lytlingum awruge* ‘I acknowledge you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden those things [from] the wise and prudent and have revealed [them] to infants’ (Lk. 10:21; the activity has occurred in the distant or undisclosed past and has current relevance or instructional application).

In conclusion, we may indicate the frequency of tense in OE causal clauses through the following table:

Table 7.15 Frequency of tense in causal clauses in the OE gospels

Tense	Frequency							
	Matthew		Mark		Luke		John	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Present	43	23.63	13	7.14	65	35.71	61	33.52
Preterite	23	15.97	11	7.64	56	38.89	54	37.5

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter will conclude with a recapitulation of subordinating conjunctive usage, word-order configuration, mood, and tense (aspect/Aktionsart, where applicable) employment in telic, ecbatic, and aetiological hypotaxis as displayed in the OE gospels.

7.4.0 General Considerations

Although purpose in the OE gospels is usually shown through clausal structure, nevertheless it may be expressed in a number of non-clausal constructions, all of which are represented in original OE compositions of poetry and prose. In the OE gospels, for example, the inflected infinitive (or, gerund) may be employed to denote purpose instead of a clause introduced by *þæt* + subjunctive: *forþam ðe heo com fram landes gemærum to gehyranne salomones wisdom* ‘because she came from the borders of the land [or, the ends of the earth] to hear Solomon’s wisdom’ (Mt. 12:42). The corresponding Latin passage also contains an infinitive (*audire*). Hence, the OE infinitive of purpose probably in this case is a calque on the Latin. This is not to say that the inflected infinitive of purpose is an uncharacteristic feature of OE syntax (Mitchell 1987: 484-489), but simply an observation of the influence of the Latin Vorlage upon the OE text. The uninflected infinitive of purpose also occurs, but with less frequency: *and ic eom asend wið þe sprecan and þe ðis bodian* ‘and I am sent to speak with you and to announce this to you’ (Lk. 1:19). Purpose may also be expressed by the modal of intention + infinitive: *utun geseon hwæper helias cume and wylle hyne alysan* ‘let us see whether Elijah [will] come and intend to release him [i.e., will come to release him]’ (Mt. 27:49). The present participle may also indicate purpose in the OE gospels: *and he com into eall iordanes ricæ bodiende dædbote fulluht and synna forgyfennesse* ‘and he came into all the kingdom of Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance and the forgiveness of sins’ (Lk. 3:3) (The participle in this passage indicates the purpose of John’s coming. Otherwise, the present participle would indicate action simultaneous with that of the main verb. Although this is not an impossible notion, the context in this passage seems strongly to support purpose instead of simultaneous activity.) Certain prepositions governing a substantive may also indicate purpose

in the OE gospels: *and bodiende dædbote fulwiht on synna forgyfenesse* ‘and preaching the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins’ (M. 1:4).³²

We may, therefore, conclude the following:

1) *Although there is a tendency toward clause structure to denote purpose, other constructions may occur.*

2) *Purpose clauses occur uniformly in the subjunctive mood.*

3) *Result clauses occur uniformly in the indicative mood.*

4) *The usual mood for verbs in causal clauses is the indicative. However, a negated causal clause may contain the verb in the subjunctive.*

5) *Subordinating conjunctions may introduce a number of different clausal types, and a particular clausal type may be introduced by various conjunctions.*

6) *Tense in OE is based upon a binary system of past vs. non-past.* Although the status of aspect as a grammatical category is debatable, it does appear to be relevant in periphrastic passives, denoting a resultative/perfective state. Aktionsart functions within the context of tense and the narrative sequence, as well as where aspect (arguably) occurs as a determining factor of the grammar.

7) *In subordinate clauses, subjects tend to be placed as close to the conjunction as possible.* The verb usually follows the direct object, unless the object is ‘heavy,’ in which case the object usually follows the verb.

The following sections will recapitulate earlier discussions of subordinating conjunctions, mood, word-order, and tense (aspect?) as these syntactic features relate to the overall scheme of hypotaxis.

³² For a list of prepositions in OE that can indicate purpose, see Mitchell 1987: 490.

7.4.1 Use of subordinating conjunctions in the OE gospels

This investigation is not exhaustive, but only treats briefly those conjunctions previously treated and those passages showing overlap in usage or variable conjunctive employment.

7.4.1.1 Uses of *þæt*

As a subordinating conjunction, *þæt* may introduce purpose or result clauses. In addition, it may head substantival clauses, such as indirect statement and indirect request:

a) *ac þas þing ic secge þæt ge syn hale* ‘but I say these things that you may be saved’

(Jn. 5:34). (purpose)

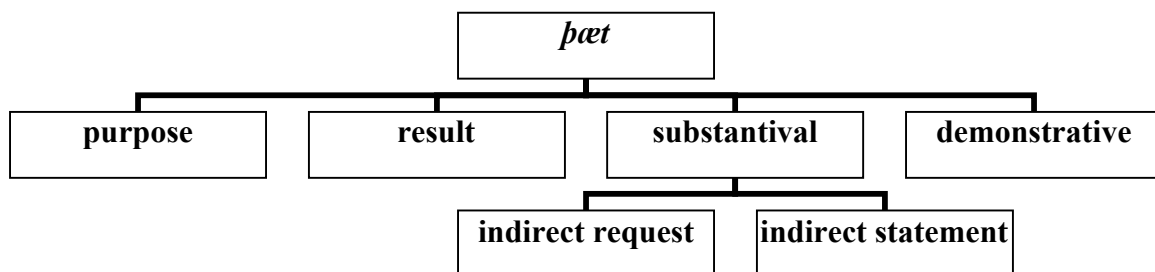
b) *and wearð geedniwod swa þæt he beorhtlice eall geseah* ‘and [he] became restored, so that he saw everything clearly’ (Mk. 8:25). (result)

c) *þa þa se gehyrde þæt se hælend for fram iudea to galilea* ‘when at that time he heard that the Savior had gone from Judea to Galilee’ (Jn. 4:47). (indirect statement)

d) *he com to him and bæd hine þæt he fore and gehælde his sunu* ‘he came to him and asked him that he go and heal his son’ (Jn. 4:47). (indirect request)

In addition to introducing subordinate clauses, *þæt* functions as the neuter nom./acc. singular of the demonstrative pronoun/adjective: *Ða herodes þæt gehyrde...* ‘When Herod heard that...’

(Mt. 2:3; pronominal direct object of *gehyrde*); *oð he stod ofer þær þæt cild wæs* ‘until it [i.e., the star] stood over where the child was’ (Mt 2:9; demonstrative adjective/definite article, which often expresses a deictic or anaphoric function. Here, it is probably anaphoric).



We may also observe that *þæt* shares purpose usage with other conjunctions or non-finite constructions.

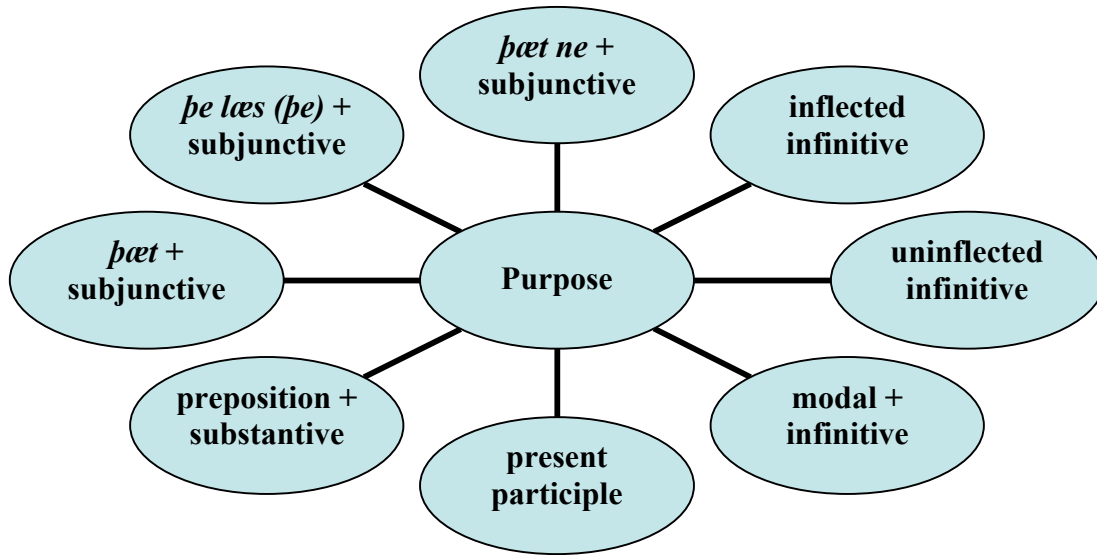


Figure 15 Telic Constructions in Old English

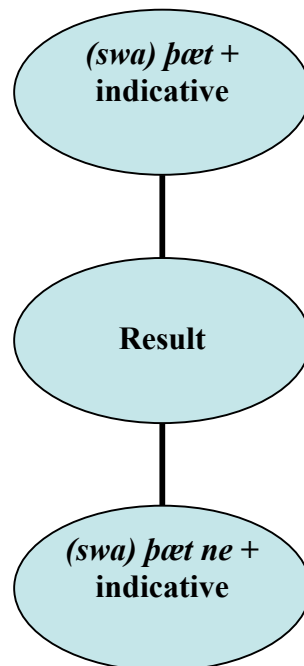


Figure 16 Result Clause Constructions in Old English

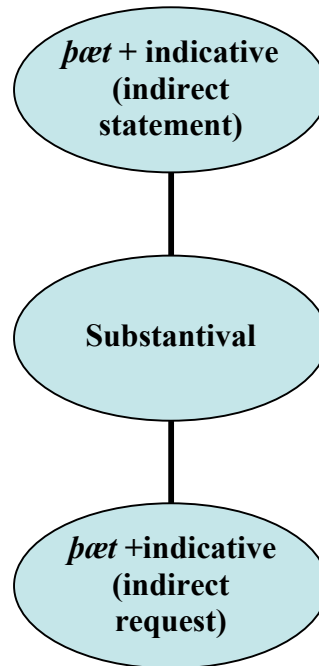


Figure 17 Substantival Clause Constructions in Old English

7.4.1.2 Uses of *forþam*/*forþi*(g)

Forþam/*forþi*(g) may function either as a causal conjunction meaning ‘because, since’ or as an adverb meaning ‘therefore.’ Note that *forþi*, when functioning as a causal conjunction, is always followed by *þe*.

a) *forþam hyra ys heofena rice* ‘because theirs is the kingdom of the heavens’ (Mt. 5:3). (causal)

b) *na forþi þe heo of moyse sy ac of fæderon* ‘not because it is from Moses, but from the Fathers’ (Jn. 7:22). (causal)

c) *forþam ic secge eow þæt ge ne ymbhydige eowre sawle...* ‘therefore, I say to you that you not be anxious for your soul...’ (Mt. 6:25). (adverb)

d) *forþy moyses eow sealde ymbs[n]ydenysse...* ‘therefore, Moses gave you circumcision...’ (Jn. 7:22). (adverb)

In addition to exhibiting multiple uses, *forþam* and *forþi* share these uses with a number of other lexemes.

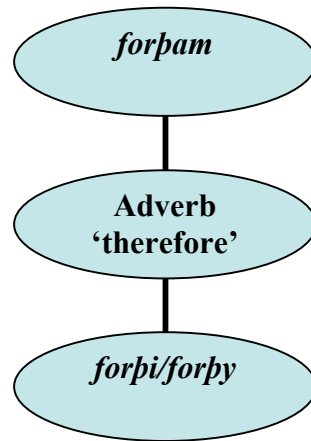


Figure 18 ‘Therefore’ in Old English

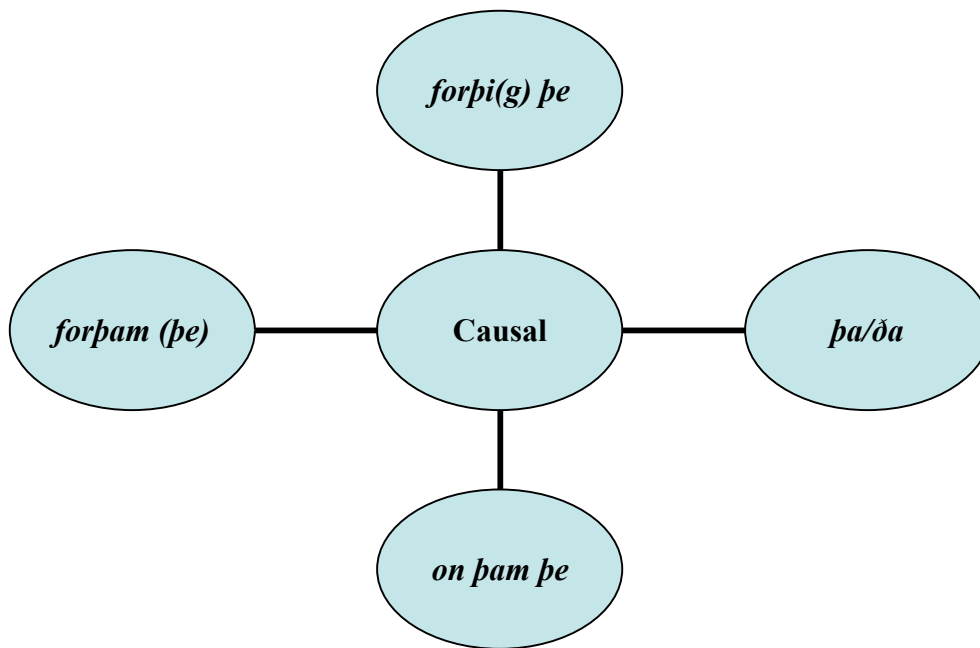


Figure 19 Causal Clause Conjunctions in Old English

7.4.1.3 Use of *þa/ða*

þa may function as a causal conjunction, a temporal conjunction, an adverb, or the nom./acc. pl. or feminine acc. sing. of the demonstrative *se*.

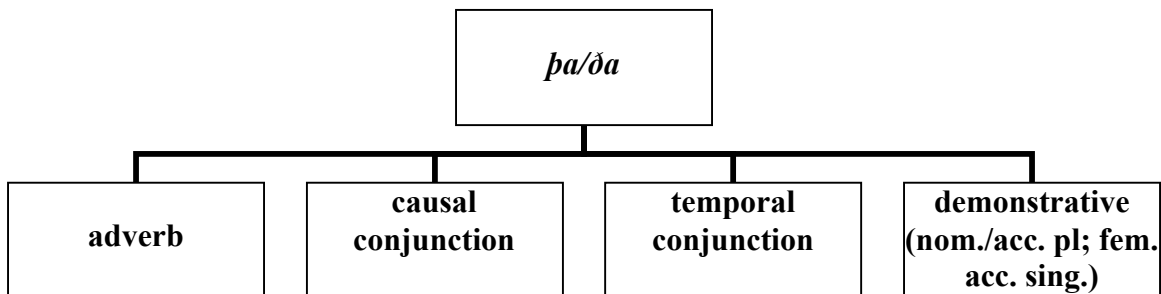
a) *Ða wæs herodes swyðe gebolgen* ‘Then Herod became very angry’ (Mt. 2:16).

(adverb)

b) *Soplice þa ða tungelwitegan þone steorran gesawon...* ‘Truly when the astrologers saw the star’ (Mt. 2:10). (temporal conjunction)

c) *ða he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian* ‘because he was righteous and did not wish to divulge her’ (Mt. 1:19). (causal conjunction)

d) *gaþ and cyþaþ iohanne þa ðing þe ge gehyrdon and gesawon* ‘go and make known to John the things that you have heard and seen’ (Mt. 11:4). (demonstrative)



7.4.2 Word order in the OE gospels

Final, consecutive, and causal clauses in OE exhibit statistical patterns in respect to word-order types that are markedly different from what one finds in the comparable Latin or Greek Vorlagen. For example, OE hypotactic clauses tend to display S-initial constructions, i.e., constructions in which the subject precedes the verb and direct object.

Table 7.16 Argument-initial word-order types in OE hypotactic structures

Argument Type	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
V-initial	15	4	0	0	16	5
S-initial	327	93	41	98	280	93
O-initial	10	3	1	2	5	2

The three categories of hypotaxis which I have examined show a disproportionate percentage of occurrences of S-initial constructions, a likely indication that S-initial clauses are the unmarked, default construction. Although V-initial clauses are second most common in occurrence, their numerical total is almost negligible. Note also that no V-initial configuration appears in result clauses.

It is noteworthy, therefore, that OE exhibits a significant departure from Greek, Latin, and Gothic in its word-order pattern. This must be the result of specific developments within Germanic and within the history of English. For example, consider the word-order types as exhibited in the OE gospels given in the table below:

Table 7.17 Word-order types in hypotactic clauses in the OE gospels

Word-order Type	Clausal Type					
	Purpose		Result		Cause	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
SV	144	40.96	24	57.14	153	50.83
SVO	73	20.90	9	21.43	95	31.56
SOV	110	31.07	8	19.05	32	10.63
V-initial (no S/O)	1	.28	0	0	2	.67
VS	15	4.24	0	0	13	4.32
VO	0	0	0	0	1	.33
OV	2	.57	0	0	0	0
OSV	6	1.70	1	2.38	1	.33
OVS	1	.28	0	0	4	1.33

SV, SVO, and SOV are the dominant word orders in the OE gospels. Although SOV occurs more frequently than SVO in purpose clauses, in result and causal clauses SVO is the more frequently occurring type. Furthermore, SOV was the typical hypotactic structure and SVO the

typical structure in main clauses in the development of Germanic (Ries 1880; Bean 1983: 43); yet, we see at this stage³³ in the development of OE a noticeable leveling of word order in which SVO becomes an increasingly acceptable and expected grammatical structure, even in hypotactic clauses. At this stage of the language, however, SVO is marked, primarily being the result of a ‘heavy’ direct object.³⁴

Although other word-order types occur in hypotactic clauses in the OE gospels, they are infrequent. Nevertheless, their presence is puzzling. McLaughlin (1983: 66-67) has grappled with the issue of word order in OE and acknowledges that determining a default word order in the language poses significant challenges due to the following factors:

- 1) much of the literature is poetry, in which poetic devices, such as meter, alliteration, metaphor, etc., affect word order, thereby distorting what may have been normal word-order patterns;³⁵
- 2) prose (especially sermons and homilies) was intended to produce certain ‘intellectual and emotional effects through the use of rhetorical devices,’ most likely resulting in ‘unusual word-order patterns;’
- 3) ‘a considerable amount of Old English prose consisted of translations of various texts from Latin originals’; in such instances the prestige of Latin may have influenced word-order patterns in these translations;
- 4) late OE was in a transitional state,³⁶ in which normal word-order patterns might be difficult to determine.

³³ i.e., the stage in which the OE gospels were compiled.

³⁴ Bean (1983: 41) cites Delbrück (1888) as also maintaining that the object may follow the verb if ‘heavy.’

³⁵ Despite these considerations, Pintzuk (1989)—among a number of other scholars—maintains that *Beowulf* is SOV and early OE prose is consistently SVO.

³⁶ ‘We will make the claim here that Old English derives from a parent SOV language, and that extant Old English marks a transitional stage between SOV and SVO’ (McLaughlin 1983: 75). Why did the change from SOV to SVO occur? According to McLaughlin, this process occurred in order to avoid ambiguity due to the merger of case forms

The third and fourth factors are most relevant to our study. McLaughlin gives the following word-order distributions:

- a) SVO—‘most frequent in simple declarative sentences’ (67-68).
- b) SOV—‘tends to occur most frequently in embedded clauses (dependent), and in the second member of conjoined clauses’ (68-69).
- c) VSO—‘occurs almost invariably after adverbial introducers’ (69).
- d) OSV—‘the result of topicalization’ (69-70).

McLaughlin’s study supports the position that SVO in late OE was the default word order in simple declarative sentences and that any deviation from this order was marked. Hence, one may declare in a general sense that the word order in late OE was essentially like that of the modern idiom (Fischer 2000: 49). Bean’s study of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also supports this view of word-order change in OE, which includes a change of SOV to SVO not only in independent clauses, but also in hypotactic ones. The significance of this study is that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is not a translation from a Latin original, nor is it poetry. Hence, a native prose composition covering a span of several centuries is potentially ideal for a study of diachronic syntax. The table below is an extract from Bean’s findings (1983: 106).

Table 7.18 SVX-SXV in hypotactic clauses in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

Century	Clausal Type			
	Causal		Result	
	SVX%	SXV%	SVX%	SXV%
9th	44	18	33	42
10th	0	0	100	0
11th	50	0	83	0
12th	65	0	71	0

(namely, the nominative and accusative), an ambiguity clearly salient in the event of topicalization (76-77). SOV persisted in dependent clauses because topicalization cannot occur in hypotaxis, as McLaughlin explicates further: ‘Since in Old English the confusion arises only when topicalization applies, that is, when both SOV and OSV patterns occur, and since topicalization applies only to the elements of the independent clause, it follows that it is the independent clause which is first pressured to change its order from SOV to SVO.’

We see that by the 10th century, SXV word order is non-existent in hypotactic clauses of cause and result in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

We may conclude, therefore, that word order in the OE gospels was in a transition from SOV to SVO in hypotactic clauses, much as this change was occurring in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The presence of a significant number of hypotactic clauses in the gospels containing SOV is the result of ‘light’ objects that did not shift to position following the verb. Since SVO predominates in main clauses and is as frequent as SOV (if not more so) in hypotactic clauses, one may argue that SVO replaced SOV as the unmarked word order. Hence, SOV became a **marked** word order in late OE, indicating the ‘lightness’ of the direct object. Subsequently in later stages of the language (unlike what occurred in German and Dutch), SOV word order itself would fall out of use in hypotactic clauses and be replaced entirely by SVO.

7.4.3 Mood in the OE gospels

Final clauses are constructed with the verb in the subjunctive mood. Result clauses contain the verb in the indicative mood. Causal clauses nearly always have the verb in the indicative mood. But if the causal clause itself is negated or the clause is embedded within a conditional clause requiring the subjunctive, the verb is in the subjunctive mood. The following are examples of clauses with the verb in the subjunctive:

a) final clause: *þæt þine leorningcnihtas geseon þa weorc þe þu wyrcest* (Jn. 7:3)

‘that your disciples may see the works that you work’ (i.e., do) (present subjunctive).

b) causal clause: *na forþi þe heo of moyse sy...* (Jn. 7:22)

‘not because it is of Moses...’ (present subjunctive).

The following are typical uses of the indicative mood in result and causal clauses:

c) consecutive clause: *and eft him to com swa micel menigu þæt hi næfdon hlaf to etanne* (Mk. 3:20)

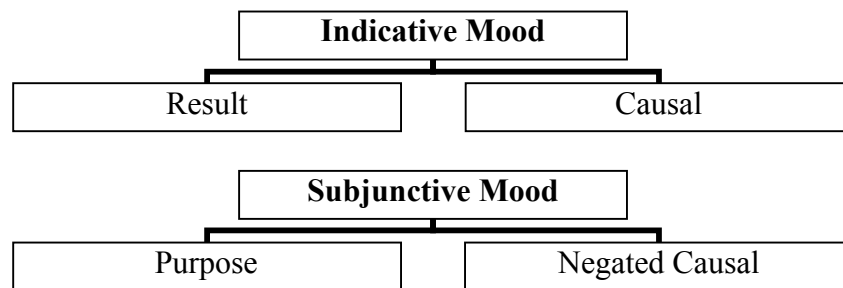
‘and afterwards there came to him so great a crowd that they did not have [opportunity]³⁷ to eat bread’ (preterite indicative).

d) causal clause: *forþam þe hi ne dydon dædbote* (Mt. 11:20)

‘because they did not do repentance’ (preterite indicative).

The indicative mood arguably never occurs in final clauses. However, as stated previously, purpose may also be expressed with the uninflected or inflected infinitive, or even with non-verbal structures, such as prepositional phrases.

The employment of mood in the hypotactic structures just discussed may be summarized diagrammatically as follows:

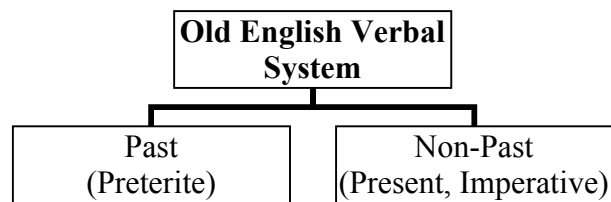


7.4.4. Aspect and tense

Aspect in OE does not exist as an inflectional, grammatical category as it does in Greek, nor is it necessarily derivational. In regard to the grammatical category of aspect in Greek, for example, one considers both the form (present vs. aorist) as well as the function(s) contained within the form (e.g., durative or punctiliar). In Latin, one considers the dichotomy of the perfectum and infectum tense systems. In Gothic and Slavic, one must take into account the

³⁷ OE *habban* with the inflected infinitive often denotes possibility, and is best translated by the NE ‘can, be able,’ according to context.

dichotomy of imperfective and perfective verbs. While it is possible, if not probable, that in earlier stages of OE there existed such a dichotomy of verbal aspect as existed in Gothic and still exists in Slavic, such a system seems to have been waning or barely existent by the late OE period. Aspect in OE, therefore, is limited to lexical aspect, much as it is in the modern idiom, where one finds an aspectual dichotomy in the lexemes ‘search’ and ‘find’ or ‘struggle’ vs. ‘accomplish.’ Hence, the verbal system in OE is much simplified in comparison to most other ancient Indo-Europeans dialects. We may summarize the OE verbal system diagrammatically as follows:



We may, therefore, conclude the following about the OE verbal system:

- 1) there exists a verbal tense dichotomy of past and non-past;
- 2) subordinate clauses may be in either one of two moods—indicative or subjunctive;
- 3) the aspectual dichotomy of imperfective vs. perfective verbs is not a salient feature of the system and, if it ever existed in the earlier stages of the language, this aspectual distinction has waned by late OE;
- 4) the two tenses account for a broad range of action types (Aktionsarten);
- 5) aspect—if it is to be considered at all—appears to belong more to the realm of lexical semantics than to syntax.

CHAPTER 8

SYNCRISIS OF OLD ENGLISH AND LATIN HYPOTAXIS

8.0 Introduction

The work closest to an exhaustive comparative analysis in English of the Old English and Latin gospels is that of the second volume of Liuzza's two-volume text of the *Old English Version of the Gospels* (2000). Since the central focus of Liuzza's work is the actual text of the gospels themselves and how the OE text compares to the Latin, including what constitutes the Latin Vorlage as well as the issue of authorship of the OE text, comparative grammatical analysis is only incidental and relevant mostly as it pertains to comparative textual analysis. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to examine in greater detail the correspondences between OE and Latin in hypotactic structures, limiting the scope of the study—as similarly stated in previous chapters—to telic, ecbatic, and causal hypotaxis in regard to the employment of conjunctions, word order, and—where relevant—aspect.

Because a number of variant Latin texts were extant during the period of translation, and because there existed a significant amount of contamination among the Latin texts—as Liuzza points out, with one text influencing the contents of another, the existence of a single, textual tradition of the Latin Vulgate as the source of the OE gospels is doubtful. This situation we must take into account as we proceed with a comparative analysis of the text of these two languages, realizing that passages that do not correspond in word order or mood, when such discrepancies cannot be accounted for by a difference in the native structure of each language, should not

always be treated as problematic, but rather seen as the result of an improper comparison rectifiable by examination with other Latin texts.¹

8.1 Syncritical analysis of purpose clauses

8.1.1 Telic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

8.1.1.1 Conjunctions

8.1.1.1.1 *þæt : ut*

This is the most frequent correspondence in the four gospels. One may safely categorize this as the default correspondence for purpose clauses in the affirmative:

a) Matt. 1:22

þæt gefylled wære...

ut adimpleretur...

b) Mark 1:38

þæt ic ðar bodige

ut et ibi praedicem

c) Luke 1:4

þæt ðu oncnawe...

ut cognoscas...

d) John 1:7

þæt he gewitnesse cyððe be þam leohte

ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine

¹ Not every OE passage corresponds to structures in all Latin texts; hence, not all of these Latin texts are extant, but it is assumed that they must have existed based upon 1) the fact that a number of variant Latin texts do exist, and 2) what the OE text itself tells us about the Anglo-Saxons' translation methodology in rendering into OE the Latin texts that are now extant.

In table 8.1 below, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel, with Luke (the longest gospel) and John exhibiting the most correspondences.

Table 8.1 Frequency of þæt : ut correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	45	33	59	89
% of Total	19.91	14.60	26.11	39.38

8.1.1.1.2 *Ac : sed*

Whenever a pair of thoughts occur, one adversative to the other, the second thought may be introduced by an adversative coordinating conjunction instead of the subordinating one. The gospel of John exhibits such an occurrence:

John 3:16

ac hæbbe þæt ece lif

sed habeat vitam aeternam

One may argue that coordinating conjunctions by natural function couple clauses (and phrases) of like structure. The adversative coordinator, however, appears to function differently, as the following correspondence indicates.

8.1.1.1.3 *Ac þæt : sed*

This correspondence is similar to *ac : sed* above in that the Latin shows an ellipsis of the affirmative conjunction. The difference in these two correspondences lies in the presence of the affirmative subordinating conjunction in the corresponding OE text. The gospel of John also contains an example of this correspondence type:

John 18:28

ac þæt hi æton hyra eastron

sed manducarent Pascha

The presence of *þæt* in OE, and the absence of a corresponding *ut* in Latin, clearly supports the claim that an adversative coordinating conjunction may contain, at least within the structure of purpose clauses, the semantics of the affirmative introductory conjunction if the clause is joined to a previous negative purpose clause.

8.1.1.1.4 *þæt ne : ne*²

Although negative purpose clauses are not uncommon, they are less frequent than affirmative clauses. In addition, they include a number of different correspondences. The *þæt ne : ne* correspondence seems upon cursory examination to be the default comparative structure. However, the majority of clauses with this correspondence are introduced by or dependent upon a main clause containing a verb in the imperative mood. Hence, these negative clauses are frequently clauses of caution. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 6:1

Begymað þæt ge ne don eowre rihtwisnesse beforan mannum

Attendite, ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus

b) Mark 13:5

Warniað þæt eow nan mann ne beswice

Videte, ne quis vos seducat

c) Luke 11:35

Warna þæt þæt leoht þe ðe on is ne syn bystru

Vide ergo, ne lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sint

d) John 6:12

gaderiaþ þa brytsena þe þar to lafe wæron þæt hig ne losigeon

Colligite, quae superaverunt, fragmenta, ne quid pereat

² The compounded Latin pronominal form *nemo* (*ne + homo*) is also included in this correspondence.

Although not all clauses exhibiting this correspondence are dependent upon a clause containing an imperative, there exists a strong tendency for clauses with the imperative to occur. Hence, the evidence appears to support a distinction in structure in certain types of negative purpose clauses in OE, a distinction determined by the presence or absence of an imperative in the clause upon which the negative purpose clause depends. The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 8.2 Frequency of þæt ne : ne correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	7	3	7	1
% of Total	38.89	16.67	38.89	5.55

8.1.1.1.5 *þæt ne : ut non*

Like the previous correspondence, this correspondence frequently is dependent upon a clause containing a verb in the imperative mood. However, since a number of clauses upon which this correspondence depends do not contain imperatives, or even implied imperatives or commands, it is unclear what is driving the distinctive structure of the corresponding Latin *ut non*. Although this correspondence is relatively common in John, it is uncommon in the Synoptics. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 7:1

Nellen ge deman þæt ge ne syn fordemedes

Nolite iudicare, ut non iudicemini

b) Mark 14:38

waciað and gebiddað þæt ge on costnunge ne gan

Vigilate et orate, ut non intretis in tentationem

c) Luke 8:10

þæt hi geseonde ne geseon and gehyrende ne ongyton

ut videntes non videant et audientes non intellegant

d) John 12:35

gaþ þa hwile þe ge leoht habbað þæt þystro eow ne befon

Ambulate, dum lucem habetis, ut non tenebrae vos comprehendant

Since a number of these clauses in this correspondence may be perceived to be ambiguous between exhibiting purpose or result, the structure may be indicating a nuance in which both a telic and ecclastic meaning are simultaneously present. The frequency of this correspondence by gospel is given in the table below.

Table 8.3 Frequency of þæt ne : ut non correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	3	2	1	11
% of Total	17.65	11.76	5.88	64.71

8.1.1.1.6 *þe læs (þe) : ne*

This correspondence seems to represent the unmarked negative purpose clause construction. It is about as frequent as the other two previously discussed negative correspondences. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 4:6

þe læs þe ðin fot æt stane ætsporne

ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum

b) Mark 13:36

þe læs he eow slapende gemete þonne he færinga cymð

ne, cum venerit repente, inueniat vos dormientes

c) Luke 14:12*þe læs hi ðe agen laðiun and þu hæbbe edlean**ne forte et ipsi te reinvitent et fiat tibi retributio*d) John 5:14*þe læs þe on sumon þingon wyrð getide**ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat*

The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 8.4 Frequency of *þe læs* (þe) : *ne* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	9	3	9	1
% of Total	40.9	13.6	40.9	4.6

A significant number of OE negative purpose clauses introduced by *þe læs* (*þe*) correspond to Latin *ne* clauses containing the adverb *forte*. This may well be a factor in determining the use of the conjunctival phrase *þe læs* (*þe*) instead of *þæt ne*. In addition, Latin negative purpose clauses containing *quando* ‘ever’ or an embedded indefinite temporal clause also correspond to the OE *þe læs* (*þe*) clause.

8.1.1.1.7 *þe læs* : *ut non*

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels:

John 12:42*þe læs hig ma ut adrife of hyra gesomnunge**ut de synagoga non eicerentur*

Because this correspondence is so rare, the factors determining whether its use is other than stylistic variation are unclear and difficult to discern.

8.1.1.1.8 *þæt : quod*

This correspondence is most likely an example of a relative purpose clause. It is rare, occurring only in Mark:

Mark 6:36

and him mete bicgan þæt hi eton

emant sibi, quod manducent

8.1.1.1.9 *Hwæt : quod*

Although *hwæt* is an interrogative pronoun, it is doubtful that this pronoun in this correspondence is meant to head an indirect question, particularly since the context does not seem to mandate this construction. *Hwæt* in this case probably functions as a type of relative, similar to German *was*. This interpretation is supported by the corresponding Latin, which exhibits *quod*, which—if it were employed interrogatively—would normally function as an adjective. Hence, this correspondence most likely is a type of relative purpose clause, similar to that exhibited in section 8.1.1.1.8 above. The *hwæt : quod* correspondence is rare and occurs only in Mark and Luke:

a) Mark 8:1 (see also Mk. 8:2)

and næfdon hwæt hi æton

nec haberent, quod manducarent

8.1.1.2 Word order

A careful examination of the texts demonstrates unequivocally that the OE gospels do not slavishly imitate the word order of the Latin Vulgate. Although some passages do exhibit a slavish imitation, the number of these is slight in comparison to those that show some deviation

in word order. The greatest number of passages exhibiting slavish (or near slavish) word order can be found in Matthew and John:

a) Matt. 1:22

þæt gefylled wære þæt... (VS)

ut adimpleretur id, quod... (VS)

b) Luke 11:33

þæt ða þe ingað leoht geseon (SOV)

ut, qui ingrediuntur, lumen videant (SOV)

c) John 5:20

þæt ge wundrigeon (SV)

ut vos miremini (SV)

The strict calquing of Latin word order in purpose clauses does not appear in Mark's gospel.

A significant number of passages containing a discrepancy in word order differ only in that the OE text contains a pronoun subject whereas the corresponding Latin does not. Consider the following examples:

d) Matt. 5:15

þæt hit onlihte eallum þe on þam huse synt

ut _ luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt

e) Mark 5:23

þæt heo hal sy and lybbe

ut _ salva sit et vivat

f) Luke 9:1

þæt adla hi gehældon

ut languores _ curarent

g) John 1:7

þæt he gewitnesse cyððe be þam leohte

ut _ testimonium perhiberet de lumine

If we remove the subject pronoun from each OE passage, the remaining word order is essentially the same as that of the Latin. We may, therefore, discount these examples as being significantly variant, particularly since Latin commonly displays pro-drop, while OE rarely does. The syntactic difference between the two languages, therefore, is not one of word order but of pronominal omission in Latin, its inclusion in OE.

The remaining—and by far the greatest number of—passages in purpose clauses do not correspond in word order. These can be classified into the following major types:

- 1) clauses containing transitive verbs in which the subject, direct object, indirect object, or verb does not correspond in word order;
- 2) intransitive clauses, or clauses introducing an indirect statement, in which the order of the subject and verb does not correspond;
- 3) clauses in which an intransitive construction in Latin becomes a transitive construction in OE (or vice versa), the process, hence, changing the word order or word-order type;
- 4) clauses in which the order of adjuncts (e.g., possessives, adverbs, prepositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, embedded clauses) do not correspond;

5) clauses in which OE adds or deletes an element, or changes the construction in such a manner that the word order does not correspond precisely to that found in the Latin Vorlage.

The following sections briefly treat these types of word-order difference.

8.1.1.2.1 Non-word-order-correspondence in transitive clauses

This non-correspondence occurs frequently and often entails a difference in placement of the direct object:

a) Matt. 6:1

Begymað þæt ge ne don eorwe rihtwisnesse beforan mannum (DO follows verb)

Attendite, ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus (DO precedes verb)

b) Matt. 17:26

þæt we hi ne geunrotsigeon (DO precedes verb)

Ut autem non scandalizemus eos (DO follows verb)

The placement of an indirect object may also not correspond:

c) Matt. 24:1

þæt hi him ætywdon þæs temples getimbrunge (IO precedes verb)

ut ostenderent ei aedificationes temple (IO follows verb)

This type of non-correspondence occurs in all four gospels.

8.1.1.2.2 Non-word-order-correspondence in intransitive clauses or clauses introducing an indirect statement

This non-correspondence strictly concerns the placement of the subject in respect to that of the verb:

a) Matt. 18:16

þæt ælc word stande on twegra oððe þreora gewittnesse (SV)

ut in ore duorum testium vel trium stet omne verbum (VS)

b) Luke 2:35

þæt gēpohtas syn awrigene of manegum heortum (SV)

ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes (VS)

c) John 3:17

Ac þæt middaneard sy gehæled þurh hine (SV)

sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum (VS)

These clauses mostly occur in Luke and John, never in Mark.

8.1.1.2.3 Non-word-order-correspondence resulting from a change in verbal diathesis

This type of non-correspondence is rare. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 3:13

þæt he hine fullode (SOV, transitive construction) ‘that he might baptize him’

ut baptizaretur ab eo (V, no overt S, intransitive construction) ‘so that he might be baptized by him’

The Latin text exhibits passive voice³ with a pronoun in a prepositional phrase acting as the agent. The corresponding OE, on the other hand, shows active voice, with the agent in the nominative and an overt pronominal direct object. This difference in verbal diathesis seems inexplicable, since OE can form a corresponding passive voice construction through periphrasis:

Ex. *þæt he wære fram him gefullod*

The best explanation is to assume that the Latin Vorlage upon which the OE translation is based shows a structure different from the commonly employed Vulgate text. If this should be true, the

³ The corresponding Greek contains an articular infinitive in the aorist passive.

Latin Vorlage may well have contained the verb in the active voice, showing: *ut baptizaret eum*, though this is unlikely.

b) Matt. 4.6

þe læs þe ðin fot æt stane ætsporne (SV, intransitive construction) ‘lest your foot stumble at a stone’

ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum (VO, transitive construction) ‘lest by chance you stumble your foot against a stone’

In this example the Latin clause contains a transitive verb with *pedem tuum* ‘your foot’ as the direct object. The corresponding OE, on the other hand, shows an intransitive verb with *ðin fot* ‘your foot’ in the nominative case, clearly functioning as the subject of the verb. One can only speculate a Latin Vorlage containing *ne forte offendet ad lapidem pes tuus*, if we may assume that the verb *offendere* may have an intransitive meaning. Consider examples from the other gospels showing a difference in verbal diathesis:

c) Mark 10:45

þæt him man þenode (OSV, verb in the active voice) ‘that one might serve him’

ut ministraretur ei (VO, verb in an impersonal passive construction) ‘that he might be ministered to’ [lit. ‘that it might be ministered to him’]

d) Luke 14:12

þe læs hi ðe agen laðiun and þu hæbbe edlean (SVO) ‘lest they invite you back and you have retribution’

ne forte et ipsi te reinvitent et fiat tibi retributio (VS) ‘lest by chance even they themselves invite you back and it become a retribution for you’ (probably a dative of possession, ‘lest you have retribution’)

8.1.1.2.4 Non-correspondence in the order of adjuncts

There are a number of different types of adjuncts involved in this category of non-correspondence. For example, OE commonly places a possessive pronoun differently from what is found in the Latin Vulgate:

a) Matt. 11:1

þæt he lærde and bodude on hyra burgum (possessive precedes its head noun)

ut doceret et praedicaret in civitatibus eorum (possessive follows its head noun)

Genitival constructions involving nouns also frequently do not correspond in word order:

b) Matt. 5:45

þæt ge sin eowres fæder bearn þe on heofonum ys (genitival construction precedes its head)

ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in caelis est (genitival construction follows its head)

There also exists a discrepancy in the placement of a conjunction:

c) Matt. 9:6

þæt ge soplice witon... (conjunction precedes verb)

Ut sciatis autem... (conjunction follows verb)

Other examples in which the order of adjuncts does not correspond are:

d) Matt. 15:32

þe læs hig on wege geteorian (prepositional phrase precedes the verb)

ne forte deficient in via (prepositional phrase follows the verb)

e) Matt. 15:33

þæt we gefyllan swa mycele mænegu (quantitative adjectival phrase precedes noun head)

ut saturemus turbam tantam (quantitative adjective follows noun head)

f) Matt. 23:26

þæt hyt si clæne þæt wiðutan ys (relative clause follows the predicate of the antecedent)

ut fiat et id, quod de foris eius est, mundum (relative clause precedes the predicate of the antecedent)

g) Luke 4:42

þæt he him fram ne gewite (postposition⁴ precedes the verb)

ne discederet ab eis (preposition follows the verb)

h) Luke 14:10

þæt se ðe þe in gelaðude þænne he cymð cweþe to þe... (temporal clause follows relative clause)

ut, cum venerit qui te invitavit, dicat tibi (temporal clause precedes relative clause)

i) Luke 16:28

þæt hig ne cumon on þissa tintrega stowe (demonstrative precedes noun, *þissa* agreeing with *tintrega* 'of tortures')

ne et ipsi veniant in locum hunc tormentorum (demonstrative follows noun, agreeing with *locum* 'place')

The examples given above clearly indicate that the OE translation of the gospels is not a calque in every particular of the Latin Vorlage, but rather expresses thoughts according to its own syntactic constraints or preferences.

⁴ Postpositions are extremely common in the OE gospels.

8.1.1.2.5 Non-correspondence in word order in purpose clauses resulting from additions or deletions

This type of non-correspondence clearly indicates that the syntactic structure exhibited in the OE gospels does not always result from Latin influence. For example, consider the following:

a) Matt. 8:4

warna þe þæt þu hyt nænegum men ne secge

Vide, nemini _ dixeris

Notice that OE exhibits an object pronoun whereas no such pronoun appears in Latin.

Additional object pronouns are a frequent phenomenon in the OE text.

In addition, OE may also add a demonstrative:

b) Matt. 14:15

þæt hi faron into þas burga and him mete bicgean

ut euntes in _ castella emant sibi escas

It is possible that a Latin text upon which the OE passage is based might have shown the demonstrative *haec*. It is equally possible that OE here added the demonstrative for the sake of clarification. Below are given other examples in which OE contains an element within the purpose clause that does not appear in the Latin Vulgate.

c) John 1:7

þæt ealle menn þurh hyne gelyfdon (OE contains a noun for added clarification)

ut omnes _ crederent per illum

d) Mark 4:12

þe læs hi hwænne syn gescyrede and him sin hyra synna forgyfene (OE contains a possessive pronominal adjective)

ne quando convertantur, et dimittatur _ eis

e) Mark 3:14

þæt hi twelfe mid him wæron (OE exhibits an additional adjective and pronoun not found in the Latin text)

ut essent _ cum illo

f) Mark 8:6

þæt hi toforan him asetton (OE exhibits a prepositional phrase in order to render accurately the Latin verb *apponerent*)

ut apponerent

g) John 18:28

ac þæt hi æton hyra eastron (OE repeats the conjunction *þæt*, whereas the corresponding Latin employs ellipsis. In addition, Latin does not exhibit a possessive corresponding to OE *hyra*)

ut _ manducarent Pascha

h) Matt. 26:4

þæt hig woldon þone hælend mid facne besyrwan and ofslean

ut Iesum dolo tenerent et occiderent

In the above passage, OE contains a modal verb and infinitive (periphrasis) to express the Latin subjunctive. The verb *willan* is mostly employed in this construction. However, *magan* may also be used:

i) John 11:57*þæt hig mihton hine niman**ut apprehendant eum*

Notice that when periphrasis of this type appears, the verb in the infinitive—which contains the semantic element—is frequently placed at the end of the clause, the position in which the inflected verb also often is placed.

The OE text sometimes shows a verb added for clarification:

j) John 17:11*þæt hi syn an swa wyt synt**ut sint unum sicut nos _*

Technically, the OE here is exhibiting another subordinate clause (comparative), whereas the Latin shows ellipsis of the verb *sumus*.

The OE text, in addition to adding words (often for clarification), may show a deletion of words that appear in the Latin Vulgate. Such examples are uncommon:

k) John 19:35

þæt ge gelyfon (the OE does not contain in this passage a conjunction corresponding to Latin *et*)

*ut et vos credatis*l) Luke 6:7*þæt hi hyne gewregdon*

ut invenirent accusare illum (the Latin finite verb *invenirent* ‘they might find’ + infinitive of purpose corresponds to the OE finite verb *gewregdon* ‘they might accuse’)

m) John 8:6

þæt hig hine wrehton

ut possent accusare eum (Latin employs the subjunctive of *possum* 'I am able' + complementary infinitive; OE employs the subjunctive of *wregan* 'to accuse')

Some correspondences entail not so much a difference in word order as in overall syntactic structure. Consider the following examples of structural syntactic differences:

n) Matt. 22:11

þæt he wolde geseon þa ðe þær sæton (relative clause)

ut videret discumbentes (present active participle)

o) Mark 6:36

þæt hi faran on gehende tunas and him mete bicgan

(paratactic construction using a finite verb)

ut euntes in villas et vicos in circuitu emant sibi

(hypotactic construction involving a present active participle)

p) Luke 6:42

þæt ðu ateo þa egle of þines broðor eage (prepositional phrase)

ut educas festucam, quae in oculo fratris tui (relative clause)

q) Luke 8:12

þæt hig þurh þone geleafan hale ne gewurðað (prepositional phrase)

ne credentes salvi fiant (present active participle)

r) Luke 11:54

þæt hig hine wregdun (masculine pronoun, accusative direct object)

ut caperent aliquid ex ore eius (neuter indefinite pronoun, accusative direct object in conjunction with a prepositional phrase)

s) John 4:15

þæt me ne þyrste ne ic ne ðurfe her feccan (impersonal verb construction with direct object; modal with complementary infinitive)

ut non sitiam neque veniam huc haurire (intransitive verb; finite/non-modal verb with infinitive of purpose)

t) John 6:30

þæt we geseon and gelyfon þæt þu hit wyrce (object clause/indirect statement)

ut videamus et credamus tibi quid operaris (pronominal dative direct object)

The examples given sufficiently indicate that the structure displayed in the OE passages does not show a calquing of the Latin and most likely represents OE syntax.

8.1.1.3 Mood

In the vast majority of passages involving purpose clauses, OE and Latin have the corresponding verb in the subjunctive mood. In addition, the sequence of tenses also closely corresponds. There exists one passage, however, in which there is no direct mood-to-mood correspondence, and a small number of clauses in which the sequence of tenses or the tense employed does not correspond. We may categorize mood correspondence as follows:

- 1) OE present subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive
- 2) OE preterite subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive
- 3) OE present subjunctive : Latin perfect subjunctive

- 4) OE preterite subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive
- 5) OE present subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive
- 6) OE present indicative : Latin present subjunctive
- 7) OE present indicative modal + infinitive : Latin present subjunctive
- 8) OE preterite indicative modal + infinitive : Latin imperfect subjunctive
- 9) OE preterite indicative modal + infinitive : Latin present subjunctive
- 10) interchange of the function of the Latin and OE participle + finite verb

Let us proceed with an examination of each type.

8.1.1.3.1 OE present subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

This is the most commonly occurring correspondence and may be found in all four gospels:

a) Matt. 5:15

þæt hit onlihte eallum þe on þam huse synt

ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt

b) Mark 1:38

þæt ic ðar bodige

ut et ibi praedicem

c) Luke 1:4

þæt ðu oncnawe þara worda soþfæstnesse of ðam ðe þu gelæred eart

ut cognoscas eorum verborum, de quibus eruditus es, firmitatem

d) John 1:22

þæt we andwyrde bringon þam ðe us to þe sendon

ut responsum demus his, qui miserunt nos

It might be assumed that OE is calquing the Latin sequence of tenses here, but this is not the case. The comparison of Gothic with its Greek Vorlage indicates that the rule of sequence of tenses is native Germanic syntax, clearly shared by both Gothic and OE. Where OE and Latin do not correspond in tense further supports the notion that the OE is not by any means a strict imitation of the Latin syntax.

8.1.1.3.2 OE preterite subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This correspondence indicates secondary sequence and occurs in all four gospels, and it—along with the previously discussed correspondence—accounts for the vast majority of purpose clauses. Below are examples of this correspondence.

a) Matt. 11:1

þæt he lærde and bodude on hyra burgum
ut doceret et praedicaret in civitatibus eorum

b) Mark 12:2

þæt he þæs wingeardes wæstm onfenge
ut ab agricolis acciperet de fructu vineae

c) Luke 2:21

þæt ðæt cild emsnyden wære
ut circumcideretur

d) John 1:8

ac þæt he gewitnesse forð bære be þam leohte
sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine

As stated before, evidence from the comparative analysis of Germanic syntax supports the OE structure as not being a calque of the Latin.

8.1.1.3.3 OE present subjunctive : Latin perfect subjunctive

This correspondence is rare, occurring only in Matthew and Mark:

a) Matt. 8:4

warna þe þæt þu hyt nænegum men ne secge

Vide, nemini dixeris

b) Mark 1:44

warna þæt ðu hit nanum men ne secge

Vide, nemini quidquam dixeris

Nothing morphologically comparable to the Latin perfect subjunctive exists in OE. That the OE employs here the present subjunctive indicates that the Anglo-Saxon translators well understood the semantics of the Latin in this particular construction. The real peculiarity here is the Latin perfect, not the OE present, subjunctive.

8.1.1.3.4 OE preterite subjunctive : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence occurs infrequently and is found primarily in John, with one passage occurring in Matthew:

a) Matt. 26:5

þe læs to mycel styrung wurde on þam folce

ne tumultus fiat in populo

b) John 3:17

þæt he demde middanearde

ut iudicet mundum

In the passage from Matthew, the Latin shows a present subjunctive, despite the fact that the subordinate clause depends upon no overt main clause, at least not one with an overt verb. Latin

simply exhibits the prepositional phrase *Non in die festo* ‘not on the feast day.’ The verb *fiat* most likely is in sequence with an elliptical hortatory subjunctive (probably *ne occidamus* or *ne teneamus*) and, hence, exhibits primary sequence. The corresponding OE text contains a clause exhibiting a finite verbal phrase (*ne mihte beon*) in secondary sequence. Therefore, the purpose clause in OE shows *wurde* (preterite subjunctive, secondary sequence).

In the passage from John, we observe that the Latin verb *iudicet* is in primary sequence, but the subordinate clause here is dependent upon a main clause containing a verb (*misit*) in the perfect, often indicating secondary sequence. However, since the perfect tense in Latin may function as a true/resultative perfect (primary sequence) or as an aoristic perfect (secondary sequence), the verb *misit* in this case most likely functions as a ‘true’ perfect and, hence, the structure is in primary sequence: *non enim misit Deus Filium in mundum, ut iudicet mundum* ‘For G-d has not sent the Son into the world, that he may judge the world.’ The OE text, on the other hand, shows secondary sequence, the Anglo-Saxon translators having interpreted the Latin verb *misit* to be an aoristic perfect:⁵ *Ne sende god his sunu on middanearde þæt he demde middanearde* ‘G-d did not send his son into the world that he might judge the world.’ OE in this case rigidly adheres to the rule of tense sequence (or, time concord).

8.1.1.3.5 OE present subjunctive : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This correspondence is rare and occurs only once—in Matthew:

Matt. 26:56

þæt ðæra witegena halgan gewritu syn gefyllede

ut implerentur scripturae Prophetarum

⁵ Note, however, that the subsequent coordinate clause in OE contains a verb in the present subjunctive (*sy gehæled*), indicating primary sequence.

The Latin clause is consistently in secondary sequence, the verb in the main clause being in the perfect tense: *factum est* ‘it happened, occurred.’ The OE consistently shows primary sequence, the verb in the main clause being a present indicative with a past participle: *ys geworden* ‘is become’ or ‘has happened.’ Why, then, do we see this apparent discrepancy? An understanding of the function of the OE periphrastic formation with the past participle reveals that no real discrepancy exists. Intransitive verbs in OE frequently form a past periphrastic by employing the present tense of the verb *beon* or *wesan* + past participle (Mitchell 1985:298-299).⁶ Hence, *ys geworden* means either ‘has happened’ or ‘happened.’ In addition, the passive periphrastic in OE often denotes either present or preterite tense (Mitchell 1985: 316), and often translates a Latin present or perfect passive:

ys gefylled = impletur or impletum est

Therefore, the discrepancy in this passage is on the surface/morphological level, but on the syntactic/semantic level no actual discrepancy seems to be present.

8.1.1.3.6 OE present indicative : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels—in Luke:

Luke 8:12

þæt hig þurh þone geleafan hale ne gewurðað

ne credentes salvi fiant

It is unclear why OE shows the present indicative and not—as Latin—the present subjunctive. That this is an anomalous structure in OE is further supported by the fact that the Cambridge University Library text has a variant reading of *geweorðon*, clearly a present subjunctive. It is unlikely that this apparent exception to OE syntax indicates an early stage in the language in

⁶ Cf. Early ME ‘is come’ (Rev. 14:7, KJV).

which the distinctive functions of the indicative and subjunctive began to blur or merge. We may attribute this anomaly rather to probable scribal error.

8.1.1.3.7 OE present indicative modal + infinitive : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence occurs only once—in John’s gospel:

John 9:39

þæt þa sceolon geseon þe ne geseoð and beon blinde þa ðe geseoð

ut, qui non vident, videant, et qui vident, caeci fiant

That this is scribal error is unlikely, for the use of periphrasis in OE by means of modal verbs to indicate the function of the subjunctive, as well as of future time and passive voice, was becoming increasingly more common at this stage of the language. That there are a number of examples of this use of periphrasis in secondary sequence supports this view.

8.1.1.3.8 OE preterite indicative modal + infinitive : Latin imperfect subjunctive

This correspondence occurs infrequently and only in Matthew and John. It is the secondary sequence construction of the previously discussed correspondence. The following passages are typical examples:

a) Matt. 26:16

þæt he hyne wolde belæwan

ut eum traderet

b) John 7:32

þæt hig woldon hine gefon

ut apprehenderent eum

The position of the modal verb in OE is somewhat variable, though example b) above demonstrates the tendency of modal verb second position and infinitive in final position.

However, unlike what is observable in NHG, the modals in purpose clauses in the OE gospels never occur in final position.

8.1.1.3.9 OE preterite indicative modal + infinitive : Latin present subjunctive

This correspondence only occurs once in the OE gospels—in John:

John 11:57

þæt mihton hine niman

ut apprehendant eum

This discrepancy does not reflect any violation of the sequence of tenses in OE, but a deviation from the rule in Latin, which in this particular passage has calqued the structure of the Greek. Thus, OE in this passage has rigidly adhered to its native syntax, in spite of the fact that Latin has deviated from its own.

8.1.1.3.10 Interchange of the function of the Latin and OE participle + finite verb

This correspondence is rare and occurs only in Luke:

Luke 18:5

þe læs heo æt neahstan cume me behropende ‘lest she at last come, plaguing me’

ne in novissimo veniens suggillet me ‘lest, last of all coming, she annoy me’

Notice that the OE finite verb *cume* ‘come/may come’ (present subjunctive) corresponds to the Latin present active participle *veniens* ‘coming,’ and that the OE present active participle *behropende* ‘plaguing, bothering’ corresponds to the Latin finite verb in the present subjunctive, *suggillet* ‘taunt, annoy.’ It is unclear why the Anglo-Saxon translators of the OE gospel text chose to render the Latin thus into OE, unless they felt that the present participle of *cuman*, *cumende*, would be a cumbersome and unnatural expression. The Latin Vorlage upon which this

particular OE text is based may have contained a different structure, namely *ne...veniat suggillans...* In that case, no inconsistency of correspondence would exist.

8.1.1.4 Aspect

As stated previously in section 4.1.1.4, Latin lacks the feature of aspect as a separate grammatical category, at least in respect to the non-indicative moods. Since the OE gospel text is a translation based upon the Latin and not the Greek, and since the notion of aspect is a debatable if not highly contested issue in the study of OE syntax, a comparative analysis of aspect in Latin and OE appears to be an unfruitful undertaking. The one issue worthy of investigation would be how OE verbs containing the so-called ‘perfective’ prefixes (*a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *of-*, *to-*) correspond to Latin verbs and whether a perceptible nuance in the OE exists due to these prefixes. Therefore, we shall proceed with a comparison of OE verbs bearing these prefixes with their Latin correspondences, to determine their probable functional status.

The so-called OE ‘perfective’ preverbs may occur with verbs in either primary or secondary sequence. Verbs that do not contain one of these prefixes may also occur in either tense sequence, though there is a tendency for them to occur in primary sequence. This frequency by gospel is given in table below.

Table 8.5 Frequency of verbs without ‘perfective’ prefixes according to sequence of tenses

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences in Primary Sequence	21	14	22	39
# of Occurrences in Secondary Sequence	8	11	14	12

We see that Matthew and John have the greatest disparity of primary-to-secondary occurrences. All the gospels show a tendency for the verb to exhibit a primary tense. This tendency, although it is real, holds no real significance and has nothing to do with aspect, but rather with tense and tense concord. Consider the following examples:

Primary Sequencea) Matt. 5:25

*þe læs þe ðin wiðerwinna þe sylle þam deman
ne forte tradat te adversarius iudici*

b) Mark 1:38

*þæt ic ðar bodige
ut et ibi praedicem*

c) John 5:20

*þæt ge wundrigeon
ut vos miremini*

Secondary Sequenced) Matt. 11:1

*þæt he lærde and bodude on hyra burgum
ut doceret et praedicaret in civitatibus eorum*

e) Mark 3:14

*þæt hi twelfe mid him wæron
ut essent cum illo*

f) Luke 15:15

*þæt he heolde his swyn
ut pasceret porcos*

g) John 19:31

*þæt þa lichaman ne wunodon on rode on restedæge
ut non remanerent in cruce corpora sabbato*

The presence of primary or secondary sequence in these examples is based solely upon tense concord, with no aspectual nuance perceptible.

It might be assumed, on the other hand, that if unprefixes verbs have a tendency to occur in primary sequence, then verbs with a ‘perfective’ prefix would tend to occur in secondary sequence. This, however, is not the case since 1) the notion of perfective vs. imperfective verbs deals with aspect, not tense, and 2) the OE prefixes in question have nothing to do with determining the tense of the verb. These facts are statistically borne out in the table below.

Table 8.6 Frequency of verbs with ‘perfective’ prefixes according to sequence of tenses

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences in Primary Sequence	19	10	19	37
# of Occurrences in Secondary Sequence	17	9	21	18

Except for the gospel of Luke, the gospels show a tendency for verbs with the so-called ‘perfective’ prefixes to occur in primary tense sequence. Hence, this evidence does not eliminate the possibility of aspectual nuance, but it does disprove the notion that OE verbs with ‘perfective’ prefixes tend to occur in secondary sequence. However, if such a nuance does exist in OE, one must determine whether aspect is discernible from a comparison with the Latin correspondences. Since Latin, however, does not possess the grammatical category of aspect, it is difficult to ascertain the status of aspect in OE, at least as it applies to comparative syntax, unless perhaps a lexical difference in Latin should indicate an aspectual nuance that might be reflected in the OE use of a ‘perfective’ prefix. Consider the following correspondence sets:

OE verbs with <i>ge-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>geseon/gesawe</i>	<i>videant/videret</i>
<i>sin geherede</i>	<i>videamini</i>
<i>sin gearwurdode</i>	<i>honorificentur</i>
<i>gehyron/gehyrdon</i>	<i>audient/audirent</i>
<i>gehæle</i>	<i>sanem, salvificem, refrigeret</i>
<i>gehældon</i>	<i>curarent</i>

<i>geteorian</i>	<i>deficient</i>
<i>gefyllan</i>	<i>saturemus</i>
<i>syn gefyllede</i>	<i>impleantur</i>
<i>wære gefylled</i>	<i>consummaretur</i>
<i>beon gedrefede</i>	<i>turbemini</i>
<i>geunrotsigeon</i>	<i>scandalizemus</i>
<i>gelyfdon</i>	<i>crederent</i>
<i>gelyfon</i>	<i>sciatis</i>
<i>gebletsode</i>	<i>oraret</i>
<i>gegan</i>	<i>eatis, introeamus</i>
<i>gemete</i>	<i>inveniat</i>
<i>gecyrre</i>	<i>convertat</i>
<i>gewregdon</i>	<i>accusarent</i>
<i>gewurðað</i>	<i>fiant</i>
<i>sy gesoht</i>	<i>requiratur</i>
<i>gehefegude syn</i>	<i>graventur</i>
<i>gewyrcon</i>	<i>manducemus</i>
<i>gesettun</i>	<i>sisterent</i>
<i>wæron gefullode</i>	<i>baptizarentur</i>
<i>gehealdon</i>	<i>conservent</i>
<i>gewite</i>	<i>discederet</i>
<i>gebæde</i>	<i>oraret</i>
<i>gewistfullode</i>	<i>epularer</i>
<i>gegearwodon</i>	<i>pararent</i>
<i>gescyldgudun</i>	<i>caperent</i>
<i>gesealdon</i>	<i>traderent</i>
<i>gecneowun</i>	<i>agnosceret</i>
<i>syn gerihtlæhte</i>	<i>arguantur</i>
<i>geswutelige</i>	<i>clarificet</i>
<i>wære geswutelod</i>	<i>manifestetur</i>
<i>geblission</i>	<i>gaudeat</i>
<i>getide</i>	<i>contingat</i>
<i>si gewuldrod</i>	<i>glorificetur</i>
<i>gelæston</i>	<i>maneant</i>
<i>gemunon</i>	<i>reminiscamini</i>
<i>woldon gehalgian</i>	<i>sanctificarent</i>
<i>syn geendode</i>	<i>sint consummati</i>
<i>woldon gefon</i>	<i>apprehenderent</i>
<i>wolde gesomnian</i>	<i>congregaret</i>
<i>woldon hi gebiddan</i>	<i>adorarent</i>
OE verbs with <i>a-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>sy aworpen</i>	<i>mittatur</i>
<i>awurtwalion</i>	<i>eradicetis</i>
<i>si ahangen</i>	<i>crucifigatur</i>
<i>asette</i>	<i>imponeret</i>

<i>asetton</i>	<i>ponerent, apponerent</i>
<i>syn awrigene</i>	<i>revelentur</i>
<i>ateo</i>	<i>educas</i>
<i>agynnan</i>	<i>incipiant</i>
<i>apwegene wæron</i>	<i>baptizarentur</i>
<i>adrife</i>	<i>eicerentur</i>
OE verbs with <i>be-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>beswice</i>	<i>seducat</i>
<i>befengon</i>	<i>caperent</i>
<i>befon</i>	<i>comprehendant</i>
<i>woldon besyrwan</i>	<i>tenerent</i>
<i>belæwde</i>	<i>proderet, traderet</i>
<i>becume</i>	<i>superveniat</i>
<i>bescufon</i>	<i>praecipitarent</i>
<i>næron besmitene</i>	<i>(ne) contaminarentur</i>
OE verbs with <i>for-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>fortredon</i>	<i>conculcent</i>
<i>syn fordemedede</i>	<i>iudicemini</i>
<i>forstelon</i>	<i>furentur</i>
<i>forfleon</i>	<i>possitis fugere</i>
<i>forspilde</i>	<i>perderet</i>
<i>forwurðe</i>	<i>pereat</i>
<i>fordo</i>	<i>perdat</i>
OE verbs with <i>of-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>woldon ofslean</i>	<i>occiderent, interficerent</i>
<i>ofprungon</i>	<i>comprimerent</i>
OE verbs with <i>to-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>toslyton</i>	<i>dirumpant</i>
<i>sy toworpen</i>	<i>solvatur</i>

The vast majority of verbs contain the prefix *ge-*, and a significant number of verbs with this prefix are past participles. This is one function of *ge-*, though it is not its only function, nor is it consistently employed in this manner. Like all the other ‘perfective’ prefixes, *ge-* is sometimes employed where Latin as well shows a preverb:

i) *gehealdon* : *conservent*

j) *fortredon* : *conculcent*

k) *toslyton* : *dirumpant*

l) *awurtwalion* : *eradicetis*

m) *befon* : *comprehendant*

n) *ofþrungon* : *comprimerent*

Some lexical items in OE are never found without a particular prefix:

o) *gelyfdon* : *crederent*

p) *agynnan* : *incipiant*

These are not examples of aspect or aspectual nuance, but rather may be genuine old Germanic verbal lexemes inherited from prehistoric times.

The fact that an OE verb may correspond to more than one Latin expression, and that one Latin expression may correspond to more than one OE verb compounds the difficulty in discerning an identifiable aspectual nuance in OE. For example, OE *gehæle* corresponds to Latin *sanem*, *salvificem*, *refrigeret*,⁷ or *curem/curet*. On the other hand, Latin *perderet* corresponds to OE *forspilde* and *fordyde*. Again, it is difficult to tell to what extent (if any) aspect is playing a role in these cases.

We may conclude, therefore, that the ‘perfective’ prefixes do not indicate aspect at this stage of OE, but instead act as preverbs to indicate lexical derivation or, in the case of the prefix *ge-*, an additional marker of the past participle.

8.1.2 Telic clausal to non-clausal correspondence

Not all the Latin and OE passages exhibit upon comparison a direct purpose clause-to-clause correspondence. A number of purpose clauses in OE correspond to infinitival phrases in Latin or the Latin gerund/gerundive. In addition, Latin purpose clauses may correspond to OE non-clausal purpose constructions.

⁷ Found in Lk. 16:24: *ut refrigeret linguam meam* ‘that he may cool my tongue’; cf. OE *and mine tungan gehæle* ‘and heal my tongue.’

The most frequent correspondence within this category is the OE purpose clause : Latin infinitive correspondence. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 20:28

Swa mannes sunu ne com þæt him man þenode ‘Thus the son of man did not come that one might serve him’

Sicut Filius hominis non venit ministrari ‘Just as the Son of man has not come to be served’

b) Mark 2:17

Ne ic com na þæt ic clypode rihtwise ac synfulle ‘I did not come that I might call the righteous, but the sinful’

Non veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores ‘I have not come to call the just, but sinners’

c) Luke 4:16

and he aras þæt he rædde ‘and he arose, that he might read’

et surrexit legere ‘and he stood up to read’

d) John 1:12

he sealde him anweald þæt hi wæron godes bearn ‘he gave to them power that they might be G-d’s children’

dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri ‘he gave them the power to become sons of G-d’

It is noteworthy that in each of the above examples, Latin calques the corresponding Greek, which exhibits an infinitival construction, but OE does not calque the Latin. OE, evidently, adheres more closely to native idiom.

In addition to the above correspondence, an OE purpose clause may correspond to the Latin gerund or gerundive. This correspondence is rare:

e) Mark 6:31

and first næfdon bæt hi æton ‘and they did not have space that they might eat’

et nec manducandi spatium habebant ‘and they not even had space for eating’

As stated previously, a Latin purpose clause may correspond to an OE non-clausal purpose construction. Examples of this correspondence are rare, and the mechanism driving the OE divergence from the more commonly employed clausal structure is difficult to ascertain.

Consider the following examples:

f) Matt. 27:26

...and sealde heom to ahonne ‘...and gave [him] to them to hang’

...tradidit, ut crucifigeretur ‘...he handed [him] over, so that he might be crucified’

g) John 12:47

Ne com ic middaneard to demanne ‘I did not come to judge the world’

Non enim veni, ut iudicem mundum ‘for I have not come, that I may judge the world’

In the examples above, the OE passage exhibits the inflected infinitive—or, gerund—where Latin shows a purpose clause. The inflected infinitive employed to show purpose is not an unusual or rare form in OE, being relatively common in poetry. However, it has a limited use in the gospels, the hypotactic construction of purpose being the preferred and more commonly used expression. Although the infinitive of purpose is rare in the OE gospels and its use unpredictable, it tends to be employed with verbs of motion where Classical Latin might upon occasion employ a supine.

Not all non-clausal correspondences indicate purpose. A small number of OE purpose clauses correspond to Latin complementary infinitives:

h) Mark 12:12

Ƣa smeaddon hi Ƣæt hi gefengon hine ‘Then they planned, that they might seize him’

Et quaerebant eum tenere ‘And they sought to take hold of him’

i) Luke 9:9

Ƣa smeade he Ƣæt he hine gesawe ‘Then he planned that he might see him’

Et quaerebat videre eum ‘And he was seeking to see him’

Since OE frequently employs complementary infinitives in the gospel text, the question remains as to why OE displays a purpose clause in correspondence with the Latin complementary infinitive. A likely explanation for the OE structure is that the OE verb *smeagan*, which is employed in both examples above, constrains the thematic relationship of the argument and, hence, affects its syntactic structure, whereas Latin *quaero* affects its arguments differently and requires a different structure from that of the OE.

In addition to corresponding to a Latin complementary infinitive, a purpose clause in OE may correspond to a Latin infinitive functioning as subject of a verb:

j) Mark 10:40

Soðlice nis hit na min inc to syllene Ƣæt gyt sitton on mine swyðran healfe oððe on Ƣa wynstran ‘Truly it is not mine to give to you, that you may sit on my right half or on the left’

Sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non ist meum dare ‘But to sit on my right or left is not mine to give’

It is possible that the OE clause introduced by *Ƣæt* here functions not as a purpose but as a substantival clause. Regardless of its function, the structure displayed in OE shows a significant syntactic divergence from the Latin structure and, hence, indicates that the OE text is not a

slavish translation of the Latin in every particular, but frequently exhibits its own native syntax and idiom.

By contrast to the correspondence above, an OE infinitive indicating conjoined action may correspond to a Latin purpose clause. This correspondence is rare and occurs only in John:

k) John 11:11

ac ic wylle gan and awreccan hyne of slæpe ‘but I intend to go and awaken him from sleep’

sed vado, ut a somno exsuscitem eum ‘but I go, so that I may stir him up from sleep’

l) John 11:16

uton gan and sweltan mid him ‘and let us go and die with him’

<<*Eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo!*>> ‘Let us also go, so that we may die with him!’

In Jn. 11:16 above, the discrepancy may be explained through a textual variant. Such a variant does exist in some manuscripts, which exhibit *et* for *ut* in the Latin text, giving *et moriamur cum eo* ‘and let us die with him,’ corresponding well with the OE passage. Applying the same possible variation to Jn. 11:11 requires a slightly more complex scenario, in which *et* occurs in place of *ut* and *exsuscitem* (present subjunctive) is replaced by *exsuscito* (present indicative) or *exsuscitabo* (future indicative). In the end, it is best to view the OE examples as exhibiting native OE syntax.

8.1.3 Telic to non-telic clausal correspondence

A number of telic clauses in OE correspond to non-telic clauses in Latin, which may denote the following:

- 1) coordination
- 2) noun object

- 3) jussive
- 4) indirect question
- 5) main or independent clause
- 6) causal clause
- 7) ambiguity (substantival, epexegetical, indirect request, result)

The following examples are given for comparative examination:

a) Matt. 13:14

þæt on him si gefylled esaiaes witegung ‘so that Isaiah’s prophecy may be fulfilled in them’ (purpose clause)

et adimpletur eis prophetia Isaiae ‘and Isaiah’s prophecy is fulfilled for them’
(coordinate clause)

b) Matt. 21:37

Hig forwandiað þæt hig ne don minum sunu swa ‘They [will] fear, that they not do so to my son’ (ambiguous, indicating either purpose or clause of fearing)

Verebuntur filium meum ‘They will respect my son’ (noun direct object)

c) Mark 6:12

And utgangende hi bodedon þæt hi dædbote dydon ‘And going out, they preached, that they might do penance’ (ambiguous, denoting either purpose or object noun clause)

Et exeuntes praedicaverunt, ut paenitentiam agerent ‘and going out, they preached, that they should perform penance’ (ambiguous, could indicate purpose or indirect request)

d) Mark 14:49

ac þæt þa gewritu syn gefyllede ‘but that the Scriptures may be fulfilled’ (purpose)

sed adimpleantur Scripturae ‘but let the Scriptures be fulfilled (jussive subjunctive)’⁸

e) Mark 15:24

and hlotu wurpon hwæt gehwa name ‘and they threw lots, what each might take

(ambiguous, *hwæt* possibly functioning as a relative pronoun introducing a relative purpose clause,⁹ or an interrogative pronoun introducing an indirect question)¹⁰

mittentes sortem super eis quis quid tolleret ‘sending a lot over them, [to see] who should take away what’ (most like an indirect question; a relative purpose clause would be introduced by *qui*)

f) Luke 2:6

hire dagas wæron gefyllede þæt heo cende ‘her days were fulfilled that she might give birth’ (ambiguous, indicating either purpose or result)

impleti sunt dies, ut pareret ‘the days were fulfilled that she might give birth’

(ambiguous, indicating purpose or result)

g) Luke 10:25

hwæt do ic þæt ic ece lif hæbbe ‘What [shall] I do, that I may have eternal life? (purpose clause)

quid faciendo vitam aeternam possidebo? ‘By doing what shall I possess eternal life?’

(main independent clause)

⁸ Some manuscripts show *ut adimpleantur*.

⁹ See Mitchell (1985: 142-143). The problem with this analysis is that *hwæt* is never employed as a definite relative pronoun (Mitchell 1987: 66). The difficulty arises in determining the antecedent.

¹⁰ This is the more likely conclusion.

h) *hwýder wýle þes faran þæt we hine ne findon* ‘To where does this [man] intend to go, so that we may not find him’ (purpose clause)¹¹

<<*Quo hic iturus est, quia nos non inueniemus eum?*>> ‘Where is this [man] going to go, since [or, that] we [ourselves] will not find him’ (uncertain as to clausal type, but could be causal)

In the above passage, Latin exhibits a *quia* clause, which cannot be mistaken for a purpose, result, or substantival *ut* clause, for these require the verb in the subjunctive mood. The *quia* clause, however, contains the verb in the future indicative. If *quia* here does not denote cause, the question remains as to how to classify it. Therefore, I have proposed causal as its likely function.

i) John 4:34

min mete is þæt ic wyrce þæs willan ðe me sende þæt ic fullfremme his weorc ‘My food is that I may perform the will of the one who sent me, that I may perfect his work’ (ambiguous, either a purpose or epexegetical clause)

<<*Meus cibus est, ut faciam voluntatem eius, qui misit me, et ut perficiam opus eius*>>
 ‘My food is that I may do his will who sent me, and that I may complete his work’ (ambiguous, either a purpose or epexegetical clause)

j) John 12:10

Dara sacerda ealdras þohton þæt hig woldon lazarus ofslean ‘The elders of the priests thought that they would slay Lazarus’ (possible purpose clause indicating the goal of the elders thought, but more likely an object noun clause)

¹¹ This is unambiguous as to its structure. A result clause in OE most likely would contain the verb in the indicative mood, *findað* vs. *findon*.

Cogitaverunt autem principes sacerdotum, ut et Lazarum interficerent ‘But the chiefs of the priests planned, that they might kill Lazarus also’ (could be either a purpose or object noun clause)

A number of clauses that denote purpose in Latin correspond to ambiguous OE clauses.

A small number of OE clauses indicate no ambiguity, but are clearly non-telic. Consider the following examples:

k) Luke 2:3

and ealle hig eodon and syndrie ferdon on hyra ceastre ‘and they all went and travelled separately into their own city’ (coordinate clause)

Et ibant omnes, ut profiterentur, singuli in suam civitatem ‘And they all went, that they might set out, each into his own city’ (purpose clause)

l) Luke 16:26

And on eallum þissum betwux us and eow is mycel dwolma getrymed. þa ðe wyllað¹² heonon to eow faran ne magon, ne þanun faran hidere ‘And in all these [things], there is fortified between us and you a great chasm. Those who wish to go from here to you cannot, nor [can] travel from there to here’ (independent main clause)

Et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint, neque inde ad nos transmeare ‘And in all these [things], a great chasm has been fortified between us and you, so that these, who wish to cross from here to you, cannot, nor [can] go over from here to us’ (purpose clause)

m) John 10:17

forþam fæder me lufað. forþam þe ic sylle mine sawle and hig eft nime ‘Therefore, the Father loves me, because I give my soul and take it again’ (coordinated causal clause)

¹² Note the presence of the indicative and not the subjunctive mood here.

Propterea me Pater diligit, quia ego pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam eam

‘Therefore, the Father loves me, because I place my soul, that I may take it up again’

(purpose clause)

n) John 12:23

seo tid cymð þæt mannes sunu byð geswutelod ‘the time comes that the son of man is revealed’ (either an epexegetical clause or a relative clause in which the main clause itself acts as the antecedent)

<<*Venit hora, ut glorificetur Filius hominis*>> ‘The hour has come, so that the Son of man may be glorified’ (purpose clause)

o) Matt. 12: 14

and behead him þæt hig hyt nanum men ne sædon ‘and he ordered them that they not tell it to any man’ (indirect request)

et comminatus est eis, ne manifestum eum facerent ‘and he threatened them, so that they might not make him known’ or ‘he threatened them not to make him known’ (purpose clause or indirect request)

The following passages are examples of clausal ambiguity in OE. A number of passages show ambiguity in the Latin, as well.

p) Matt. 12:14

...and worhton geþeaht ongen hyne hu hi hyne forspildon ‘...and wrought council against him, how they might destroy him’ (clause of manner or effort)

...consilium faciebant adversus eum, quomodo eum perderent ‘...they made a resolution against him, how they might destroy him’ (clause of effort/purpose or clause of manner)

q) Mark 4:22

Soðlice nis nan ðing behydd þe ne sy geswutelod, ne nis digle geworden, ac þæt hit openlice cume ‘Truly there is nothing hidden that is not revealed [or, which may not be revealed], nor has a secret occurred but that it may openly come’ (relative purpose or clause of characteristic)

Non enim ist aliquid absconditum, nisi ut manifestetur, nec factum est occultum, nisi ut in palam veniat ‘For nothing has been hidden, except that it may be made evident, nor has a hidden thing occurred, except that it may come into the open’ (purpose clause)

From the examples given above, we see not only difficulties in clausal classification, but further evidence that OE is frequently constrained by the boundaries of its own syntax, often employing constructions that do not have a direct structural correspondence to the Latin Vorlage.

8.2 Syncritical analysis of result clauses

8.2.1 Ecclastic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

Although there are a small number of exceptions (to be subsequently discussed), the ecclastic clausal correspondence between OE and Latin is quite consistent, more so than that observed in the other languages thus far examined. Let us begin our analysis with a comparison of the conjunctions employed.

8.2.1.1 Conjunctions

The majority of correspondences show OE *swa þæt* : Latin *ita ut*. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 8:24

swa þæt þæt scyp wearð ofergoten mid ypum

ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus

b) Mark 1:27

swa þæt hi betwux him cwædon

ita ut conquirerent inter se

The adverb *swa* does not always appear immediately before the conjunction, but may modify elements within the main clause:

c) Mark 3:30

and eft him to com swa micel menigu þæt hi næfdon hlaf to etanne

et convenit iterum turba, ita ut non possent neque panem manducare

Notice in the above example that Latin does not separate *ita* from *ut*. Consider another example:

d) Mark 4:32

...and hæfð swa mycele bogas þæt heofenes fugelas eardian magon under his sceade

...et facit ramos magnos, ita ut possint sub umbra eius aves caeli habitare

A number of passages in OE show no *swa*, not even in the main clause:

e) Matt. 24:24

*and doð mycle tacn and forebeacn þæt ða beoþ on gedwolan gelædde gyf hyt beon mæg
þe gecorene wæron*

*et dabunt signa magna et prodigia, ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam
electi*

f) Mark 4:37

and yþa he awearp on þæt scyp þæt hit gefylled wæs

et fluctus se mittebant in navem, ita ut iam impleretur navis

g) Luke 12:1

mycelum weredum him embe standendum þæt hig hine trædun

Interea multis turbis circumstantibus, ita ut se invicem conculcarent

Swa þæt may also correspond to Latin *ut* without *ita*:

h) John 3:16

God lufode middaneard swa þæt he sealde his ancennendan sunu

Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium unigenitum daret

In the above example, notice that OE *swa* corresponds to Latin *sic*, but the positioning does not correspond. Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon translator(s) of this passage felt that placing *swa* at the head of the main clause would be stylistically awkward.

8.2.1.2 Word order

OE frequently exhibits a word order different from that of the Latin Vorlage. These non-correspondences are often slight, often involving the presence of a pronoun in OE where Latin exhibits pro-drop. In addition, other minor variations may include a difference in the placement of adjuncts, such as adverbs, prepositional phrases, or genitival constructions. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 13:2

swa þæt he eode on scyp and þær sæt

ita ut in navicula ascendens sederet

In the above passage in OE, the prepositional phrase follows the verbal element (here, the preterite tense of *gan* ‘to go’), whereas the prepositional phrase in Latin precedes the verbal element (present participle of *ascendo* ‘I go up, climb’). In addition, OE employs a finite verb

where Latin shows a present active participle. The passage in Latin is more akin to periodic sentence structure, whereas the OE displays parataxis, a syntactic feature typical in Germanic.

b) Matt. 13:32

swa þæt heofnan fuhlas cumað and eardiaþ on his bogum (genitive precedes head noun)

ita ut volucres caeli veniant et habitant in ramis eius (genitive follows head noun)

c) Matt. 13:54

swa þæt hig wundredon (presence of subject pronoun, SV word order)

ita ut mirarentur (no overt subject)

A number of result clauses, however, show a significant divergence of word order. These passages typically exhibit a difference in the placement of main arguments, namely, subject, verb, and direct object. Consider the following:

d) Matt.27:14

swa þæt se dema wundrode swiþlice (SV word order)

ita ut miraretur praeses vehementer (VS word order)

In the above passage, the OE noun phrase *se dema* precedes the verb *wundrode*; in Latin, on the other hand, the verb *miraretur* precedes the noun *praeses*. Consider another example:

e) John 3:16

swa þæt he sealde his ancennendan sunu (VO word order)

ut Filium suum unigenitum daret (OV word order)

The conventions of discourse and syntax govern the word order of each language, and the evidence set forth in the examples given above indicates that OE does not slavishly imitate the Latin word order in result clauses.

8.2.1.3 Mood

In result clauses, the Latin subjunctive always corresponds to the OE indicative:

Matt. 8:24

swa þæt þæt scyp wearð ofergoten mid yþum

ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus

This difference in mood is one important marker that distinguishes result from purpose clauses in OE, unlike Latin, which employs the subjunctive mood in both constructions, the distinguishing marker in Latin being negation—the particle *ne* employed in purpose, *ut non* in result.

8.2.1.4 Aspect/Tense

The issue of aspect in OE and Latin having been previously discussed, this section will only reiterate what specifically applies to result clauses in this regard.

Most result clauses in this correspondence are in secondary sequence. In addition, verbs with the so-called ‘perfective’ prefixes rarely occur:

a) Matt. 12:22

swa þæt he spæc and geseah

ita ut mutus loqueretur et videret

This passage is the only example in result clauses of a finite verb containing a *ge-* prefix. In two other passages, the *ge-* prefix occurs with the past participle:

b) Matt. 24:24

þæt ða beoþ on gedwolan gelædde

ita ut in errorem inducantur

The data being so slight, any evidence concerning the status of aspect in OE/Latin result clauses would be inconclusive outside of comparative analysis with other clausal types. In spite of this

paucity of data, the evidence tends to favor the notion that OE and Latin do not possess the grammatical category of aspect. Aktionsart, however, clearly plays an important role in both languages.

8.2.2 Ecbatic to non-ecbatic clausal correspondence

A number of ecbatic clauses in OE correspond to non-ecbatic structures in Latin, and vice versa. These discrepancies may be explained by variations within the Latin text or as a result of the Anglo-Saxon translators' interpretation of the Latin text or both. OE ecbatic clauses may correspond to the following Latin non-ecbatic constructions:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1) indirect statement | 5) comparative clause |
| 2) independent clause | 6) purpose clause |
| 3) causal clause | 7) no clause, text missing in Latin Vorlage |
| 4) coordinate clause | |

The following correspondence sets are examples of these relationships:

a) Matt. 3:9

Soplice ic secge eow þæt god ys swa mihtig þæt he mæg of bysum stanum aweccan abrahames bearn 'Truly I say to you, that G-d is so mighty that he can awaken from these stones children of Abraham' (result clause)

dico enim vobis quoniam potest Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare Abrahae filios 'For I say to you, that G-d can raise up from these stones [by you] sons for Abraham' (indirect statement)

b) Mark 7:37

and he dyde þæt deafe gehyrdon and dumbe spræcon ‘and he did [it], that the deaf heard and dumb spoke’ (result clause) or ‘and he made the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak’ (object noun clause)

et surdos facit audire et mutos loqui ‘and he makes the deaf to hear and the mute to speak’ (coordinate clause with object infinitival phrases)

c) Luke 3:23

and se hælend wæs on ylde swylce þritig winter þæt menn wendon þæt he wære iosepes sunu ‘and the savior was in age about thirty years [lit. winters], that men supposed that he was Joseph’s son (result clause)

Et ipse Iesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta, ut putabatur, filius Ioseph ‘And Jesus himself was beginning [to be] about [the age] of thirty years, as it was thought, the son of Joseph’ (comparative clause)

d) Luke 8:12

and ætbryt þæt word of hyra heortan þæt hig þurh þone geleafan hale ne gewurðað ‘and takes away the word from their heart [so] that they do not become whole through faith’ (result clause)

et tollit verbum de corde eorum, ne credentes salvi fiant ‘and takes away the word from their heart, lest believing they become saved’ (purpose clause; result clause would have *ut non* for *ne*)

e) Luke 23:22

þæt he si deapes scyldig ‘that he would be guilty of death’ (result clause of uncertainty, missing from Latin Vorlage; see section 8.2.3 for an explanation of this type of result clause)

As stated previously, not all correspondences are of the above type (i.e., OE ecbatic : Latin non-ecbatic). A number of non-ecbatic clauses in OE correspond to ecbatic clauses in Latin. The OE clauses in this correspondence may denote the following:

- 1) purpose
- 2) independent clause
- 3) no clause; portion of passage missing from the OE text

Consider the following examples of these correspondence sets:

f) Mark 2:2

and manega togædere comon and he to heom spræc ‘and many came together and he spoke to them’

Et convenerunt multi, ita ut non amplius caperentur neque ad ianuam, et loquebatur eis verbum ‘And many came together, so that no longer were they received, not even at the door, and he was speaking to them the word’ (result clause, conspicuously missing in the OE text)

g) Luke 9:45

Ða þohton hig his word and hit was bewrigen beforan him þæt hi hit ne ongeton ‘Then they considered his word and it was concealed before them, that they might not understand it’ (purpose clause; possibly a result clause)

At illi ignorabant verbum istud, et erat velatum ante eos, ut non sentirent ‘But those [men] did not know that word [of his], and it was veiled before them, so that they did not perceive [it]’ (result clause; purpose clause would probably have *ne* for *ut non*)

h) Luke 16:26

And on eallum þissum betwux us and eow is mycel dwolma getrymed. þa ðe wyllað heonan to eow faran ne magon ne þanun faran hidere ‘And in all these [things], between us and you a great chasm is fortified. Those who wish to go from here to you cannot, nor [can] go from there to here’ (independent clause)

Et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint, neque inde ad nos transmeare ‘And in all these [things], between us and you a great chasm has been fortified, so that these, who wish to cross from here to you, cannot, nor [can] go over from there to us’ (result clause; purpose clause would likely show *ne* for *ut...non*)

The above examples are further evidence that OE does not slavishly imitate Latin syntax, but rather expresses through its own idiom the thoughts conveyed in the Latin Vorlage.

8.2.3 Problematic correspondences

A few passages pose a problem in their classification because of their structure, which seems to indicate one thing, and their context, which seems to indicate another. Consider the following example:

a) John 9:2

Lareow, hwæt syngode þes oððe his magas þæt he wære blind geboren

Rabbi, quis peccavit, hic aut parentes eius, ut caecus nasceretur?

Latin here employs the subjunctive in the subordinate *ut* clause; the structure is ambiguous, denoting possibly purpose or result. However, the OE text also exhibits the subjunctive mood, an unlikely form employed in result clauses. The OE structure poses a problem for classification, since it would be absurd to consider that the parents deliberately sinned with the goal in mind of producing a blind son! The use of the subjunctive in OE may be explained as a result clause of uncertainty, namely it is uncertain as to who sinned that led to the undesired result. Although such a clause is rare, it does not appear to be unusual. This type of result clause seems to occur with questions of doubt or uncertainty. Consider another example:

b) Luke 1:43

and hwanun is me ðis þæt mines drihtnes modor to me cume

Et unde hoc mihi, ut veniat mater Domini mei ad me?

The above correspondence could denote a result clause of uncertainty, or a substantival epexegetical clause.

Ambiguity of form often leads to ambiguity of structure. Consider the following:

c) Luke 2:6

hire dagas wæron gefylled þæt heo cende

impleti sunt dies, ut pareret

The Latin passage is ambiguous in that, since the subjunctive is employed in both purpose and result clauses, it is difficult to discern the clausal type simply from the use of the verb form alone. The OE passage, on the other hand, shows an ambiguous structure due to its ambiguous form, *cende*, which may be either preterit indicative or preterite subjunctive. The above passage, then, is left open to interpretation, possibly denoting purpose, result, or both; in other words, ‘her days were fulfilled, so that she might give birth’ or ‘so that she did give birth.’

8.3 Syncritical analysis of causal clauses

8.3.1 Aetic clausal-to-clausal correspondence

8.3.1.1 Conjunctions

8.3.1.1.1 *Forþam þe : quia*

This is the most frequent causal correspondence in the four gospels. Whether it should be reckoned as default is debatable in light of the fact that there exist other relatively commonly employed correspondences. The following are representative examples of this correspondence:

a) Matt. 2:18

forþam þe hi næron

quia non sunt

b) Mark 6:17

forþam ðe he nam hi

quia duxerat eam

c) Luke 1:48

Forðam þe he geseah hys þinene eadmodnesse

quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae

d) John 1:7

forþam þe æ wæs geseald þurh moysen

quia lex per Moysen data est

In table 8.7, we may observe the frequency of this correspondence by gospel, with Luke (the longest gospel) and John exhibiting the most correspondences.

Table 8.7 Frequency of *forþam þe* : *quia* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	22	5	46	57
% of Total	17	4	35	44

8.3.1.1.2 *Forþam þe* : *quoniam*

This correspondence occurs with far less frequency than *forþam þe* : *quia*, and is found primarily in Matthew and Luke, with only a rare occurrence in Mark and John:

a) Matt. 5:4 (5:5 in Latin)

forþam þe hi eorðan agun

quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram

b) Mark 3:30

forþam þe hi cwædon he hæfð unclænne gast

Quoniam dicebant <<Spiritus immundum habet>>

c) Luke 21:28

forþam ðe eower alysednes genealæcð

quoniam appropinquat redemptio vestra

d) John 19:31

forþam þe hit wæs gegearcungdæg

quoniam Parasceve erat

The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 8.8 Frequency of *forþam þe* : *quoniam* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	10	1	4	1
% of Total	62.5	6.25	25	6.25

8.3.1.1.3 *Forþon þe : quia*

This correspondence is most likely a variant of *forþam þe : quia* and occurs only once in the four gospels:

Matt. 7:13

forþon þe þæt geat is swiþe wid and se weg is swiþe rum

quia lata porta et spatiosa via

8.3.1.1.4 *Forþam þe : quod*

This correspondence is rare and occurs only once, in Luke:

Luke 10:21

forþam þe ðu þas ðing wisum and gleawum behyddest and lytlingum awruge

quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis

8.3.1.1.5 *Forþam þe : eo quod*

This correspondence seems to be a variant of *forþam þe : quod*. It occurs eight times, only in Luke:

Luke 1:7

forþam þe elizabeth wæs unberende and hy on heora dagum butu forðeodon

eo quod esset Elisabeth sterilis, et ambo processissent in diebus suis

8.3.1.1.6 *Forþam : quia*

This correspondence is a variant of *forþam þe : quia*. There does not appear to be any semantic or grammatical distinction between *forþam* and *forþam þe*, and the selection of the two to correspond to *quia* seems to be purely arbitrary. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 15:23

forþam heo clypað æfter us

quia clamat post nos

b) Mark 5:9

forþam we manega synt

quia multi sumus

c) Luke 1:37

forþam nis ælc word mid gode unmihtelic

quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum

d) John 1:15

forþam he wæs ær þonne ic

quia prior me erat

The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 8.9 Frequency of *forþam* : *quia* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	14	5	23	34
% of Total	18.4	6.6	30.3	44.7

8.3.1.1.7 *Forþan* : *quia*

This is an orthographic variant of the above correspondence. Its occurrence is rare and it is found only in Matthew:

Matt. 9:36

forþan hig wærun gedrehte and licgende swa swa sceap þe hyrde nabbað

quia erant vexati et iacentes sicut oves non habentes pastorem

8.3.1.1.8 *Forþam : quoniam*

This correspondence occurs relatively infrequently and is a variant of *forþam þe* : *quoniam*. It is found primarily in Mark and Luke.

a) Matt. 5:3

forþam hyra ys heofena rice

quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum

b) Mark 1:34

forþam hi wiston þæt he crist wæs

quoniam sciebant eum

c) Luke 1:13

forþam þin ben ys gehyred

quoniam exaudita est deprecatio tua

d) John 11:41

forþam þu gehyrdest [me]

quoniam audisti me

The frequency of this correspondence is given in the table below.

Table 8.10 Frequency of *forþam* : *quoniam* correspondence

Gospel	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
# of Occurrences	2	6	6	2
% of Total	12.5	37.5	37.5	12.5

8.3.1.1.9 *Forþam : quod*

This correspondence, a variant of *forþam þe : quod*, is rare and occurs only once, in Luke:

Luke 12:17

forþam ic næbbe hwyder ic mine wæstmas gadrige

quod non habeo, quo congregem fructus meos

8.3.1.1.10 *Forþam : eo quod*

This correspondence is rare and occurs only once in each of the gospels except Matthew, where it never occurs.

a) Mark 4:6

forþam hit wyrtruman næfde

eo quod non haberet radicem

b) Luke 19:9

forþam he wæs habrahames bearn

eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahæ

c) John 2:24

forþam he cuðe hi ealle

eo quod ipse nosset omnes

8.3.1.1.11 *Forþam : pro eo quod*

This correspondence occurs only once, in Luke. Its semantic nuance (if any) is difficult to determine.

Luke 1:20

forþam þu minum wordum ne gelyfdest

pro eo quod non credidisti verbis meis

8.3.1.1.12 *Forþi(ig) þe : quia*

This correspondence indicates a negative causal construction. Its occurrence is rare and is found only in John.

John 7:22 (see also Jn. 12:6)

na forþi þe heo of moyse sy ac of fæderon

non quia ex Moyse est sed ex patribus

8.3.1.1.13 *On þam þe : quia*

This correspondence occurs only once, in Luke:

Luke 10:20

ne blissige ge on þam þe eow synt gastas underþeodde

Verumtamen in hoc nolite gaudere quia spiritus vobis subiciuntur

8.3.1.1.14 *Ða : cum*

This correspondence is rare.

Matt. 1:19

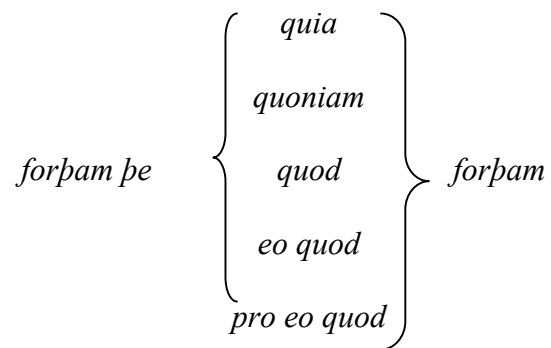
ða he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian

cum esset iustus et nollet eam traducere

The evidence from the above correspondences indicates that no one-to-one relationship exists between OE and Latin causal conjunctions, not even to demonstrate stylistic variation, as illustrated below.

Causal Conjunctival Correspondences

Latin Correspondence



The factor determining which correspondence is employed is seemingly arbitrary and unpredictable.

8.3.1.2 Word order

The principles underlying the discussion of word order in this section are the same as those presented in section 8.1.1.2, *mutatis mutandis*. An examination of word order in causal clauses, like that in telic and ecclastic, shows little calquing of the Latin. So few passages in OE exhibit the same word order as the Latin that one is inclined to consider those instances in which the word order is identical or nearly identical as the result more of coincidence than of intentional imitation. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 5:7

forþam þe hi mildheortysse begytað (SOV)

quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur (SOV)

b) Mark 11:18

forðam eall seo menigu wundrode be his lare (SV)

quoniam universa turba admirabatur super doctrina eius (SV)

Notice in the above example that the prepositional phrase in each passage follows the verb. In the example below, we see that the prepositional phrase precedes the verb in both passages:

c) Luke 6:19

forþam þe mægen of him eode (SV)

quia virtus de illo exibat (SV)

Consider another set of passages:

d) John 2:24

forðam he cuðe hi ealle (SVO)

eo quod ipse nosset omnes (SVO)

Although the OE text above displays an additional object pronoun *hi*, this addition does not significantly differ from what we see in the corresponding Latin. Both languages exhibit VO word order.

However, a significant number of OE passages contain a pronoun, indicating a marked difference from the Latin. This pronominal inclusion often is all that distinguishes in respect to word order the OE from the Latin. Consider the following examples:

e) Matt. 1:19

ða he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian

cum _ esset iustus et nollet eam traducere

f) Mark 5:4

forþam he oft mid fotcoppsum and racenteagum gebunden toslat þa racenteaga and þa fotcoppsas tobræc

quoniam_saepe compedibus et catenis vinctus dirupisset catenas et compedes comminuisset

g) Luke 1:34

forþam ic were ne oncnawe

quoniam_virum non cognosco

h) John 6:38

forþam þe ic ne com of heofonum...

quia_descendi de caelo...¹³

Note that the inclusion on the part of OE is always a subject pronoun. Clearly at this stage, as stated previously, OE is no longer a pro-drop language, the presence of the subject pronoun being syntactically essential. Since in the examples above the subject pronoun is the essential and only difference, we may discount these as significant differences in the sense that OE does not veer from Latin word order as much as it adheres to its own syntactic constraints in these examples.

The majority of correspondences in causal clauses, however, do show notable differences in word placement and, in a number of instances, significant differences in word order. The major types of non-correspondence are similar to those given in section 8.1.1.2. The following sub-sections briefly explicate these types of word-order difference.

¹³ Notice that the negative is also absent from the Latin clause. However, Latin does contain a negative in the subsequent dependent clause. The negatives in OE and Latin have exchanged clausal alignment.

8.3.1.2.1 Non-word-order-correspondence in transitive clauses

This non-correspondence occurs somewhat infrequently and often entails a difference in placement of the direct object:

a) Matt. 5:5

forþam þe hi eorðan agun (DO precedes verb)

quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram (DO follows verb)

b) John 5:16

forðam þe he dyde þas þing on restedæge (DO follows verb)

quia haec faciebat in sabbato (DO precedes verb)

The placement of the subject and direct object may be ambiguous in OE, due to similarity of form, whereas no such ambiguity appears in the corresponding Latin:

c) Luke 11:48

forþam hig ofslogon hig (SVO [or OVS?])

quoniam ipsi quidem eos occiderunt (SOV; the ambiguity of the OE passage has no bearing upon the non-correspondence of this example)

However, since OVS word order in OE hypotaxis is improbable, it is highly unlikely that this clause exhibits SVO word order. Therefore, we should classify the word order in this clause as unambiguous. The position of the verb with respect to that of the subject may not correspond:

d) Luke 2:30

Forðam mine eagan gesawon þine hæle (SVO)

quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum (VSO)

A dative object of an impersonal verb may not correspond in word order:

e) Luke 12:32

forþam eowrum fæder gelicode eow rice syllan (dative precedes verb)

quia complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum (dative follows verb)

This non-correspondence is extremely rare in causal clauses.

An indirect object may be placed differently in the OE text:

f) Matt. 16:17

forþam hit þe ne onwreah flæsc ne blod

quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi

The above non-correspondence also occurs infrequently.

8.3.1.2.2. Non-word-order-correspondence in intransitive clauses

These instances strictly concern the placement of the subject with respect to the verb:

a) Matt. 24:12

and forþam þe unrihtwisnys rixað... (SV)

quoniam abundavit iniquitas... (VS)

b) Mark 4:29

forþam þæt rip æt is (SV)

quoniam adest messis (VS)

c) Luke 1:7

forþam þe elizabeth wæs unberende (SV)

eo quod esset Elisabeth sterilis (VS)

d) John 7:30

forþam þe his tid ne com þa gyt (SV)

quia nondum venerat hora eius (VS)

From the evidence given in the above examples, we may conclude that OE tends to avoid clauses in which the verb precedes the subject. However, if an adverbial phrase immediately follows the conjunction and, hence, occurs first within the clause, the verb in OE may immediately follow the adverbial and precede the subject:

e) John 3:23

forþam þe þær wæron manega wætro (VS)

quia aquae multae erant illuc (SV)

8.3.1.2.3 Non-word-order-correspondence resulting from a change in verbal diathesis

This type of non-correspondence is rare. Consider the following examples:

a) Luke 9:7

forþam þe sume sædon... ‘because some said...’

eo quod diceretur a quibusdam... ‘because it was said by certain [ones]...’

The Latin text exhibits passive voice with an indefinite pronoun in a prepositional phrase acting as agent. The corresponding OE, on the other hand, shows active voice, with the agent, an indefinite pronoun, in the nominative case acting as subject of the verb *sædon*. The use of a passive construction to introduce an indirect statement does not appear to be grammatically acceptable in OE, unlike in Latin, where this construction is quite common. OE, in addition, avoids calquing the dative of possession that Latin at times employs in the gospels:

b) Luke 2:7

forþam þe hig næfdon rum on cumena huse ‘because they did not have room in the house of strangers’

quia non erat eis locus in deversorio ‘because there was not a place for them in the inn’

c) Luke 8:42

forþam he hæfde ane dohtor nean twelf wintre ‘because he had one daughter about twelve years [old]’

quia filia unica erat illi fere annorum duodecim ‘because an only daughter was to him, nearly [the age] of twelve years’

In the above examples, OE exhibits SVO word order whereas Latin shows either VS or SV order, both clauses being intransitive.

8.3.1.2.4 Non-correspondence in the order of adjuncts

There are a number of different types of adjuncts involved in this category of non-correspondence. For example, OE commonly places a possessive pronoun differently from what is found in the Latin Vorlage:

a) Matt. 5:12

forþam þe eower med ys mycel on heofonum (possessive precedes its head noun)

quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis (possessive follows its head noun)

Genitival constructions involving nouns also frequently do not correspond in word order:

b) Matt. 5:3

forþam hyra ys heofena rice (genitival construction precedes its head)

quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum (genitival construction follows its head)

Other examples in which the order of adjuncts does not correspond are:

c) Luke 8:37

forþam hig mycelum ege gehæfte wærun (adjective precedes the noun it modifies)

quia timore magno tenebantur (adjective follows the noun it modifies)

d) Luke 9:49

forþam he mid us ne fylygð (prepositional phrase precedes verb)

quia non sequitur nobiscum (postpositional phrase follows verb)

e) Luke 12:40

forþam þe mannes sunu cymð þære tide þe ge ne wenað (because the son of man comes
at the time that you do not suppose' (adverbial relative clause immediately follows verb)

quia, qua hora non putatis, Filius hominis venit 'because, at what hour you do not
suppose, the Son of man comes' (adverbial relative immediately follows causal
conjunction)

f) Luke 15:27

forþam þe he hyne halne onfeng (DO precedes predicate accusative)

quia salvum illum recepit (DO follows predicate accusative)

The above examples sufficiently indicate that OE does not slavishly imitate the word order of Latin in every particular, but rather expresses the meaning of the text according to its own syntactic constraints.

8.3.1.2.5 Non-correspondence in word order in causal clauses resulting from additions/deletions

This non-correspondence does not occur as frequently in causal clauses as it does in purpose clauses. In most passages, the additional element in the OE text alters the sense of the Latin very little and is often employed for clarification. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 7:13

forþan þe þæt geat is swiþe wid and se weg is swiþe rum ‘because the gate is very wide and the way is very spacious’

quia lata porta et spatiosa via ‘because wide the gate and spacious the way’

Notice that OE exhibits a copula and an adverbial modifier before each predicate adjective whereas Latin exhibits neither.

In addition, OE may include a noun for clarification of a corresponding Latin substantival adjective:

b) Luke 1:49

forþam þe me micele þing dyde

quia fecit mihi magna

An OE causal clause may also contain an additional object pronoun:

c) Luke 7:47

forþam heo me swyðe lufode ‘because she loved me exceedingly’

quoniam dilexit multum ‘because she loved much’

A noun may be included in OE where none is present in the Latin Vorlage. This seems to be for the purpose of clarification:

d) Luke 9:38

forþam he is min anlica sunu ‘because he is my only son’

quia unicus est mihi ‘because he is my only one’ [lit., ‘because he is for me the only one of his kind’]

The OE text may contain a modal auxiliary in addition to the main inflected verb:

e) John 7:1

forþam þe þa iudeas hine sohton and woldon hyne ofslean ‘because the Jews sought him and wanted to slay him’

quia quaerebant eum Iudaei interficere ‘because the Jews were seeking to kill him’

An OE passage may reinterpret the corresponding Latin:

f) John 19:7

forþam þe he cwæð þæt he wære godes sunu ‘because he said that he was G-d’s son’

quia Filium Dei se fecit ‘because he made himself the Son of G-d’

The above example indicates a clear divergence from the Latin Vorlage, unless one is to assume that the OE is based upon a different Latin text. Such a Latin text would presumably contain a corresponding clause with an indirect statement:

quia Filium Dei se esse dixerat

or

quia dixerat quod esset Filius Dei

The OE text may be missing an element that is present in the Latin Vorlage:

g) John 15:19

Forþam þe ge ne synt of middanearde

quia vero de mundo non estis

Finally, we may observe that the OE text may show a prepositional phrase whereas Latin exhibits a conditional clause:

h) Luke 12:15

forþam þe nis nanes mannes lif on gytsunge of þam þe he ah ‘because no man’s life is in the avarice of what he owns’

quia si cui res abundant, vita eius non est ex his, quae possidet ‘because, if anyone is rich in property,¹⁴ his life is not from these [things] which he possesses’

As stated previously, these examples indicate that the structure displayed in the OE passages does not calque that of the Latin and most likely represents OE syntax or, in rare instances, an interpretation or paraphrase of the Latin by the Anglo-Saxon translators. To suppose otherwise would mean to posit the existence of a Latin text that significantly differs in many points from the received Vulgate text, a possible but unlikely scenario.

8.3.1.3 Mood

The vast majority of causal clauses in the OE and Latin gospels correspond in their use of mood, which in nearly all cases is the indicative. However, the OE indicative may correspond to Latin’s use of no verb at all:

a) Matt. 7:13

forþon þe þæt geat is swiþe wid and se weg is swiþe rum...

quia lata porta et spatiosa via...

This correspondence is rare, the above example being the only one attested in causal clauses.

We may safely assume that had Latin employed a copula here, it would have been in the indicative mood.

¹⁴ Lit., ‘if things abound for anyone’

There are a small number of passages, however, in which Latin employs the subjunctive mood, indicating that the viewpoint or cause stems from other than the speaker's/author's assertion. In every case, the corresponding OE exhibits the indicative mood:

b) Matt. 11:20

forþam þe hi ne dydon dædbote

quia non egissent paenitentiam

Here, the Latin has employed the pluperfect subjunctive. OE, on the other hand, shows an ambiguous form, either the preterite indicative or subjunctive, the form being more likely the indicative, since other causal constructions containing the subjunctive in Latin unequivocally correspond to those with the indicative in OE, as the following example indicates:

c) Luke 2:4

forþam þe he wæs of dauides huse and hirede

eo quod esset de domo et familia David

The Latin conjunctival phrase *eo quod* consistently introduces causal clauses employing the subjunctive mood throughout the gospels. Notice in the above example that Latin exhibits the imperfect subjunctive (*esset*) whereas OE unambiguously shows the preterite indicative (*wæs*; subjunctive would be *wære*). Hence, there are two conditions in which Latin employs the subjunctive, but in which OE shows the indicative: 1) causal clauses indicating the viewpoint/cause from other than the speaker's/author's assertion; 2) causal clauses introduced by a conjunction that requires in Latin the use of the subjunctive (e.g., *eo quod*, *pro eo quod*, *cum*).

Sometimes a causal clause contains an embedded conditional construction in which the Latin employs the subjunctive mood, the OE an ambiguous form but most likely the subjunctive:

d) Matt. 11:21 (see also Mt. 11:23; Lk. 10:13)

forþam gyf on tyro and sydone wærun gedone þa mægnu þe gedone synt on eow, gefyrn

hi dydun dædbote on hæran and on axan

Quia si in Tyro et Sidone factae essent virtutes, quae factae sunt in vobis, olim in cilicio

et cinere paenitentiam egissent

The embedded clauses in both OE and Latin are past contrary-to-fact conditions, the Latin displaying the pluperfect subjunctive, the OE presumably the preterite subjunctive.¹⁵

Not all clauses containing the Latin indicative correspond to an OE indicative. Consider the following:

e) John 7:22

na forþi þe heo of moyse sƿ ac of fæderon

non quia ex Moyse est sed ex patribus

The OE passage clearly exhibits the present subjunctive, whereas Latin shows a present indicative. The condition for this OE use of the subjunctive seems to be negation of the entire causal clause and not negation of an element within the clause. Latin does not require this syntactic feature and, hence, employs the indicative mood. In addition, OE requires the use of a special conjunction, *forþi þe*, when such a construction appears. This is borne out in another example of the same construction, also found in John:

f) John 12:6

na...forþig þe him gebyrode to þam þearfon

non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum

¹⁵ Mitchell (1987: 806) cites this passage in OE as an example of the use of the preterite subjunctive based upon the context of the passage through the use of an adverb indicating ‘unreality’; in this instance, *gefyrn*.

Although it is difficult to discern in isolation the mood of the OE verb, we may safely conclude through the evidence given in the previous example that the mood is subjunctive.

8.3.1.4 Aspect/Tense

The problem of aspect in OE and Latin has already been treated in sections 8.1.1.4 and 8.2.1.4. Since the ‘perfective’ prefixes do not consistently mark aspect or aspectual nuance in OE, save perhaps in the past participle—and here it seems to be more a marker of the participle itself than of aspect, a detailed discussion of correspondences in this area is superfluous and the findings indicate little that has not been observed in purpose and result clauses.¹⁶

However, since the range of inflected tenses exhibited in Latin is greater than that in OE, and causal clauses predominantly occur in the indicative mood in both languages, thereby allowing Latin to use its full range of tenses, a comparison of Latin-OE tense correspondence is a profitable undertaking and should give some insight into the manner in which OE may attempt to express the nuanced difference in meaning between the Latin imperfect and perfect, or perfect and pluperfect, tenses. In addition, the lack of a future tense in OE undoubtedly created difficulties in translation. This section will investigate also this problem.

8.3.1.4.1 Tense correspondence

Tense in causal clauses in both OE and Latin is not determined by the rule of concord, but rather depends on the context of the narration. Although the tense of the verb is predictable in telic and ecbatic clauses, it is not generally so in aetiological hypotaxis, nor are the correspondences always predictable. This section sets forth the following tense correspondences in aetiological clauses in OE and Latin:

¹⁶ In spite of this fact, this study will include a cursory examination of OE ‘perfective’ verbs and their Latin correspondences. This discussion follows that of tense correspondence.

OE	Latin
Present	Present
Present	Future
Present	Future periphrastic (present time)
Present	Perfect
Preterite	Imperfect
Preterite	Perfect
Preterite	Pluperfect
Preterite	Present
Preterite	Future periphrastic (past time)

8.3.1.4.1.1 OE present : Latin present

This correspondence occurs quite frequently in all the gospels and nearly all examples exhibit the indicative mood. Consider the following:

a) Matt. 5:3

forþam hyra ys heofena rice

quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum

b) Mark 5:9

forþam we manega synt

quia multi sumus

c) Luke 6:24

forþam þe ge eowerne frofor habbað

quia habetis consolationem vestram

d) John 5:39

forðam þe ge wenað þæt ge habbon ece lif on þam

quia vos putatis in ipsis vitam aeternam habere

In one passage, Latin exhibits a verb in the present subjunctive corresponding to the OE present indicative:

e) Luke 11:8

forþam þe he his freond ys

eo quod amicus eius sit

In another passage, the OE present subjunctive corresponds to the Latin present indicative:

f) John 7:22

na forþi þe heo of moyse sy ac of fæderon

non quia ex Moyse est sed ex patribus

The present : present correspondence is the most frequent in the causal clauses. The use of the subjunctive in Latin is dependent upon the conjunction *eo quod*, not upon the narrative viewpoint. The presence of the subjunctive in the OE passage is the result of the peculiar syntactic feature requiring the subjunctive in a rejected or denied causal construction.

8.3.1.4.1.2 OE present : Latin future

This correspondence occurs mostly in Matthew and Luke, only once in John, and never in Mark.

a) Matt. 5:8

forþam þe hi god geseoð

quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt

b) Luke 6:21

forþam ge beoð gefyllede

quia saturabimini

c) John 16:14

forþam he nimð of minum and cyð eow

quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit vobis

It can be argued that the *ge-* prefix in *geseoð* above indicates a perfective verb, which in the present tense would be semantically future.¹⁷ Matthew exhibits another passage with a ‘perfective’ prefix (Mt. 5:7, *begytað*) in this tense correspondence. These examples are inconclusive as evidence for perfectivity in these verbs, for the example from Jn. 16:14 above shows two unprefixes verbs. In addition, consider the following correspondence sets from Luke, in which each OE verb notably lacks a ‘perfective’ prefix:

OE	Latin
<i>hlihaþ</i>	<i>ridebitis</i>
<i>hingriað</i>	<i>esurietis</i>
<i>heofað</i>	<i>lugebitis</i>
<i>wepað</i>	<i>flebitis</i>
<i>secað</i>	<i>quaerent</i>
<i>cumað</i>	<i>venient</i>
<i>doð</i>	<i>fiet</i>

Hence, we may conclude that the prefixes *ge-* and *be-* in *geseoð* and *begytað* respectively do not indicate perfective aspect.

However, the OE construction in Lk. 6:21 above consistently corresponds to the Latin future passive. The existence of two different conjugations of the present tense of the OE verb *beon* ‘to be’ underscores their difference in function:

<u>Present tense w/ present meaning</u>		<u>Present tense w/ future meaning</u>	
<i>ic eom</i>	<i>we synt</i>	<i>ic beo</i>	<i>we beoð</i>
<i>þu eart</i>	<i>ge synt</i>	<i>þu byst</i>	<i>ge beoð</i>
<i>he, heo, hyt ys</i>	<i>hig synt</i>	<i>he, heo, hyt byð</i>	<i>hig beoð</i>

The conjugation that stems from PIE *H₁es- provides the OE present of *beon* and, when employed with the past participle, corresponds to either the present or perfect passive in Latin;

¹⁷ This assumes that the aspectual system in Proto-Germanic was similar to that in Slavic.

the conjugation stemming from PIE *bhuH₂-, when employed with the past participle, corresponds to the Latin future passive. However, when not employed with the past participle, it is not so consistently employed. Consider the following:

d) Luke 1:37

forþam nis ælc word mid gode unmihtelic

quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum

In the above example, we might expect in OE *ne byð* instead of *nis*, if *byð* always indicates the future. This rule, however, seems only to be a tendency and especially applicable when such forms are used in conjunction with the past participle.

8.3.1.4.1.3 OE present : Latin future periphrastic (present time)

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels:

Matt. 24:44

forþam ðe mannes sunnu wyle cuman on þære tide þe ge nyton

quia, qua nescitis hora, Filius hominis venturus est

Note that OE employs the modal *wyle* with the infinitive *cuman* to convey the notion of the Latin future periphrastic, which is a type of near future, often translated into NE as ‘about to, going to.’ Since OE does not employ the verb *gan* ‘to go’ in such a manner,¹⁸ the use of the verb *willan* conveying desire or intentionality comes relatively close to the Latin meaning of the future periphrastic and perhaps foreshadows the development of the Modern English future.

8.3.1.4.1.4 OE present : Latin perfect

This correspondence consists of three types of OE present constructions, all corresponding to the Latin perfect passive:

¹⁸ French, like NE, employs the verb ‘to go’ with the infinitive to form a type of near future: *Je vais partir* ‘I am going to leave.’ It is debatable whether the NE usage is a calque of the French.

1) OE semantic present of the verb **beon** employed with the past participle

This is the most common correspondence of these types, occurring in all four gospels:

a) Matt. 13:11

forþam þe eow is geseald to witanne heofena rices gerynu ‘because to you it is given to know the secrets of the kingdom of the heavens’

Quia vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni caelorum ‘Because to you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens’

b) Mark 14:27

forþam þe hit awriten is... ‘because it is written...’

quia scriptum est... ‘because it has been written...’

c) Luke 1:13

forþam þin ben ys gehyred ‘because your prayer is heard’

quoniam exaudita est deprecatio tua ‘because your appeal has been heeded’

d) John 3:21

forþam þe hig synt on gode gedone ‘because they are done in G-d’

quia in Deo sunt facta ‘because they have been done in G-d’

The OE present passive construction has two semantic uses, to convey 1) the present passive and 2) the perfect passive. It seems that the Latin in Jerome’s Vulgate had developed in a similar way, diverging from the strict classical usage in which the perfect passive participle in conjunction with the present tense of *sum* formed the perfect passive. The fact that some late classical and Medieval Latin passages contain the form *fuit* + perfect passive participle (with a perfect passive meaning) indicates that the present tense of *sum* + the perfect passive participle in Latin took on a present passive meaning. Hence, OE and the Latin of the Vulgate seem to have

developed their use of the passive participle along similar lines. It is unlikely, then, that the passages above are examples of OE calques of the Latin, since such constructions do exist in original OE compositions. However, even in such cases where the OE work is not a translation of a Latin original, it is difficult to discern to what degree Latin syntax may have influenced the OE construction.

2) *OE semantic future of the verb **beon** employed with the past participle*

This correspondence occurs only once in the four gospels:

e) John 16:21

forðam mann byð acenned on middaneard ‘because a man is born into the world’

quia natus est homo in mundum ‘because a man has been born into the world’

This passage clearly dispels the notion that *b-* forms of the present of *beon* always connote the future, since the corresponding Latin exhibits *natus est*, not *naturus est* or *nascetur*.

3) *OE present active that corresponds to the Latin perfect active*

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in Matthew and once in John:

f) Matt. 24:12

and forþam þe unrihtwisnys rixað manegra lufu acolað ‘and because unrighteousness predominates, the love of many grows cold’

Et, quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum ‘And, because iniquity has abounded, the affection of many will grow cold’

g) John 12:49

forþam þe ic ne sprece of me sylfon ‘because I do not speak of myself’

quia ego ex meipso non sum locutus ‘because I have not spoken of my own self’

The reason for this correspondence can only be explained from the fact that OE lacks a true perfect tense and employs the present to convey the meaning of the resultative perfect in Latin. One may, nevertheless, expect to see in OE the periphrastic perfect (*habban* + past participle), rendering perhaps *hæfð rixod* and *hæbbe gesprecen*, respectively.¹⁹

8.3.1.4.1.5 OE preterite : Latin imperfect

This is a commonly occurring correspondence in the four gospels:

a) Matt. 14:5

forþam þe hig hæfdon hyne for ænne witegan

quia sicut prophetam eum habebant

b) Mark 3:30

forþam þe hi cwædon he hæfð unclænne gast

Quoniam dicebant <<Spiritus immundum habet>>

c) Luke 6:19

forþam þe mægen of him eode

quia virtus de illo exibat

d) John 5:16

forþam þe he dyde þas þing on restedæge

quia haec faciebat in sabbato

Notice that in each of the OE passages above the verb contains no ‘perfective’ prefix. The fact that the overwhelming majority of clauses with this correspondence contain no OE verbs with

¹⁹ This view is controversial, as a number of scholars question whether OE actually had such a construction, particularly since the OE past participle is passive and, hence, cannot be employed as a transitive verb taking a direct object, but rather as an adjective modifying a noun (Mitchell 1985: 294-299). In a sentence such as *Hig habbað hyra cyning geslægenne*, it is unclear whether the intended sense is ‘they hold their king [in a state of being] slain’ or ‘they have slain their king.’ Of course, the OE construction certainly does lead to the subsequent development into a true periphrastic perfect as employed in NE.

one of the ‘perfective’ prefixes seems to support the notion that aspect as a verbal category did exist in OE, and that the absence of a ‘perfective’ prefix on the verb in the preterite tense corresponding to the Latin imperfect demonstrates the attempt of the Anglo-Saxon translators to convey this OE syntactic feature. However, two factors show that this is probably not the case. First, there are a small number of clauses in which an OE verb containing the ‘perfective’ prefix *ge-* corresponds to a Latin verb in the imperfect, as the following examples demonstrate:

e) Luke 23:8

forþam ðe he gehyrde mycel be him

eo quod audiret de illo

f) John 6:2 (see also Jn. 12:6)

forþam þe hig gesawon þa tacna

quia videbant signa

Since neither OE *gehyrde* nor *gesawon* as lexical items must occur with the *ge-* prefix, the use of the prefix here seems baffling if we understand *ge-*’s purpose as strictly conveying perfectivity.

The second factor that does not support the grammatical category of aspect in causal clauses in OE is the fact that most of the finite verbs in the OE causal clauses are either the preterite of *beon* or of a modal, neither of which ever occur with the *ge-* prefix. In addition, a number of other verbs also occur (such as *hæfde/næfde*, *eode*) which rarely employ the *ge-* prefix in the gospels. We may, therefore, conclude that the absence of a ‘perfective’ prefix on an OE verb corresponding to a Latin verb in the imperfect does not necessarily establish the grammatical category of aspect in OE causal clauses.

8.3.1.4.1.6 OE preterite : Latin perfect

This correspondence is quite frequent, but surprisingly does not occur in Mark. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 11:26

*forþam hyt wæs swa gecweme beforan þe
quoniam sic fuit placitum ante te²⁰*

b) Luke 8:30

*forþam þe manega deoflu on hine eodun
quia intraverunt daemonia multa in eum*

c) John 6:26

*Ac forþam þe ge æton of ðam hlafor and synt fulle
sed quia manducastis ex panibus et saturati estis*

The Latin perfect expresses two tense values (and arguably two aspectual nuances): 1) simple preterite and 2) present perfect (which may express completed or resultative activity (a stative meaning is debatable, but if it does exist, is most likely semantically possible in the perfect passive participle). Only through the context can one discern which Latin use of the perfect is being expressed (though some constructions do allow for certitude in this area, particularly in regard to tense concord). The fact that OE never employs the periphrastic construction *habban* + past participle to correspond to the Latin perfect tense indicates that OE probably did not employ periphrasis to express the concept of the present perfect, but rather used the preterite tense, as the data overwhelmingly substantiates.

²⁰ Notice Latin's use of the perfect of *esse* with the perfect passive participle to convey the perfect passive. This is contrary to the expected use in the classical idiom, which would probably exhibit either an active impersonal construction (*placuit*) or a passive construction with the present of *esse* (*est placitum*). It is also very probable that *placitum* here is being employed strictly as an adjective meaning 'pleasing.' This interpretation most closely corresponds to the OE.

8.3.1.4.1.7 OE preterite : Latin pluperfect

Because OE lacks a pluperfect tense, it must express the concept of the Latin pluperfect (as well as the perfect and imperfect) with the preterite. Consider the following examples:

a) Matt. 11:20

forþam þe hi ne dydon dædbote

quia non egissent paenitentiam

b) Mark 6:17

forþam ðe he nam hi

quia duxerat eam

c) Luke 16:8

forþam þe he gleawlice dyde

quia prudenter fecisset

d) John 7:30

forðam þe his tid ne com þa gyt

quia nondum venerat hora eius

This correspondence is not very frequent. We may also note that Latin employs the subjunctive mood frequently within this correspondence.

8.3.1.4.1.8 OE preterite : Latin present

This correspondence is rare and never occurs in Mark. Consider the following:

a) Matt. 2:18 (see also Mt. 15:32)

forþam þe hi næron ‘because they were not’

quia non sunt ‘because they are not’

b) Luke 19:9

forþam he wæs habrahames bearn ‘because he was Abraham’s child’

eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahae ‘because even he himself is a son of Abraham’

c) John 16:9

Be synne forþam hi ne gelyfdon²¹ on me ‘Concerning sin, because they have not believed in me’

de peccato quidem, quia non credunt in me ‘concerning sin indeed, because they do not believe in me’

Unless we assume a different Latin Vorlage in which Latin exhibits either the imperfect (e.g., *erant, essent, credebant*, respectively) or the perfect (*fuerunt, esset/fuerit, crediderunt*), the reason for the presence of the preterite in OE remains baffling. A present tense correspondence in OE would certainly not detract from the meaning. One might, in fact, expect OE to exhibit *ne synt, ys*, and *gelyfað* based upon the given Latin correspondences. Hence, the use of a different Latin Vorlage is not only possible but also likely.

8.3.1.4.1.9 OE preterite : Latin future periphrastic (past time)

This correspondence is rare, occurring only once in the four gospels. It is the past sequence of the OE present : Latin future periphrastic (present time) correspondence and—as in this correspondence—OE employs the modal *willan* + infinitive:

Luke 19:4

forþam he wolde þanon faran

quia inde erat transiturus

²¹ Probably an anterior present rather than an aoristic preterite.

8.3.1.4.2 Correspondences involving the so-called ‘perfective’ prefixes in OE

OE verbs with or without the so-called ‘perfective’ prefixes may correspond to Latin verbs in any of the tenses attested in causal clauses. In most correspondences, a prefix is lacking in OE. Since those verbs lacking a ‘perfective’ prefix are common and correspond to any of the Latin tenses,²² including the perfect and pluperfect, this situation poses a problem for establishing a theory of aspect in OE, mainly because of the difficulty involved in determining precisely the mechanism for aspectual nuance.

Non-prefixed OE verbs tend to correspond to the Latin present tense, though correspondences to the Latin imperfect and perfect are also quite frequent. This frequency by gospel is given in the table below.

Table 8.11 Frequency of OE verbs without perfective prefixes according to Latin tense correspondence

Latin Tense Correspondence	Gospel			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Present	21	6	27	34
Imperfect	4	6	16	15
Future	1	0	9	1
Perfect	7	0	16	14
Pluperfect	3	1	2	5

Were it not for the data in Luke’s gospel, one might make the case for aspect as a grammatical category in OE based upon the lack of a ‘perfective’ prefix in these correspondences. The data in Mark strongly point to such an aspectual distinction, if the system in OE is similar to that found in Slavic, and the data in Matthew and John point in this direction. The data in Luke, on the other hand, exhibit no tendency or predictability, as the following examples demonstrate:

²² Except the future perfect, which does not occur in telic, ecabatic, or aetiological clauses in the Vulgate gospels.

a) Luke 6:24

forþam þe ge eowerne frofor habbað

quia habetis consolationem vestram (Latin present tense)

b) Luke 6:19

forþam þe mægen of him eode

quia virtus de illo exibat (Latin imperfect tense)

c) Luke 6:25

forþam þe ge heofað and wepað

quia lugebitis et flebitis (Latin future tense)

d) Luke 1:49

forþam þe me micele þing dyde se ðe mihtig is

quia fecit mihi magna, qui potens est (Latin perfect tense)

e) Luke 13:14

forþam þe se hælend on restedæge hælde

quia sabbato curasset Iesus (Latin pluperfect)

The examples above indicate that the correspondences are based upon tense, not aspect, since OE does not make a distinction in form between verbs that correspond to the Latin imperfect and perfect tenses, or the present and future (assuming the Slavic model), for the OE verb occurs without a ‘perfective’ prefix in all these cases.

The above correspondences, however, may represent an unmarked or neutral grammatical category, and it may be that prefixed verbs are marked. An examination of verbs containing the prefixes *a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *of-*, and *to-* should show identifiable and predictable trends, if these prefixes indicate any aspectual distinction. The evidence does not seem to support this

conclusion, since OE verbs with one of the above ‘perfect’ prefixes may correspond to any of the Latin tenses without exhibiting any difference in aspectual meaning or function from verbs lacking such a prefix. Consider the data in the table below:

Table 8.12 Frequency of OE verbs with perfective prefixes according to Latin tense correspondence

Latin Tense Correspondence	Gospel			
	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Present	7	2	3	7
Imperfect	2	0	2	4
Future	5	0	3	0
Perfect	1	1	12	16
Pluperfect	0	2	2	1

According to this table, the data in Matthew seem to indicate no discernible trend of certain prefixed verbs exhibiting perfectivity or any identifiable and distinguishable aspectual nuance. The data in Mark are too slight to establish the certainty of any trend. Although the data in Luke and John display an apparent, perceivable trend in which the greater number of ‘perfective’ verbs correspond to the Latin future, perfect, and pluperfect tenses (which, arguably, can be said to indicate action associated with verbs indicating perfective aspect), a comparison with the frequency of verbs lacking one of these prefixes in OE makes it clear that no such trend exists, for non-prefixed verbs also display a high frequency of correspondence to the Latin future, perfect, and pluperfect tenses. The following examples are indicative of this correspondence:

f) Matt. 13:13

forþam þe lociende hig ne geseoþ and gehyrende hig ne gehyraþ...

quia videntes non vident et audientes non audiunt (Latin present tense)

g) John 6:2

forþam þe hig gesawon þa tacna

quia videbant signa (Latin imperfect tense)

h) Matt. 5:8

forþam þe hi god geseoð

quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Latin future tense)

i) Luke 1:48

Forþam þe he geseah hys þinene eodmodnesse

quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae (Latin perfect tense)

j) Mark 16:14

forþam þe hi ne gelyfdon þam ðe hine gesawon of deaþe arisan

quia his, qui viderant eum resuscitatum, non crediderant (Latin pluperfect tense)

As the above examples indicate, the presence of a ‘perfective’ prefix in an OE verb has no apparent bearing upon its Latin correspondence.

Another factor, in addition to that above, ought not be overlooked: a number of OE verbs with a ‘perfective’ prefix do not occur in a finite form, but instead occur as infinitives or past participles. This is problematic, for these constructions often correspond to non-periphrastic Latin verb constructions, especially OE constructions containing the past participle. Consider the following:

k) Luke 13:31

forþam þe herodes þe wyle ofslean (modal + infinitive)

quia Herodes vult te occidere

l) Matt. 1:19

ða he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian (modal + infinitive)

cum esset iustus et nollet eam traducere

m) Luke 8:37

*forþam hig mycelum ege gehæfte wærun (preterite of *beon* + past participle)*

quia timore magno tenebantur (imperfect passive)

n) Matt. 5:5

*forþam þe hi beoð gefrefrede (present [semantic future] of *beon* + past participle)*

quoniam ipsi consolabuntur (future passive)

That the prefix *ge-* is frequently employed to mark a past participle and not used to indicate an aspectual nuance in a finite verb is clearly born out in the following:

p) Matt. 13:11

forþam þe eow is geseald to witanne heofena rice geryne

Quia vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni caelorum

q) John 1:17

forþam þe æ wæs geseald þurh moysen

quia lex per Moysen data est

r) John 7:39

forþam þe se hælend næs ða gyt gewuldrud

quia Iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus

Notice that the Latin perfect passive (*datum/data est*) corresponds to the OE past participle + present **or** preterite form of *beon* (*is/wæs geseald*). Here, it is clear that the Anglo-Saxon translators understood the two tense values of the Latin perfect and translated into OE accordingly. The presence (or absence) of the prefix *ge-* has nothing to do with the temporal/aspectual nuance of the Latin verb, but rather this nuance is indicated in OE by the tense of *beon*. In addition, note that the preterite of the OE verb *beon* + past participle may

convey two Latin tenses: perfect **or** pluperfect passive. This evidence substantiates further the position that the prefix *ge-* is not an aspectual marker, but a marker of the past (passive) participle.²³ This overlap in function may be indicated as follows:

OE present tense of <i>beon</i> + past participle	Latin perfect passive (resultative)
OE preterite tense of <i>beon</i> + past participle	{ Latin perfect passive (aoristic) Latin pluperfect passive

There is no morphological distinction between the Latin resultative perfect and aoristic perfect, only a distinction in function. OE indicates this distinction through the tense of the copula, not through the presence/absence of an aspectual marker. Likewise, OE shows no morphological distinction between preterite (or, simple past) passive and a pluperfect passive, but Latin does. In this case, not even the tense of the copula in OE indicates this tense distinction, but such a nuance can only be discerned through the context of the narrative.

The above evidence, therefore, supports the view that no grammatical category of aspect exists in OE, at least not as it is believed to have existed in Gothic or as it does exist in Slavic.

The following correspondence sets are given as additional evidence supporting this conclusion:

OE verbs with <i>a-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>synt acwencte</i>	<i>exstinguuntur</i>
<i>bið ahyrod</i>	<i>mercennarius est</i>
<i>byð ahafen</i>	<i>exaltabitur</i>
<i>awruge</i>	<i>revelasti</i>
<i>awriten is</i>	<i>scriptum est</i>
<i>eom asend</i>	<i>missus sum</i>
<i>ys/byð acenned</i>	<i>natus est</i>
OE verbs with <i>be-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>belucað</i>	<i>clauditis</i>
<i>befarað</i>	<i>circuitis</i>

²³ The prefix *ge-* in OE historically was an indicator of perfective aspect. However, from a synchronic perspective, this clearly is not the primary function of *ge-* at the time of the translation of the gospels from Latin into OE.

<i>begytað</i>	<i>consequentur</i>
<i>bebead</i>	<i>mandatum dedit</i>
<i>behyddest</i>	<i>abscondisti</i>
OE verbs with <i>ge-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>geseop/gesawon/geseah</i>	<i>vident, videbunt/videbant/respexit</i>
<i>gehyrap/gehyrde</i>	<i>audiunt/audiret</i>
<i>ys gehyred</i>	<i>exaudita est</i>
<i>gewiteð</i>	<i>exit</i>
<i>geanbidiað</i>	<i>sustinent</i>
<i>gebyreð</i>	<i>capit</i>
<i>genealæcð</i>	<i>appropinquat</i>
<i>gelyfað/gelyfdon</i>	<i>credit/credunt, credebant</i>
<i>gecnawað/gecneowun</i>	<i>sciunt/noverunt</i>
<i>miht...gedon</i>	<i>potes...facere</i>
<i>nolde...gewidmærsian</i>	<i>nollet...traducere</i>
<i>wærun gedrehte</i>	<i>erant vexati</i>
<i>gehæfte wærun</i>	<i>tenebantur</i>
<i>gebyrode</i>	<i>pertinebat</i>
<i>beoð gefrefrede</i>	<i>consolabuntur</i>
<i>beoð gefyllede</i>	<i>saturabuntur</i>
<i>beoð genemnede</i>	<i>vocabuntur</i>
<i>bið...genyðerud</i>	<i>humiliabitur</i>
<i>is, wæs geseald</i>	<i>datum est</i>
<i>synt gesealde</i>	<i>tradita est</i>
<i>geneosode</i>	<i>visitavit</i>
<i>gelicode</i>	<i>placuit, complacuit</i>
<i>gehælde</i>	<i>sanum feci</i>
<i>ys gedemed</i>	<i>iudicatus est</i>
<i>geedcucude</i>	<i>revixit</i>
<i>næs ða gyt gewuldrud</i>	<i>nondum fuerat glorificatus</i>
OE verbs with <i>of-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>wyle ofslean/ofslogon</i>	<i>vult...occidere/occiderunt</i>
OE verbs with <i>to-</i> prefix	Latin correspondence
<i>toslat</i>	<i>dirupisset</i>
<i>tobraec</i>	<i>comminuisset</i>

The functions of the OE preverbs given above are the same as those discussed in section 8.1.1.4, the main difference, however, being in the rules for the employment of the subjunctive mood in purpose clauses.

8.3.2 Aetiological clausal to non-aetiological construction correspondence

This correspondence consists of two types: 1) OE causal clauses corresponding to Latin non-causal clauses or constructions (clausal or non-clausal) that imply a cause; 2) Latin causal clauses that correspond to OE non-causal constructions. This latter correspondence type often involves ambiguous clauses in Latin.

8.3.2.1 OE aetiological clausal : Latin non-aetiological clausal/non-clausal correspondence

This section will discuss the various Latin non-clausal constructions that correspond to OE aetiological clauses. The Latin correspondence may exhibit one of the following:

- 1) the absence of a corresponding clause because it does not exist in the best attested manuscripts;
- 2) participial phrase implying cause;
- 3) causally semantic prepositional phrase;
- 4) causal adverb in a coordinate clause;
- 5) causal adverb in an independent clause;
- 6) coordinate clause;
- 7) ambiguous clause (indirect statement or causal clause)

Types 1-7 above express or imply a causal meaning; 8-11 below, on the other hand, express or imply no such causal semantics:

- 8) relative clause;
- 9) independent clause;
- 10) indirect statement;
- 11) direct statement/quotation.

Let us proceed with examples of each type, beginning with type #1.

A causal clause in OE may correspond to no clause at all in the standard critical edition of the Latin Vulgate. This occurrence is extremely rare and indicates that the AS translators employed a Latin Vorlage different in some particulars from the critical text. This is evident in the fact that a number of Latin manuscript traditions contain the clause to which the OE passage corresponds. Consider the following:

a) John 16:16

forþam þe ic fare to fæder

*[quia vado ad Patrem]*²⁴ (not in the critical text)

When other manuscripts are taken into account, no real discrepancy exists here.

When an OE causal clause corresponds to a Latin participial phrase, however, we observe a marked discrepancy:

b) Matt. 27:4

Ic syngode þa ic sealde þæt rihtwise blod ‘I sinned, because I gave [up] the righteous blood’

<<*Peccavi tradens sanguinem innocentem*>> ‘I have sinned, [by] handing over innocent blood’

Note that OE attempts to express the flavor of the Latin participial phrase through the use of a subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *þa*, not *forþam* (*þe*). This conjunction also may correspond to Latin clauses introduced by *cum* when such clauses indicate attendant circumstances (see Mt. 1:19).

²⁴ The critical text contains this passage as a footnote, indicating that the Wordsworth-White and *Vulgata Stuttgartiensis* editions of the Vulgate contain the passage and, hence, disagree with the main text.

A Latin prepositional phrase with causal meaning may also correspond to an OE causal clause. In this correspondence, the object of the preposition in Latin is always a neuter relative pronoun. This correspondence occurs only in Luke:

c) Luke 4:18 (see also Lk. 7:7 and 7:47)

forþam þe he smyrede me ‘because he anointed me’

propter quod unxit me ‘on account of which he anointed me’

Other semantically causal constructions in Latin that correspond to OE causal clauses are given below:

d) Luke 1:35

and forþam þæt halige ðe of þe acenned byð byþ godes sunu genemned

ideoque et quod nascetur sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei (causal adverb in a coordinate clause)

e) Matt. 6:25 (see also Mk. 11:24; Lk. 12:22; Jn. 13:11)

forþam ic secge eow... ‘because I say to you...’

Ideo dico vobis... ‘Therefore I say to you...’ (causal adverb in an independent clause)

The corresponding clause in Latin sometimes is a true causal clause, but is coordinate rather than subordinate:

f) Matt. 14:24 (see also Mk. 10:22 and Lk. 23:34)

forþam þe hyt wæs strang wind ‘because it was a strong wind’

erat enim contrarius ventus ‘for there was a contrary wind’

Although the coordinating conjunction (e.g., *enim*) in Latin is usually postpositive (i.d., a clitic), it need not be so:

g) Luke 19:5

forþam þe ic wylle todæg on þinum huse wunian ‘because I wish to remain today in your house’

nam hodie in domo tua oportet me manere ‘for it is proper that I remain today in your house’

The Latin clause may be ambiguous, indicating either cause or an indirect statement:

h) Matt. 6:26

Behealdað heofonan fuglas forþam þe hig ne sawað ne hig ne ripað ne hig ne gadriað on berne ‘Behold heaven’s birds, because they do not sow nor do they reap nor do they gather in a barn’

*Respicite volatilia caeli, quoniam*²⁵ *non serunt neque metunt neque congregant in horrea* ‘Consider the winged ones of heaven, that [or, because] they do not sow nor reap nor gather together into granaries’

As stated previously, not all Latin correspondences indicate by implication or otherwise a causal notion. Consider the following examples:

i) Luke 6:27 (see also Lk. 8:13 and Jn. 19:38)

Ac ic eow secge forþam þe ge gehyrap ‘But I say to you because you hear’

Sed vobis dico, qui auditis ‘But I say to you, who hear’ (relative clause)

²⁵ The corresponding Greek conjunction ὅτι also is ambiguous. Because of the introductory verbs of perception in Greek and Latin (ἐμβλέψατε and *respicite*, respectively), the passage in these languages most likely is an indirect statement. Since OE usually introduces indirect statements with the conjunction *þæt*, not *forþam þe*, it is unlikely that the OE passage is ambiguous, but rather is a true causal clause.

j) Matt. 25:21 (see also Mt. 25:23)

forþam ðe þu wære getrywe ofer lytle þing ic gesette þe ofer mycle

Super pauca fuisti fidelis; supra multa te constituam (independent clause)²⁶

k) Matt. 2:16 (see also Lk. 12:51; 20:37; 24:44; Jn. 3:7; 16: 26)

Da wæs herodes swyðe gebolgen forþam þe he bepæht wæs fram þam tungelwitegum

‘Then Herod became very angry, because he had been deceived by the astrologers’

Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde... ‘Then Herod, seeing that he had been deceived by the Magi, became very angry...’ (object clause)

l) Matt. 2:23 (see also Lk. 9:22; 17:19; Jn. 20:13)²⁷

forþam ðe he nazarenisc byð genemned ‘because he will be called a Nazarene’

<<*Nazaraeus vocabitur*>> ‘He will be called a Nazarean’ (direct statement/quotation)

8.3.2.2 Latin aetiological : OE non-aetiological clausal correspondence

This section contains a brief discussion of Latin causal clauses (or ambiguous clauses that can be construed as causal) that correspond to non-causal clauses in OE. This correspondence, like the one previously discussed, clearly indicates that the OE is not in every particular a calque of the Latin, but often deviates from the structure found in the Vorlage, the explanations for which are in some passages speculative and in others more evident. The non-aetiological OE correspondences are of the following types:

1) no conjunction;

2) independent clause;

²⁶ Wordsworth-White and *Vulgata Stuttgartiensis* introduce the clause with *quia*, hence corresponding well with the OE passage.

²⁷ Wordsworth-White and *Vulgata Stuttgartiensis* contain in the Matthew passage the conjunction *quoniam*, and in the passages from Luke and John the conjunction *quia*. These cannot be construed to be causal conjunctions in Latin, but rather calques of the Greek use of ὅτι, which often is employed in the Greek NT to introduce direct quotes (ὅτι, however, does not occur in Lk. 17:19 in the Greek text). The AS translators have misunderstood the function of the Latin conjunctions *quoniam* and *quia* in these passages and have translated them literally as causal conjunctions, hence rendering them into OE as *forþam þe*.

- 3) relative clause;
- 4) indefinite relative clause;
- 5) epexegetical clause;
- 6) temporal clause;
- 7) clause of attendant circumstance;
- 8) indirect statement;
- 9) no OE correspondence;
- 10) direct statement/quotation;
- 11) comparative clause;
- 12) interrogative (indirect question);
- 13) purpose clause.

The following passages illustrate the above correspondence types:

a) Matt. 5:29 (see also Mt. 5:13 and 18:17)

quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum ‘because if your right eye scandalizes you, pluck it out’

Gyf þin swyðre eage þe æswicie ahola hit ut ‘If your right eye offends you, pluck it out’
(no causal conjunction)

b) Matt. 12:33 (see also Jn. 6:46 and 7:29)²⁸

siquidem ex fructu arbor agnoscitur ‘since a tree is recognized from the fruit’

Witodlice be þam weastmme byð þæt treow oncnawen ‘Truly the tree is perceived by the fruit’ (independent clause)

²⁸ All three clauses in this particular correspondence type are ambiguous in the Latin and, hence, the ambiguity is reflected in the AS translators’ rendition of the Latin into non-aetiological OE clauses.

c) Matt. 5:45

quia solem suum oriri facit super malos et bonos ‘because he makes his sun to rise upon the evil and the good’

se þe deð þæt hys sunne up aspringð ofer þa godan and ofer þa yfelan ‘he who makes his sun to spring up over the good and over the evil’ (relative clause).

The relative pronoun in OE may be indefinite:

d) Mark 11:23

quod dixerit ‘because he will have said’,²⁹

swa hwæt swa he cwyð ‘whatsoever he says’

Epexegetical (i.e., explanatory) clauses are also common:

e) Matt. 8:27

quia et venti et mare oboediunt ei ‘because both the winds and sea obey him’

þæt windas and sæ him hyrsumiað ‘that the winds and sea obey him’

Although it is evident that the structure of the Latin Vorlage in the above passage is ambiguous, for the conjunction *quia* may introduce either causal or substantival clauses, the significance here is that the OE passage clearly is **not** ambiguous, for the conjunction *þæt* rarely (if ever) introduces a causal clause.

Temporal clauses and clauses of attendant circumstance have very similar structures and the context of the OE passage does not always underscore the distinction between the two types when they correspond to Latin causal clauses. Consider the following:

²⁹ The structure in Latin is ambiguous and could also be a relative clause.

f) Matt. 12:34

cum sitis mali ‘since you are evil’

þonne ge synt yfele ‘when you are evil’ (temporal clause; clause of attendant circumstance?)

g) Mark 2:4

Et cum non possent offerre eum illi prae turba ‘And since they could not bring him to him on account of the crowd’ (could also be a clause of attendant circumstance)

and þa hi ne mihton hine in bringan for þære mænigu ‘and when they could not bring him in because of the crowd’ (temporal clause or clause of attendant circumstance)

h) John 4:9

Quomodo tu Iudaeus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quae sum mulier Samaritana? ‘How do you, since you are a Jew, demand from me [to give you] to drink, [I] who am a Samaritan woman?’

Humeta bitst þu æt me drincan þonne ðu eart iudeisc and ic eom samaritanisc wif ‘How do you ask me [to give you] to drink, when you are Jewish and I am a Samaritan woman’ (unambiguous, clearly a clause of attendant circumstance in OE)

The examples of the remaining correspondence types need little or no explanatory comments:

i) Matt. 16:8

<<*Quid cogitatis inter vos, modicae fidei, quia panes non habetis?*>> ‘Why do you deliberate among yourselves, [oh you] of scanty faith, because you do not have loaves?’

hwæt þence ge betwux eow lytles geleafan þæt ge hlafas nabbað? ‘What do you think among yourselves, [oh you] of little belief, that you do not have loaves?’ (object clause)³⁰

j) Matt. 23:14

quia comeditis domos viduarum orationes longas orantes ‘because, praying long prayers, you eat up the houses of widows’ (no correspondence attested in OE)

k) Mark 8:16

Et disputabant ad invicem, quia panes non haberent ‘And they were arguing with one another, because they did not have loaves’

Þa pohton hi betwux him and cwædon: Næbbe we nane hlafas ‘Then they thought among themselves and said: We do not have any loaves’ (direct statement)

l) Luke 11:4

siquidem et ipsi dimittimus omni debenti nobis ‘since even we ourselves forgive everyone being in debt to us’

swa we forgyfað ælcum þara þe wið us agyltað ‘just as we forgive each of those who pay us back’ (comparative clause)

³⁰ The divergence in the OE results from the fact that the AS translators have here misconstrued the meaning of Latin *quid* and *quia*. Although *quid* most often functions as the neuter interrogative pronoun, it may also function adverbially and mean ‘why.’ The mistranslation of the former lexeme (*quid*) has led to a mistranslation of the latter (*quia*).

m) Luke 11:38

quod non baptizatus esset ante prandium ‘because he had not been ritually washed before dinner’,³¹

Hwi he gepwogen nære ær his gereorde ‘Why was he not washed before his meal’ (either direct or indirect question)

n) John 7:35

quia nos non inuenimus eum? because we will not find him?’

þæt we hine ne findon ‘that we may not find him’ (purpose clause)

8.4 Conclusion

In comparative examination of telic, ecbatic, and aetioloical clauses in the OE and Latin gospels, we see numerous passages in which the OE attempts to calque Latin constructions or lexemes. However, most examples clearly demonstrate that OE is essentially a literal translation when the syntax allows, and a free rendering when the native OE syntax necessitates it. In other words, the syntax in these clausal types demonstrates native OE constructions, often at variance with the corresponding Latin Vorlage. This conclusion is born out by the following observations:

1) OE and Latin share similar conventions of mood employment in purpose clauses, in which both languages employ the subjunctive. However, OE tends to employ the indicative mood in result clauses, Latin the subjunctive. In causal clauses, both the subjunctive and indicative may be frequent in Latin, depending on the conjunction employed or the viewpoint of the narrative. OE, on the other hand, employs the indicative mood in causal clauses, except in clauses of rejected or denied cause, which exhibit the verb in the subjunctive.

³¹ i.e., the midday meal.

2) OE and Latin lack the grammatical category of aspect. Where Latin does make a distinction, however, between durative (imperfect) and punctiliar (perfect) notions in past time, OE does not always attempt to calque this dichotomy—except in the passive voice—since it lacks the grammatical (i.e., morphological) means to do so, but rather renders both Latin tenses into the OE preterite.

3) Purpose, result, and causal clauses in OE sometimes correspond to non-purpose/non-result/non-causal constructions in Latin.

4) Purpose, result, and causal clauses in Latin may sometimes correspond to non-purpose/non-result/non-causal constructions in OE. The Latin constructions are often ambiguous.

5) Ambiguous clauses in Latin are generally non-ambiguous in the corresponding OE.

6) Of the various conjunctions employed to indicate purpose, result, or cause, no absolute one-to-one correspondence exists between the two languages.

7) OE rarely slavishly imitates the word order of the Latin Vorlage, especially in regard to the position of the subject, verb, and object. This is mainly due to the fact that particular syntactic and stylistic conventions in OE subordinate clauses differ from those of Latin, the AS translators adapting their translation accordingly.

8) Since the verbal system in OE is based upon a dichotomy of past vs. non-past, the range of Latin past tenses, as well as the presence of the Latin future, cannot be adequately calqued by OE syntax and, hence, OE is limited in expressing the Latin nuances of tense.

9) The OE text frequently corresponds to a Vorlage that often varies from the standard critical text of the Latin Vulgate.

10) Although a number of discrepancies between the two languages can be reconciled by taking into account #9 above, nevertheless, not all problematic correspondences can be explained on this basis, and numerous discrepancies are the result of OE's adherence to native syntax, style, and conventions of narrative discourse as understood by the native AS speakers.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

Final, consecutive, and causal clause structure in Greek, Latin, Gothic, and OE displays similarities that can be attributed partially to calquing, but mostly to linguistic relationship. With OE being the notable exception, all these languages tend to exhibit similar word-order patterns. Only Greek exhibits aspect as an identifiable grammatical category, although Latin shows aspectual distinctions in the tense system (imperfect vs. perfect) and Gothic demonstrates aspectual nuance through the use of preverbs (primarily the prefix *ga-*) and lexemes to denote a distinction between perfective vs. imperfective verbs, a system perhaps comparable to that in Slavic. Only Latin employs the subjunctive mood consistently in result clauses. Latin, Gothic, and OE may exhibit the subjunctive¹ in certain causal constructions. Depending on the clausal type, the languages in this study often employ various conjunctions, sometimes for stylistic variation (e.g., Greek employs ἵνα or ὅπως in purpose clauses, ὥστε or ἵνα in result). No particular conjunction in Latin, Gothic, or OE corresponds to one particular conjunction in the Vorlage.

The differences in hypotactic structure among these languages underscore their own syntactic developments within their specific Indo-European sub-groups. These ancient versions of the gospels, therefore, are not merely calques, but rather translations (though often quite literal) that express the thoughts and ideas of the Vorlage in a manner intelligible to the hearers; for these translations were meant to be read out loud. (Not until Medieval times in monasteries was silent reading a commonly employed method.) In addition, since public reading of the

¹ This mood in Germanic is historically from the PIE optative.

gospels occurred in the churches as part of the liturgy of the catechumens, and since most speakers outside of Greek speaking churches were unacquainted with the Greek language (and most Anglo-Saxons could not speak Latin), the aim of a translation employed in areas where the liturgy was performed in the language of the faithful was to meet two criteria: 1) to be as true as possible to the meaning and ‘spirit’ of the Vorlage; 2) to convey the thoughts expressed in the sacred text in terms comprehensible to the speakers of the target language. Therefore, one may describe the translation work into these various languages as being as literal as possible with respect to the Vorlage without violating the syntax and idiom of the target language.

The following sections are a summation of the similarities shared by these languages, as well as their differences. The discussion is not a total recapitulation of the data, but rather a comparative examination of the linguistic trends displayed in each clausal type by all the languages included in this study.

9.1 Trends in purpose clauses

The conjunction predominantly employed in affirmative clauses in Greek is ἵνα; in negative purpose clauses, ἵνα μή. Latin and Gothic are consistent in their correspondence, as is OE in its correspondence with the Latin. Consider the following examples, first of affirmative, then of negative purpose clauses:

a) Mark 1:38

Greek: ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω

Latin: *ut et ibi praedicem*

Gothic: *ei jah jainar merjau*

Old English: *þæt ic ðar bodige*

b) Mark 3:9

Greek: ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν

Latin: *ne comprimerent eum*Gothic: *ei ni praiheina ina*Old English: *þæt hi hine ne ofþrungon*

Not only does Latin *ut* mostly correspond to Greek ἵνα, but it may correspond also to Greek ὅπως and ὅπως ἄν. In addition, Latin *ne* corresponds not only to Greek ἵνα μή, but also to ὅπως μή, μήποτε, ἵνα μήποτε, and μή. Gothic likewise displays a similar pattern, with Gothic *ei* corresponding to a number of Greek conjunctions (ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅπως ἄν); Gothic *ei ni* shows a similar correspondence pattern (Gk. ἵνα μή, ὅπως μή, μήποτε). OE *þæt* is very consistent, corresponding only to Latin *ut*. However, OE *þæt ne* mostly corresponds to *ne* (there are a few correspondences to *ut non*), but OE *þe læs (þe)* mostly corresponds to Latin *ut non* (with a few correspondences to Latin *ne*).

The trend in word order is consistently verb-initial, with OE being the notable exception. One explanation for this trend is that the verb, being a strongly salient grammatical category in discourse, is frequently placed in initial position as the focus of new or contrastive information. Consider the data in the table below:

Table 9.1 Frequency of argument-initial types in purpose clauses

Argument type	Language			
	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
V-initial	161	248	126	15
S-initial	50	50	26	327
O-initial	26	36	14	10

The above theory, however, does not explain the discrepancy observed in OE, which strongly tends to display subject-initial clauses. Perhaps the real issue is not where the verb occurs within

the clause, but rather its position with respect to any overt direct object. Consider the data in the table below:

Table 9.2 Frequency of verb placement in respect to a direct object in purpose clauses

Verb-placement type	Language			
	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
VO	73	123	66	75
OV	27	45	17	119

Note that 73% of purpose clauses in Greek exhibit VO word order. Latin exhibits the same percentage (73%) and Gothic shows nearly 80%. In OE, however, most purpose clauses display OV (61%). When the issue of word order is examined in the other hypotactic types, Greek, Latin, and Gothic show the same pattern—a tendency toward VO order, as the following tables indicate:

Table 9.3 Frequency of verb placement in respect to a direct object in result clauses

Verb-placement type	Language			
	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
VO	1	8	8	8
OV	1	1	2	8

Table 9.4 Frequency of verb placement in respect to a direct object in causal clauses

Verb-placement type	Language			
	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
VO	83	99	73	96
OV	32	41	26	37

The paucity of the data in table 9.3 above leaves the issue of word order in result clauses inconclusive. Nevertheless, the tendency in both Latin and Gothic is toward VO order. OE shows the most occurrences of result clauses, but displays an even distribution of VO and OV word order. Based upon what we have observed in purpose clauses in OE, this is a surprising statistic. Even more surprising, however, are the data in table 9.4, in which we see the expected

tendency toward VO word order in Greek (72%), Latin (71%), and Gothic (74%). We might expect OE, on the other hand, to tend to show OV word order, as it does in purpose clauses. 72% of causal clauses in OE, however, show VO word order. Why is there this apparent inconsistency? Perhaps in OE the narrative discourse tended to exhibit ‘light’ objects in purpose clauses, but ‘heavy’ objects in causal clauses.

All the languages in this study tend to employ the subjunctive mood (Gothic, optative) in purpose clauses. The uncertainty of the fulfillment of the final clause seems to be the determining factor in this selection of mood. The occasional appearance of the future indicative in Greek has already been discussed and need not be reiterated (see section 2.1.1.2). Where Greek exhibits the future indicative, Latin, Gothic, and OE exhibit the expected non-indicative mood:

c) Luke 20:10

Greek: ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν αὐτοῖς

Latin: *ut de fructu vineae darent illi*

Gothic: *ei akranis þis weinagardis gebeina imma*

Old English: *þæt hig him sealdon of þæs wingeardes wæstm*

The above examples are evidence that these gospel versions are not calques, but rather exhibit native syntax despite the variation demonstrated in the Greek Vorlage.

As stated previously, only Greek exhibits the grammatical category of aspect, and this distinction is salient in purpose clauses. Latin, Gothic, and OE employ a system of tense concord, a syntactic construction not used in NT Greek but prevalent in the classical idiom.²

² In Classical Greek, tense concord *and* aspect were present in final clauses. The dichotomy of aspect was expressed through the use of the present tense (durative, imperfective) in opposition to the aorist (punctiliar, perfective). Tense concord was expressed through the subjunctive mood in primary sequence, the optative in secondary. This rule,

Latin employs in its tense concord system a dichotomy of present subjunctive (primary sequence) vs. imperfect (secondary). Gothic and OE display the distinction of past (preterite subjunctive/optative, secondary sequence) vs. non-past (present subjunctive/optative, primary sequence). These distinctions in Latin, Gothic, and OE are not aspectual, but rather tense driven. The fact that this system is markedly different from that exhibited in NT Greek further underscores the native syntax employed by these target languages.³

9.2 Trends in result clauses

The conjunction predominantly employed in result clauses in Greek is ὥστε.⁴ The Latin correspondence is (*ita*) *ut* (negative, *ut non*); Gothic, *swaswe/swaei*; OE *swa þæt* consistently corresponds to Latin *ita ut*. Consider the following:

d) Matt. 8:28

Greek: ὥστε⁵ μὴ ἰσχύειν τινὰ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης

Latin: *ita ut nemo posset transire per viam illam*

Gothic: *swaswe ni mahta manna usleip̃an þairh þana wig jainana*

Old English: *swa þæt nan man ni mihte faran þurh þone weg*

however, was not always strictly followed, for the subjunctive could appear in secondary sequence to show vividness. In the Greek NT, the subjunctive is used throughout.

³ As noted earlier, Gothic shows an aspectual nuance through the use of preverbs and lexemes. However, certain aspectual nuances seem to be more evident in constructions involving the indicative mood, such as in causal clauses.

⁴ Because of the paucity of data from the Greek, the status of result constructions introduced by ἵνα + subjunctive is questionable. The conjunction ὥστε in Greek is predominantly employed with the infinitive. Therefore, the example given from the Greek contains an infinitive, since this construction is more reliably attested.

⁵ The one obvious result clause employing a finite verb with the conjunction ὥστε in Greek (Jn. 3:16) has no attested Gothic correspondence. Nevertheless, this example is given below for comparative analysis:

John 3:16

Greek: οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν [αὐτοῦ] τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν

Latin: *Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret*

Old English: *God lufode middanearð swa þæt he sealde his ancennendan sunu*

Notice that Latin exhibits the subjunctive where Greek shows the indicative.

The trend in word order in result clauses is inconclusive because of the paucity of data. However, the data has been given for comparison with the other hypotactic constructions examined in this study:

Table 9.5 Frequency of argument-initial types in result clauses

Argument type	Language			
	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
V-initial	7	22	22	0
S-initial	4	9	10	41
O-initial	2	1	4	1

Notice that—as in purpose clauses—Greek, Latin, and Gothic tend to exhibit verb-initial clauses, but OE subject initial ones. See the previous section (9.1) concerning the word-order discrepancy in OE as well as data concerning the position of the verb in respect to the direct object.

When Greek employs a finite verb in result constructions, the mood tends to be the indicative when the conjunction ὥστε is employed, the subjunctive with ἵνα or ὅπως. Latin always employs the subjunctive, this use being characteristic of Latin syntax. Gothic and OE employ the indicative.

As in purpose clauses, Greek maintains an aspectual dichotomy. Latin, Gothic, and OE exhibit tense concord.

9.3 Trends in causal clauses

The conjunction predominantly employed in causal clauses in Greek is ὅτι. Latin primarily employs *quia* to correspond to this Greek conjunction, though Latin *quoniam* is also a very frequent correspondence. Gothic employs the conjunction *unte*, with *patei* occasionally occurring but only in John's gospel. OE *forþam þe* corresponds to Latin *quia* and *quoniam*. In

addition, OE *forþam*—a variant of *forþam þe*—also occurs quite frequently with similar correspondence.

Causal clauses tend to be verb-initial in Greek, Latin, and Gothic, and subject-initial in OE. Since this pattern exists consistently across purpose, result, and causal hypotaxis, we may safely assume that the word-order patterns given are default and likely to be expected in other types of hypotactic clauses (e.g., temporal, relative, conditional, comparative, indirect discourse, etc.).

Table 9.6 Frequency of argument-initial types in causal clauses

Argument type	Language			
	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
V-initial	165	216	144	16
S-initial	74	77	57	280
O-initial	25	31	23	5

Greek, Latin, Gothic, and OE employ the indicative mood in causal clauses. However, Latin and OE may employ the subjunctive, and Gothic the optative, in situations where Greek maintains its use of the indicative. In Latin, the subjunctive is employed when the assertion of the cause is other than the narrator's. In Gothic and OE, the optative/subjunctive may appear in expressions of rejected or denied cause (see Mitchell 1987: 609-613).

Since the indicative mood predominantly occurs in causal clauses in all the languages in this study, the near full range of tenses occurs in both Greek and Latin. Gothic and OE are limited in their number of inflected tenses (present and preterite), which convey a broad range of Aktionsarten and functions. Below are the tenses that occur in Greek, Latin, Gothic, and OE in the gospels with their possible correspondences:

Table 9.7 Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Old English tenses in causal clauses

Greek	Latin	Gothic	Old English
Present	Present	Present	Present
Present	Imperfect	Preterite	Preterite
Present	Future	Present	Present
Present	Future periphrastic ⁶	Present	Present
Present	Perfect	Present	Present
Imperfect	Imperfect	Present/preterite	Preterite
Imperfect	Future periphrastic ⁷	Preterite	Preterite
Imperfect	Pluperfect	Preterite	Preterite
Future	Future	Present	Present
Aorist	Perfect	Present	Preterite
Aorist	Pluperfect	Preterite	Preterite
Aorist subjunctive	Future	? ⁸	Present
Perfect	Perfect	Preterite	Preterite
Perfect	Present	Present	Present
Pluperfect	Pluperfect	Preterite	Preterite
Pluperfect	Imperfect	Preterite	Preterite

9.4 Summary observations

The following conclusions may be stated about the relationship of Latin and Gothic to the Greek Vorlage, and about OE to the Latin Vorlage:

- 1) Latin, Gothic, and OE strictly adhere to their own rules of mood employment.
- 2) Since Latin, Gothic, and OE lack the grammatical category of aspect, few attempts are made to calque the Greek aspectual system, even by means of periphrasis. The aspectual system in Gothic functions differently from that of Greek, and in Latin aspect is intricately connected to tense. Aspectual nuance, except upon a lexical basis, is impossible to detect in OE, despite the efforts of some scholars to do so.
- 3) Clausal types do not always coincide between Vorlage and target language. For example, a purpose clause in one language may correspond to a result clause in another.

⁶ In conjunction with present tense forms of *sum*.

⁷ In conjunction with imperfect tense forms of *sum*.

⁸ Not attested in Gothic.

4) No one-to-one conjunctival correspondence exists between Vorlage and target language.

5) Latin and Gothic frequently imitate the Greek word order, but avoid violating their own word-order constraints. OE, on the other hand, rarely slavishly imitates the word order of the Latin Vorlage.

6) Tenses in the indicative mood often do not correspond. This can be explained by several factors. First, Latin does not have an aorist tense and employs the perfect and pluperfect tenses to convey the meaning of the Greek aorist. In addition, the Gothic and OE verbal systems are limited to two tenses, present and preterite, which must express the meaning of the range of Greek tenses (for Gothic) and Latin tenses (for OE).

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