

clothes.”<sup>1</sup> The translation could go even further in making the sexual or erotic aspect explicit: “uncover his foot end” could become “bare the private parts” or “strip yourself”; “foot end” could be rendered “genitals”; a request for protection could become “impregnate me”; and a “man of potential” could be made to refer to “male sexual prowess.”

Nonetheless, it is only fair to concede that the reading based on the Bowa culture, though exhibiting striking affinity to many details in the Book of Ruth, is still a reading colored by a cultural context. Yet we would offer this reading as a viable alternative and perhaps a healthy antidote to some of the interpretations of the scene at the threshing floor current in Western-based exegetical literature.

DAVID J. CLARK

## VOCATIVES IN THE EPISTLES

The author is a retired UBS translation consultant, and now serves as a voluntary part-time translation consultant with the Institute for Bible Translation. He is based in Woking, England.

### Introduction

In two previous articles in *The Bible Translator*, “Vocative Displacement in the Gospels” [47.3 (1996): 313-21] and “Vocative Displacement in Acts and Revelation” [50.1 (1999): 101-10], I discussed the occurrences of vocatives in the narrative books of the NT. In the Gospels and Acts, more than two-thirds of all vocatives occur in initial position within their sentence, and in narrative material this was taken as the normal, or unmarked position. Various suggestions were put forward to account for the cases where the vocative was displaced to another position within its sentence. In brief, these were of two main categories. The first was one-word adverbial phrases, fossilized imperatives, and interjections, all of which routinely precede a vocative, with no sociolinguistic implications. The second was increased social distance between the interlocutors. These two categories sufficed to account not only for the displaced vocatives in the Gospels and Acts, but also for those in Revelation, where all the vocatives except one are displaced.

The opportunity has now arisen to examine the vocatives in the NT Epistles, and this article presents the results.<sup>2</sup> In order to speed the investigation, two colleagues (Dr Kees de Blois and Dr Stefano Cotrozzi) independently produced for me lists of vocatives in the Epistles, generated by different computer programs. I was surprised to see that the two lists were by no means identical, and further investigation revealed that neither program was able to recognize the numerous vocative occurrences of the Greek form *agapētoi* (“beloved”). So an additional search by the time-honored method of reading the text was also necessary, and since this method is not infallible either, it remains possible that one or two examples of vocatives have escaped unnoticed. However, it is not

1 A number of scholars have understood Naomi’s instructions to mean that Ruth was to be “dressing up” to attract. This interpretation probably lies behind the translation of *simlah* as “best clothes” in many versions (see New Living Translation, NAB, NASV, NIV, RSV, GNT).

2 I am very grateful to Dr Paul Ellingworth and Prof Johannes P. Louw for their careful readings of a draft of this paper. Their comments have resulted in several improvements, but it hardly needs to be said that the remaining defects are all my own work.

likely that they would be numerous enough to distort the overall picture that emerges.

### Distribution of vocatives

I began with the naïve assumption that vocatives were distributed more or less evenly through the Epistles, and was surprised to find that this was by no means the case. So the first step is to present the distribution in chart form. For this purpose, I shall divide the NT Epistles into two groups, Romans to Philemon (13 letters) and Hebrews to Jude (8 letters). This is a rough-and-ready division, and treats all the letters traditionally ascribed to Paul as by the same author. Since the second group contains letters by at least five different authors, it does not matter a great deal for present purposes if, say, the Pastoral Epistles are actually by someone other than Paul.

Pauline Letters	No. of vocatives	Other letters	No. of vocatives
Romans	(19) 14	Hebrews	(9) 5
1 Corinthians	(27) 24	James	21
2 Corinthians	6	1 Peter	7
Galatians	(17) 14	2 Peter	5
Ephesians	6	1 John	20
Philippians	9	2 John	1
Colossians	6	3 John	3
1 Thessalonians	14	Jude	3
2 Thessalonians	7		
1 Timothy	3		
2 Timothy	1		
Titus	-		
Philemon	2		
<b>Totals</b>	<b>106</b>		<b>65</b>

The figures in brackets give a maximum count, but we need to recognize a basic distinction between vocatives that show interaction between the writer and his entire readership, and those that do not. Those that do not are of two categories. The first consists of vocatives in OT quotations. These will have to be excluded from the investigation since they are really part of the context from which they are drawn, and so cannot carry information about the interaction between the NT writers and their readers. The totals at the bottoms of the columns exclude OT quotations, and refer only to the figures not bracketed. In addition to direct quotations from the OT (found in Rom 10.16; 11.3; 15.10, 11; 1 Cor 15.55 twice; Gal 4.27 twice; Heb 1.8, 10; 10.7; 12.5), the bracketed figures above include the expressions *abba ho patēr* in Rom 8.15 and Gal 4.6, and *marana tha* in 1 Cor 16.22. It can be seen at once that the frequency of vocatives is significantly higher in the non-Pauline letters: 65 vocatives in 735 non-Pauline verses is about one occurrence per 11 verses; 106 vocatives in 2,032 Pauline verses is only about one occurrence per 19 verses. In other words, vocatives are almost twice as frequent in the non-Pauline letters.

### Virtual addressees

The second category involves a phenomenon that has not occurred in the narrative books of the NT, namely vocatives directed to what I will call virtual addressees. These are not the total group to whom the letter is written, but, so to speak, sets of people who may or may not actually exist among the readership. They fall into two subsets. The first consists of sub-groups among the readership who definitely do exist, but are addressed for the purposes of ethical instruction as a class rather than as individuals. This subset is found in Ephesians and Colossians, in the same order in both cases: *hai gynaiques* (Eph 5.22; Col 3.18), *hoi andres* (Eph 5.25; Col 3.19), *ta tekna* (Eph 6.1; Col 3.20), *hoi pateres* (Eph 6.4; Col 3.21), *hoi douloi* (Eph 6.5; Col 3.22), and *hoi kyrioi* (Eph 6.9; Col 4.1). It is notable that apart from these vocatives to virtual addressees, those two letters contain no other vocatives at all.

A similar subset is found in 1 Peter, where the vocatives are *hoi oiketai* (2.18), *hai gynaiques* (3.1), *hoi andres* (3.7), *neōteroi* (5.5), and possibly *pantes* (3.8). In this letter, the groups named overlap only partially with those in Ephesians and Colossians, and in 1 Peter, moreover, there are other vocatives. In 1 John 2.12-14 there is a somewhat analogous series of vocatives (*teknia, pateres, neaniskoi, paidia, pateres, neaniskoi*) in which sub-groups among the total readership are addressed specifically. In 1 John too, these are not the only vocatives in the letter. All these examples of addressing sub-groups among the readers are naturally in the plural.

The second subset consists of hypothetical addressees who “exist” only in the writer’s imagination for the purpose of holding an opinion that the writer goes on to reject. The best examples are in Romans. In 2.1 there is *ō anthrōpe pas ho krinōn*; in 2.3 the longer phrase *ō anthrōpe ho krinōn tous ta toiauta prassontes kai poiōn auta*; and in 9.20 just *ō anthrōpe*. In Jas 2.20 there is *ō anthrōpe kene*. These last two examples are interesting in that they both occur in a paragraph that begins with the explicit establishment of a hypothetical opponent in the words *ereis oun moi* (Rom 9.19), and *all’erei tis* (Jas 2.18). The examples in this subset are all in the singular, and thus contrast with those in the first subset.

This distinction may help to determine the status of a few other examples which are not as clear as the ones cited so far. In James we also find the following vocative phrases: *moichalides* (4.4), *hamartōloi* and *dipsychoi* (4.8), *hoi legontes ...* (4.13), and *hoi plousioi* (5.1). The last two are perhaps disputable as vocatives, but I treat them as such because they are followed by 2nd person rather than 3rd person verbs, a criterion that I have also applied elsewhere. It is not absolutely clear whether James regards all these groups as actually existing among his readership, but since he addresses them in the plural, I am inclined to think he does. In 1 Corinthians, on the other hand, there are some other unclear examples that are in the singular, namely *gynai* and *aner* in 7.16, and *aphrōn* in 15.36. None of these has the vocative particle *ō* as in Rom 2.1, 3; 9.20; Jas 2.23, but the last is clearly in the category of hypothetical addressees, since it follows immediately after the establishment of a hypothetical opponent by the words *alla erei tis* in 15.35, and is related to an opinion that Paul rejects. In 7.16, Paul is discussing a matter of principle which some of his readers might have regarded as disputable, and so I consider that the singular vocatives can, in the light of the singulars in Romans and James, be seen in this context as part of the rhetorical technique of persuasion, and allocated to the subset of hypothetical addressees.

There are in total 35 examples (all cited above) of vocatives to virtual addressees, and it seems wise to put these on one side before considering the remaining 136 examples of “normal” vocatives, that is to say, those in which the writer addresses his entire readership as a group. Of these, 88 are in the Pauline Letters; and 48 in the non-Pauline, that is to say, about one in every 23 verses in Paul, and about one in every 15 verses in the other letters. If Hebrews is omitted from the count, the frequency in non-Pauline letters goes up to one vocative in every 10 verses.

### **Density of vocatives**

It is my impressionistic observation as a native user of English that a higher density of vocatives often indicates a closer relationship between the participants in a dialogue or correspondence. (One of the irritating features of junk mail is that it throws in unnecessary vocatives in order to try to create the illusion of a close relationship between the advertisers and the luckless recipients of their propaganda.) It seems worth considering whether this sociolinguistic feature could be a factor in explaining the distribution of vocatives in the Epistles, at least in the Pauline Epistles. Among these epistles, the ones with the highest density of vocatives are 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians. In the first two cases, Paul had a very intense, even if rather strained, relationship with the recipients; and in the other cases, a very warm and friendly relationship. By the time Paul wrote 2 Corinthians, there was probably more stress and less warmth in the relationship, and this may account for the decreased density of vocatives. Even so, the density of vocatives in 2 Corinthians is still comparable with that in Romans.

In both Colossians and Ephesians, on the other hand, there are no vocatives except the ones to virtual addressees in the lists of ethical instructions. Colossians 2.1 indicates that Paul was not personally acquainted with the Christian community there, so the absence of vocatives in this letter is hardly surprising. However, Paul had certainly spent a significant amount of time in Ephesus (Acts 19.10), so the lack of vocatives in Ephesians is more puzzling. Perhaps it lends support to the view that this letter was originally a circular letter to several churches, and was not addressed exclusively to Christians in Ephesus. (See the textual problems in Eph 1.1 concerning the destination of the letter.)

The infrequency of vocatives in the Pastoral Letters is rather unexpected, especially as they are of higher than average frequency in the only other letter to an individual, that to Philemon. This issue will be discussed further when we examine the nature of the vocatives used.

In the non-Pauline letters, the notable features are the low density of vocatives in Hebrews, and the high densities in James and 1 John. The former is readily accounted for by the lack of any specification of the addressees. The addressees in James are described in a manner that may at first seem vague (“the twelve tribes in the Dispersion” in RSV), but which could well have been a coded way of referring to people well known to the writer. In 1 John no addressees are stated, but both the density and the nature of the vocatives point towards a close relationship between writer and readers. This will be discussed again when we study the actual vocatives used.

### **“Normal” vocatives: defining displacement**

As noted in the introduction, in the Gospels and Acts the unmarked position of a vocative is at the beginning of its sentence, where it occurs in about 70% of examples. In the letters on the other hand, only 28 examples out of 136 (about 21%) occur indisputably at the beginning of a sentence, a striking difference. Are these figures to be taken at face value, or are there conditioning factors at work? In any case, what are we to make of this situation?

First of all, it is necessary to examine the data and define what constitutes a displaced vocative in the epistolary genre. In the narrative books, we recognized

the following lexico-syntactic items as automatically displacing a vocative: one-word adverbial phrases, fossilized imperatives, and interjections. In the Epistles there are no interjections, so it remains to look at one-word adverbial phrases and fossilized imperatives. The only possible fossilized imperative is *age* in the repeated phrase *age nyn* in Jas 4.13; 5.1. It is not clear whether this is fossilized or is a genuine imperative. The fact that the imperative is singular, but is followed both times by a plural vocative, strongly suggests that it is fossilized; but as there are more than a dozen examples in James of an imperative accompanying a vocative, it might also be possible to treat it as genuine, especially in the absence of any examples of unquestionably fossilized forms. Here the phrase seems to impart a scolding tone that fits its contexts well, and is certainly compatible with increased social distance.

The category of one-word adverbial phrases is harder to define in the Epistles than in the narrative books. The only example of such a phrase which has already occurred in narrative is *nai adelphe* in Phlm 20. Probably *homoiōs hai gynaikes* (1 Pet 3.1) and *homoiōs neōteroi* (1 Pet 5.5) could also be included, but these both occur in the ethical instruction lists and are not among the vocatives currently under investigation. Another candidate for admission to this category is (*to*) *loipon* (2 Cor 13.11; Phil 3.1; 4.8). It seems reasonable to count the article and the noun as a single unit rather than as two separate words, especially as the noun occurs in this adverbial function both with the article (in Philippians) and without (in 2 Corinthians). The phrase *to loipon* is in these three cases followed by an imperative verb after the vocative. An example where *to loipon* is accompanied by an imperative verb before the vocative is in 2 Thess 3.1. Perhaps this latter word order gives a greater urgency to the imperative.

How rigorously then should we insist that the adverbial phrase contains only one word? The adverb *nyn* as in Jas 4.13; 5.1 above also precedes vocatives in 1 Cor 14.6 and 1 John 2.28, but in the first case, the full phrase is *nyn de adelphoi*, and in the second, *kai nyn teknia*. If it is assumed that particles and conjunctions like *de* and *kai* are functioning at some level higher than that of the sentence, then it becomes permissible to ignore them for the purposes of deciding whether vocatives are displaced within the sentence. (Thus *kai hoi pateres* [Eph 6.4] and *kai hoi kyrioi* [Eph 6.9] can be regarded as initial vocatives, though these again are part of ethical instruction lists and not immediately under investigation.) When an article and a noun are accepted as a single unit, then *to de telos* (1 Pet 3.8) also enters the category of a unitary adverbial phrase. If the same assumption is extended to include *oun*, then the following would also be accounted for as examples of obligatory displacement: *ara oun adelphoi* (Rom 8.12; 2 Thess 2.15) and *loipon oun adelphoi* (1 Thess 4.1).

There are several other examples where *de*, *kai*, and *oun* occur before a vocative with one other word, such as *kagō* (1 Cor 3.1), *tauta de* (1 Cor 4.6), *hymeis de* (Gal 4.28; 1 Thess 5.4; 2 Thess 3.13; Jude 17, 20), *egō de* (Gal 5.11), *hēmeis de* (1 Thess 2.17), *sy de* (1 Tim 6.11), *sy oun* (2 Tim 2.1), and *hymeis oun* (2 Pet 3.17). These examples all link the particle or conjunction with a pronoun rather than an adverbial phrase. The conclusion from the narrative books was that displacement of the vocative by a pronoun is a genuine displacement indicating increased social distance. In letters, these emphatic pronouns often serve to switch focus from one referent to another. Switching from one addressee to another by

means of a vocative also occurred in some of the speeches in Acts (for instance 26.27).

If particles and conjunctions occurring alone before a vocative are excluded from displacing items, then ten vocatives will cease to be regarded as displaced. The first group is those following *dio* (*per*) in 1 Cor 10.14; Gal 4.31; 2 Pet 3.14 (but not *dio mallon* in 2 Pet 1.10 since this includes an adverb). The second follows *hōthen*, with a single instance in Heb 3.1. The largest and most interesting group of examples of this type, however, are those following *hōste* (Rom 7.4; 1 Cor 11.33; 14.39; 15.58; Phil 2.12; 4.1). Most of them occur near the end of a paragraph rather than near the beginning, and this raises the question whether *hōste* with a vocative always introduces a summary or conclusion. If it does, this will affect our understanding of the paragraph breaks with respect to Rom 7.4 and Phil 2.12, as discussed below.

To sum up, then, the detailed examination of apparently displaced vocatives suggests that ten examples preceded only by a conjunction are not really displaced after all. This means that the statistics have to be revised to say that 38 examples out of 136 are in initial position, that is, about 28%. This is an almost exact reversal of the position in the Gospels and Acts, and requires some explanation.

In many languages, not least in India and Southeast Asia, the very fact of writing something rather than saying it compels the use of more formal language, and thus increases the social distance between writer and reader(s). I suggest that some similar constraint may have been in operation in NT times, and that the higher frequency of displaced vocatives in the Epistles may be an indication that geographical distance was linguistically equated with social distance. Thus the displaced vocative may have become the unmarked form in the Epistles, so that the challenge in this genre may be to explain the initial vocatives as the marked forms.

### Displacing elements

The next step is to examine the elements that precede vocative forms, and cause their displacement. It is hardly a surprise to see that certain phrases and clauses occur regularly as displacing items. They often involve verbs of cognition or locution.

Examples of **verbs of cognition** are the following:

Rom 1.13	<i>ou thelō de hymas agnoein adelphoi</i>
Rom 11.25	<i>ou gar thelō hymas agnoein adelphoi</i>
Rom 15.14	<i>pepeismai de adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 10.1	<i>ou thelō gar hymas agnoein adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 15.1	<i>gnōrizō de hymin adelphoi</i>
2 Cor 1.8	<i>ou gar thelomen hymas agnoein adelphoi</i>
2 Cor 8.1	<i>gnōrizomen de hymin adelphoi</i>
Gal 1.11	<i>gnōrizō gar hymin adelphoi</i>
Phil 1.12	<i>ginōskein de hymas boulomai adelphoi</i>
1 Thess 4.13	<i>ou thelomen de hymas agnoein adelphoi</i>
Heb 6.9	<i>pepeismetha de peri hymōn agapētoi</i>

(At this point one might also include the six examples with *graphō/egrapsa hymin* displacing a vocative in 1 John 2.12-14, though these are outside the immediate range of discussion.) There is one counter-example in 1 Cor 12.1, *peri de tōn pneumatikōn adelphoi ou thelō hymas agnoein*, where the clause with the verb of cognition follows the vocative. This is probably accounted for by the occurrence as a displacing element of the formula *peri de*, frequent in 1 Corinthians as a topic-changing marker of a new paragraph or section. A similar example is found in 1 Thess 5.1: *peri de tōn chronōn kai tōn kairōn adelphoi*.

Perhaps examples where the subject of the verb of cognition is 2nd or 3rd person should also be included:

Rom 7.1	<i>ē agnoeite adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 1.11	<i>edēlōthē gar moi adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 1.26	<i>blepete gar tēn klēsin hymōn adelphoi</i>
Phil 4.15	<i>oidate de kai hymeis Philippēσιοι</i>
1 Thess 2.1	<i>autoi gar oidate adelphoi</i>
1 Thess 2.9	<i>mnēmoneuete gar adelphoi</i>
Heb 3.12	<i>blepete adelphoi</i>
2 Pet 3.8	<i>hen de touto mē lanthanetō hymas adelphoi</i>

Examples of **verbs of locution** are:

Rom 12.1	<i>parakalō oun hymas adelphoi</i>
Rom 15.30	<i>parakalō de hymas adelphoi</i>
Rom 16.17	<i>parakalō de hymas adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 1.10	<i>parakalō de hymas adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 7.29	<i>touto de phēmi adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 15.50	<i>touto de phēmi adelphoi</i>
1 Cor 16.15	<i>parakalō de hymas adelphoi</i>
Phil 4.3	<i>nai erōtō kai se gnēsie S/syzyge</i>
1 Thess 4.10	<i>parakaloumen de hymas adelphoi</i>
1 Thess 5.12	<i>erōtōmen de hymas adelphoi</i>
1 Thess 5.14	<i>parakaloumen de hymas adelphoi</i>
2 Thess 2.1	<i>erōtōmen de hymas adelphoi</i>
2 Thess 3.6	<i>parangellomen de hymin adelphoi</i>
Heb 13.22	<i>parakalō de hymas adelphoi</i>
2 John 5	<i>erōtō se kyria</i>

It seems perfectly plausible that first person verbs of instruction or request should be softened by displacement of an accompanying vocative. There is, however, one counter-example where this does not happen, *agapētoi parakalō* in 1 Pet 2.11. It is less obvious why 2nd and 3rd person verbs should also be accompanied by displacement.

I have not been able to discern any other lexical trends in displacing elements. It is, however, notable that there is a significant number of examples of imperatives, for instance in the following places:

1 Cor 1.26	<i>blepete gar tēn klēsin hymōn adelphoi</i>
Gal 4.12	<i>ginesthe hōs egō hoti kagō hōs hymeis adelphoi</i>



Phil 3.17	<i>symmimētai mou ginesthe adelphoi</i>
2 Thess 3.1	<i>to loipon proseuchesthe adelphoi</i>
Heb 3.12	<i>blepete adelphoi</i>
2 Pet 3.8	<i>hen de touto mē lanthanetō hymas adelphoi</i>
1 John 3.13	<i>kai mē thaumazete adelphoi</i>

There are no fewer than nine examples in James, five positive and four negative: does this perhaps indicate a more authoritarian tone in James than in any other letter? The examples are:

Jas 1.2	<i>pasan charan hēgēsasthe adelphoi mou</i>
Jas 1.16	<i>mē planasthe adelphoi mou agapētoi</i>
Jas 1.19	<i>iste adelphoi mou agapētoi</i>
Jas 2.5	<i>akousate adelphoi mou agapētoi</i>
Jas 3.1	<i>mē polloi didaskaloi ginesthe adelphoi mou</i>
Jas 4.11	<i>mē katalaleite allēlōn adelphoi</i>
Jas 5.7	<i>makrothymēsate oun adelphoi</i>
Jas 5.9	<i>mē stenazete adelphoi</i>
Jas 5.10	<i>hypodeigma labete adelphoi</i>

### The vocative forms used

In the 136 “normal” vocatives that we are now studying, by far the most common vocative form is *adelphoi*, which occurs 92 times, 71 of them in the Pauline Letters, the two occurrences in Philemon having the singular form *adelphē*. Of the remaining 21 occurrences, no fewer than 15 are in James. In 70 of the 92 instances, *adelphoi* occurs on its own. In 14 cases, it is lengthened to *adelphoi mou*; and in 5, to *adelphoi mou agapētoi*. In Heb 3.1, there is the unique *adelphoi hagioi*. It is plausible to suggest that the longer *adelphoi* formulae, especially *adelphoi mou agapētoi*, show greater warmth than the basic form. In the letters of Paul, *adelphoi mou agapētoi* never occurs more than once per letter. It is found in 1 Cor 15.58, and in Phil 4.1 is expanded even further to the extravagant *adelphoi mou agapētoi kai epipothētoi chara kai stephanos mou*. In 1 Thess 1.4 there is the related but less personal form *adelphoi ēgapēmenoi hypo tou theou*, and in 2 Thess 2.13 the similar *adelphoi ēgapēmenoi hypo kyriou*. The adjectival vocative form *agapētoi* occurs without a noun 24 times, in two of which it is lengthened to *agapētoi mou* (1 Cor 10.14; Phil 2.12). Of these 24 occurrences only five are in the Pauline Letters. Nine are in the letters of John, six in the letters of Peter, three in the letter of Jude, and one in Hebrews.

What conclusions can be drawn from these figures? Probably *agapētoi* as a term of endearment represents a closer relationship or greater warmth between writer and readers than *adelphoi*. On the other hand perhaps it just reflects a more extrovert or flamboyant personality on the part of the writer. Paul is much more sparing in his use of this term than John, and perhaps this supports the view that John was an old man when he wrote. Such terminology from an elderly and respected figure is less open to misinterpretation than from a man in his prime. It is also possible however, that epistolary fashions changed with the passage of time, or with geographical location. Fifty years ago, people in England would often end letters with “Yours truly,” but one very seldom sees this formula today. Moreover, I have noticed that letters from Indian speakers of English often end with “Yours

affectionately," a formula which I cannot recall ever seeing in letters written by native speakers of British English.

The remaining 20 vocatives show considerable diversity in form. There are three examples of Paul addressing his readers by their location (*Korinthioi* in 2 Cor 6.11, *ō anoētoi Galatai* in Gal 3.1, and *Philippēσιοι* in Phil 4.15); it is hard to see any particular sociolinguistic significance in this. A personal name is used in two, or more likely three, places (*teknon Timothee* in 1 Tim 1.18, *ō Timothee* in 1 Tim 6.20, and probably *gnēsie Syzyge* in Phil 4.3). I am inclined to regard the last of these as a personal name rather than a description because there is no other example in the NT of an individual being addressed anonymously with a descriptive term. The occurrence of *ō anthrōpe theou* in 1 Tim 6.11 does not constitute such an example since Timothy has already been identified by name in 1 Tim 1.18.

The use of *teknon* in combination with the name Timothy leads on to a consideration of this and related forms on their own. In 2 Tim 2.1 we find Timothy addressed as *teknon mou*; and the Galatians, as *tekna mou* in Gal 4.19. All the other examples are in the letters of John, and show the diminutive *teknia* in 1 John 2.28; 3.7, 18; 4.4; 5.21, expanded to *teknia mou* on the first occurrence in 1 John 2.1. John also has the similar and probably more intimate form *paidia* in 1 John 2.18 (compare John 21.5; 1 John 2.14). Just as in the case of Timothy we know that he was much younger than Paul, so in the case of John we may infer that he was much older than his readers, an inference in line with ancient tradition. The other vocative used by John is *kyria*, addressed figuratively to a church in 2 John 5.

The remaining three cases are all participial vocatives, and are all in Galatians: *hoi hypo nomon thelontes einai* in 4.21, *hoitines en nomō dikaiousthe* in 5.4, and *hymeis hoi pneumatikoi* in 6.1. Does not the clustering of such forms in one letter subtly reinforce the exasperation which the writer undoubtedly felt with his readers?

How can we assess the relative interactional significance of the different forms used as vocatives? The most common form, *adelphoi*, must be regarded as the most neutral form. Where its occurrences are densest, it probably reflects a closer relationship between writer and readers. Where it is lengthened to *adelphoi mou*, and especially *adelphoi mou agapētoi*, it probably conveys additional warmth. The second most common form *agapētoi* should surely be seen as indicating a basically more intimate relationship between writer and readers than *adelphoi*. Where this is lengthened to *agapētoi mou*, it may be even more sociolinguistically significant.

It remains to observe a few other distinctive points. The first is the scarcity of vocatives in the Pastoral Epistles. We know from Acts that Paul had a close relationship with Timothy (compare 1 Cor 4.17; 1 Thess 3.2), so we might have expected that, whether those letters come from Paul himself or from a skilled imitator of Paul, this closeness would be reflected in a higher density of vocatives in the letters to Timothy, but it is not. However (with the possible exception of Phil 4.3), it is only in the letters to Timothy that a personal name is used in a vocative (1 Tim 1.18; 6.20), and this surely indicates a close relationship. Moreover, apart from Gal 4.19 (*tekna mou*), the intimate term *teknon (mou)* occurs as a vocative only in 1 Tim 1.18 and 2 Tim 2.1. It is repeated in the opening greetings in 1 Tim 1.2 and 2 Tim 1.2, where it is linked with *gnēsio* and *agapēto*

respectively. Elsewhere *tekna* is used by Paul of his addressees only descriptively, and only in the letters to Corinth (1 Cor 4.14 *tekna mou agapēta*; 2 Cor 6.13 *hōs teknois legō*), where as we have seen already, his relationships are known to have been close. In the letter to Titus alone of all the NT letters there are no vocatives of any kind. From Acts we may infer that Titus was more of an equal colleague of Paul than a protégé, though it must be noted that he is described as *gnēsio teknō* in Titus 1.4, just as Timothy is in 1 Tim 1.2.

The second point is the high density of vocatives in James, combined with a high frequency of accompanying imperatives. Though James uses the relatively bland term *adelphoi*, it is softened to *adelphoi mou* eight times, and to *adelphoi mou agapētoi* an additional three times. Would it be too fanciful to say that this combination creates the impression of a benign despot? I am reminded, perhaps a little unfairly (though not at all unkindly), of the principal of the theological college I attended many years ago!

The third point is the preponderance of *agapētoi* over *adelphoi* in the letters of Peter, John, and Jude (18 occurrences as against two). It seems impossible to decide whether this difference arises from the personalities of the writers or from variations in epistolary style in different areas and different times. In the case of 1 John, we must note the occurrence eight times (once in the section 2.12-14, that is outside the present range of interest) of the diminutive form *tekna*, a term found elsewhere in the NT only once (John 13.33). The combination of a term of endearment with a diminutive term for children, does, as noted above, support the traditional view that the writer was an old man.

### **The position of vocatives: within the sentence**

It remains to discuss the positions of the vocative forms in the Epistles, both within the sentence and within the paragraph. In the case of the ethical instruction lists in Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Peter, the vocatives can all be treated as initial within their sentence, and we may safely assume that the purpose of this is to make clear a change of addressee.

There are rather few examples of a vocative occurring at the end of a sentence. According to the punctuation as printed in UBS4, the clearest examples of this are in 1 Cor 14.26; Gal 6.18; Phlm 7; and Jas 1.16 and 4.11. It would be tempting to suggest that the punctuation in UBS4 should be altered so that these vocatives occur at the beginning of the next sentence. This might work in 1 Cor 14.26 and Jas 1.16, though it brings no obvious advantage, and sounds less natural in both cases. It is, however, impossible in the other cases. In Gal 6.18, the vocative occurs in the last sentence of the letter, and is followed only by the word *amēn*. In Phlm 7 the next sentence, which is probably the beginning of a new paragraph, begins with *dio*, and as there is no other example of a vocative preceding *dio*, changing the punctuation in this instance would create more problems than it solved. In Jas 4.11, the sentence with the plural vocative *adelphoi* is very short, and includes an imperative verb, a common combination in James. The following sentence is a generic statement in the singular, so adding a plural vocative to it would create unnecessary complications.

There are a few more possible examples that depend on changing the punctuation of UBS4. This is limited to places where a well-formed finite clause is followed by a colon or comma that might be changed to a full stop. The first is in

Rom 2.1, but this is one of the instances of a virtual addressee, and can be left aside. Other places include 1 Cor 16.15; Gal 5.13; Jas 1.19; 2.5; but in none of them is there any advantage in changing the printed punctuation. With so few clear examples of a sentence-final vocative, it is impossible to say what its pragmatic or sociolinguistic effect may be.

In Jas 4.8 in a passage directed to virtual addressees, there are two more examples of vocatives, each at the end of its clause within a single sentence, and both (*hamartōloi* and *dipsychoi*) unique in the NT as vocatives. In these cases, the vocatives are covert predicates, to use the term adopted in my earlier articles.

Of the 136 vocatives that are addressed to the readers as a whole, we have already observed that 38 can be considered as occupying the initial position within the sentence. Of these, 10 follow a conjunction as described above, and our attention will now be focused on the other 28. Does the occurrence of a vocative at the beginning of a sentence carry any pragmatic or sociolinguistic implications? Again, the distribution of sentence-initial vocatives is very uneven. Of the nine examples in Paul's letters, four are in Galatians (Gal 3.1, 15; 4.19; 6.1), and no other letter has more than one (Rom 10.1; 1 Cor 14.20; Phil 3.13; 1 Thess 5.25; 1 Tim 6.20). Of the other 19 examples, 14 are in the letters of John (1 John 2.1, 7, 18; 3.2, 7, 18, 21; 4.1, 7, 11; 5.21; 3 John 2, 5, 11), two each in James (2.1; 5.19) and 1 Peter (2.11; 4.12), and one in Jude (v. 3). It is easier to claim that this distribution must have some meaning than to discern what that meaning may be! That almost half of the Pauline examples are in one relatively short letter, and that letter the very one in which Paul is at his most agitated, strongly suggests that sentence-initial vocatives convey something about the emotional state of the writer. (See especially in Gal 3.1 and 4.19.) It is hard, however, to transfer this conclusion to 1 John despite its 11 examples of initial vocatives. Perhaps there the density of initial vocatives somehow reflects the writer's personality rather than his emotional state. The only other notable correlation is that sentence-initial vocatives co-occur with imperatives and hortatives in 11 cases, but since non-initial vocatives also co-occur with imperatives frequently, it is hard to see any special significance in this.

### **The position of vocatives: within the paragraph**

This is a very complex topic. I have started with the paragraph divisions of UBS4, though experience has taught me to look at these with a very skeptical eye. I have compared them with the paragraph breaks in NA27 and in the RSV, and have in some cases made my own recommendations which do not correspond with any of these. Ideally, this discussion would be set in the context of an analysis of all paragraph divisions in the Epistles, but that is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present article. Such an analysis would surely offer enough material for a book!

Of the 136 vocatives classified above as "normal" vocatives, almost two-thirds occur in the first sentence of a paragraph, and this is clearly the commonest place for a vocative to occur. I refrain from giving exact numbers, because what counts as the first sentence of a paragraph depends on where one reckons the paragraph to begin, and since the occurrence of a vocative is one of the possible factors in making this decision, the argument could in some cases become circular. In the majority of cases, however, the decision would find general

agreement. Many of these examples occur following the common displacing elements listed earlier, involving verbs of cognition or locution. Since a vocative near the beginning of a paragraph is, so to speak, the default option, I shall not discuss these examples any further. Interest lies rather in the residual examples where the vocative occurs in some other position. These fall into three groups.

The first group comprises those cases where a vocative occurs very near the end of a letter. In these instances, the question of whether such vocatives are at the beginning of a paragraph or not is of marginal interest, because the endings of letters often consist of several short sentences with little evidence of paragraph structure to link them. The seven members of this group are found in Gal 6.18 (*adelphoi*); 1 Thess 5.25 (*adelphoi*); 1 Tim 6.20 (*ō Timothee*); Heb 13.22 (*adelphoi*); Jas 5.19 (*adelphoi mou*); 2 Pet 3.17 (*agapētoi*); and 1 John 5.21 (*teknia*).

The second group comprises those cases where a vocative occurs near the end of a paragraph. We have already noted that in several of these, the sentence in which the vocative occurs is introduced by *hōste*. This raised the question of whether the occurrence of *hōste* with a vocative is in itself a marker of the conclusion of a paragraph. In four places (1 Cor 11.33; 14.39; 15.58; Phil 4.1) there is no real doubt, but if *hōste* means that paragraphs end at the end of the sentences with the vocatives in Rom 7.4 and Phil 2.12, then we should mark new paragraphs at the beginning of Rom 7.5 and Phil 2.14. I cannot see any obvious reason why this should not be done.

There are several more cases where a vocative occurs in the vicinity of some other item that may serve to indicate that a paragraph is coming to a conclusion. The following are examples. In 2 Cor 7.1, *oun* occurs in the same sentence with the vocative. This verse is widely recognized as the conclusion of a paragraph. The combination *ara oun* co-occurs with vocatives in Rom 8.12 and 2 Thess 2.15, and although both these verses are marked as the beginning of a paragraph in UBS4 and NA27, I can see no reason why they should not be analyzed as the conclusion of the previous paragraph. RSV does indeed begin a new paragraph at 2 Thess 2.16 (rather than 2.15). RSV also has a dash at the end of Rom 8.12, which again suggests that it sees some sort of disjunction between vv. 12 and 13. In Gal 5.11, the vocative occurs in a short interrogative sentence, and the next sentence begins with *ara*; although the two are not here in the same sentence, the combination in close proximity may still serve to mark a conclusion. Indeed a paragraph break at the end of 5.12 is widely recognized.

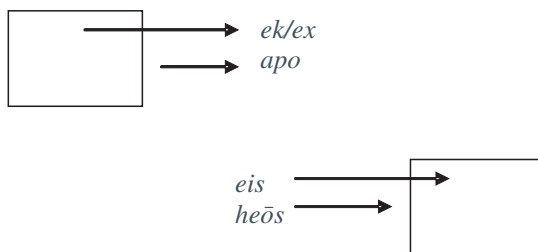
A tricky question lies in the paragraph division around Gal 4.31–5.1. The vocative *adelphoi* occurs in 4.31, and is followed by *oun* in 5.1. I am inclined to think this combination supports a paragraph break after 5.1 (as UBS4 and RSV) rather than before it (as NA27). The conjunction *dio* also occurs in 4.31, and although this seems to mark the beginning of a new paragraph in such places as Eph 2.11; 4.25; Phlm 8; 2 Pet 3.14, there is no obvious reason why it should always do so. If it is part of a cluster of indicators of a conclusion in Gal 4.31, then may not *dioper* also have a similar function in 1 Cor 10.14? Despite the fact that UBS4, NA27, and RSV all begin a new paragraph there, the content of 10.14 relates more readily to the previous paragraph than to the following one.

There are a few examples where a sentence with a vocative near the end of a paragraph has no supporting indicator of a conclusion, but the next sentence

begins with what is clearly an opening marker. Such a case is in 1 Cor 7.24, where the following verse begins with the formula *peri de* that unquestionably marks the beginnings of several major divisions in this letter. Another possible case is in 1 Cor 7.29a, where the vocative *adelphoi* is preceded by *touto de phēmi*. The second half of the verse begins with *to loipon*, a phrase that is an opening marker in several places such as Phil 3.1; 4.8; 1 Thess 4.1; 2 Thess 3.1. So perhaps 1 Cor 7.29a should be seen as closing the previous paragraph, and 7.29b as beginning a new one, though the question is not very clear. The formula *touto de phēmi* occurs again in 1 Cor 15.50, and since the following verse begins with *idou*, which is a likely opening marker, 15.50 is probably better analyzed as belonging to the end of the previous paragraph with RSV than taken to begin a new paragraph, with UBS4 and NA27.

The third group comprises those cases where a vocative occurs in the middle of a paragraph. Examples are found in, for instance, Rom 10.1; 12.19; 1 Thess 2.14; 3.7; Jas 5.9. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to enable generalizations to be made about this group. Indeed, its apparent existence may call into question the paragraph divisions in printed editions of the Greek text, and a lot more study is needed before a reliable system of paragraph divisions can be regarded as firmly established.

### Implications for translators



The use of vocatives in the Epistles shows surprising variation, not only between different writers, but also between different letters from the same writer. Our understanding of the significance of these variations is far from complete. Before translators can decide how to handle these variations, they will need to investigate how vocatives are used in epistolary discourse in the receptor language. Such information is almost never already available, and discovering it presents a serious challenge. Yet the ability to mirror not the superficial form, but the interpersonal and sociolinguistic impact of the nature, frequency, and distribution of the vocatives in the NT letters will surely play a significant part in achieving a natural translation. Much work remains to be done!

WILBUR A. BENWARE

## SECOND CORINTHIANS 3.18 AND COGNITIVE GRAMMAR: *apo doxēs eis doxan*

The author is Professor of Linguistics in the University of California, Davis.