

Context in Text

A Systemic Functional Analysis
of the Parable of the Sower

Philip L. Graber

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of New Testament
Graduate Division of Religion

2001

©2001 by Philip L. Graber
All rights reserved.

Abstract

The relationship between text and context is a fundamental issue in the interpretation of the text of Matthew. The contention of this study is that certain limited aspects of context are embedded in texts. Systemic functional grammar (SFG) is a linguistic theory oriented toward describing how language functions in context. This study applies SFG to the Parable of the Sower, the explanation for Jesus' speaking in parables and the interpretation of the parable in Matthew 13:1–23 in order to clarify how language functions in these texts and how the texts predict limited but important aspects of their own context as a contribution to a better understanding of them. Analysis of the synoptic parallels in Mark and Luke is included to test how differences in context is reflected in differences between parallel texts. SFG makes explicit the relationships between three linguistically relevant variables of context of situation — field, tenor and mode — and the semantic functions that realize them — experiential, interpersonal, and textual meanings. These kinds of meanings are in turn realized by grammatical structures that are mapped onto one another in linear text. The analysis of the portion of Matthew's narrative points to context in which the evangelist addresses readers to convey the story of Jesus' words and deeds with authority, from a social position of higher status relative to those being addressed and a relatively low degree of social contact. The language of the text plays a constituting role in the social activity in which the evangelist is engaged, rather than an accompanying role relative to a social activity, with a degree of formality corresponding to the authoritative status of the writer. The social activity in the instantial situation is an explanation in which the evangelist, through Jesus' own authoritative words, accounts for differences in the ways in which two groups of people respond to him. Those who understand (who are also being addressed) do so by the enabling actions of God and those who fail to understand fail because of their own self-disabling actions.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the New Testament faculty of Emory University for not only allowing but encouraging me to pursue my interest in a linguistic theory that is not well represented in the United States. This pursuit has been made much easier for me in this project by the careful reading and helpful comments of Michael Gregory, Professor Emeritus at York University in Toronto, an institution in which systemic linguistics is well represented. I owe special thanks for the encouragement and friendship given me by Hendrikus Boers, my adviser, and the enthusiasm with which he helped me to shape an interdisciplinary project that attempts to be thoroughly linguistic while not ceasing to be a New Testament dissertation.

In addition, I owe special thanks to all the members of my committee for their support in the difficult final stages of the process of graduation. In extraordinary circumstances, the faculty and administrators of the Graduate Division of Religion gave me extraordinary support and help.

I am indebted to the Session and congregation of the Ronceverte Presbyterian Church for their support and encouragement and for generously allowing their pastor the necessary time and resources to write. I am also grateful to Kathy and Bill Shirk, Mary Anna and Tom Brooks, and Judy and Mark Flynn for providing me with quiet places to stay and write on those occasions.

I could not have completed this project, or even begun it, without the support of my wife, Ann. she encouraged me each step of the way and helped me to maintain perspective, seeing her support for me as a part of her own calling.

Finally, I give thanks to God, by whose grace I live. My desire to hear God's word and my calling to proclaim that word for others has been and continues to be my motivation for studying the Bible. Thanks be to the One who speaks the word of the kingdom and opens hearts to hear and understand it.

Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
1 Systemic Functional Grammar and New Testament Interpretation	1
1.1 Context and Interpretation	1
1.2 The Background to Systemic Functional Grammar	4
1.3 Meaning and Context in Systemic Functional Grammar	9
1.3.1 Context: Genre and Register	9
1.3.2 Text: Semantic Components of Language	13
1.3.3 The Relationship between Semantics and Register	55
1.3.4 Overview of the Study	56
2 The Interpretation of Matthew 13:1–23 and Parallels	59
2.1 Kingsbury and Redaction-Criticism	62
2.2 Sellin and Text-linguistics	64
2.3 Du Plessis and Pragmatics	67
3 Ideational Meanings and Field of Discourse	75
3.1 Logical Meanings: Relations Between Clauses	76
3.2 Activity and Object Focus: Processes, Participants, and Circumstances	80
3.2.1 Activity and Object Focus of the Narrative Frame	80
3.2.2 Activity and Object Focus of the Parable	84
3.2.3 Activity and Object Focus of the Parable Rationale	88
3.2.4 Activity and Object Focus of the Parable Interpretation	92
3.3 Summary and Conclusions	99

4	Interpersonal Meanings and Tenor of Discourse	103
4.1	Interpersonal Meanings: Limitations on the Analysis of Written Texts	104
4.2	Status, Contact and Affect: Grammatical Realizations	105
4.2.1	Status, Contact and Affect in the Narrative Frame	107
4.2.2	Status, Contact and Affect in the Parable	110
4.2.3	Status, Contact and Affect in the Parable Rationale	114
4.2.4	Status, Contact and Affect in the Parable Interpretation	120
4.3	Summary and Conclusions	126
5	Textual Meanings and Mode of Discourse	131
5.1	Interaction and Role: Theme and Thematic Development	132
5.1.1	Interaction and Role in the Parable	135
5.1.2	Interaction and Role in the Parable Rationale	141
5.1.3	Interaction and Role in the Parable Interpretation	146
5.1.4	Interaction and Role in the Narrative	156
5.2	Summary and Conclusions	161
6	Conclusions: Context in the Text of Matthew 13:1–23 and Parallels	165
6.1	The Context of Situation within Mt 13:1–23 and Parallels	166
6.2	The Context of Situation of Mt 13:1–23 and Parallels	168
6.3	Meanings and Issues of Interpretation in Mt 13:1–23 and Parallels	171
6.4	Areas for Further Research	174
A	Clause Level Analysis of Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual Meanings in Mt 13:1–23	177
B	Clause Level Analysis of Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual Meanings in Mk 4:1–20	197
C	Clause Level Analysis of Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual Meanings in Lk 8:4–15	215

List of Figures

1.1	Simple model of language as a communication conduit	7
1.2	System of Circumstances	16
1.3	Relational Processes System	22
1.4	System of Process Types	24
2.1	Narrative Frames in Mt 13:1–23	69

List of Tables

1.1	Speech Function Pairs (Initiations and Responses)	26
1.2	Modal Adjuncts	28
1.3	Theme-Rheme Analysis of Acts 8:9–14	47
1.4	A Grammatically Simple, Lexically Complex Clause (Hebrews 1:3–4)	52
1.5	Theme in Philemon 10–14	53
3.1	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:1–3a, 10a, 11a (Narrative Frame)	81
3.2	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:1–2, 9a, 10–11a, 13a (Narrative Frame)	82
3.3	Processes (Verbal) in Luke 8:4, 8c, 9a, 10a (Narrative Frame)	83
3.4	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:3b–9 (Parable)	84
3.5	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:3–8, 9b (Parable)	86
3.6	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Lk 8:5–8b, 8d (Parable)	87
3.7	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:10b, 11b–17 (Rationale)	89
3.8	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:11b–12 (Rationale)	90
3.9	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Lk 8:9b, 10b (Rationale)	91
3.10	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:18–23 (Parable Interpretation)	93
3.11	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:13b–20 (Parable Interpretation)	97
3.12	Processes & Participants by Process Type in Lk 8:11–15 (Parable Interpretation)	99
4.1	Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:1–3, 10, 11 (Narrative Frame)	107
4.2	Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:1–2, 9, 10–11, 13 (Narrative Frame)	108
4.3	Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:4, 8, 9–10 (Narrative Frame)	108
4.4	Types of Adjuncts in the Narrative Frame	109
4.5	Types of Non-major Clauses in Adjuncts in the Narrative Frame	110
4.6	Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:3–9 (Parable)	111

4.7	Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:3–8 (Parable)	111
4.8	Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:5–8 (Parable)	112
4.9	Mood in the Parable of the Sower (ranking clauses only)	113
4.10	Types of Adjuncts in the Parable of the Sower	113
4.11	Types of Non-major Clauses in Adjuncts in the Parable of the Sower	114
4.12	Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:11–17 (Rationale)	114
4.13	Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:11–12 (Rationale)	116
4.14	Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:10 (Rationale)	117
4.15	Mood in the Rationale for the Parables (ranking clauses only, not including initiating question)	118
4.16	Modality and Polarity in the Rationale for the Parables (ex- pressed through Predicate constituents)	119
4.17	Expressions of Modality in the Rationale for the Parables	119
4.18	Types of Adjuncts in the Rationale for the Parables	120
4.19	Participial Phrases as Adjuncts in the Rationale for the Parables	120
4.20	Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:18–23 (Interpretation)	121
4.21	Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:13–20 (Interpretation)	122
4.22	Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:11–15 (Interpretation)	123
4.23	Mood in the Interpretation of the Parable (ranking clauses only)	124
4.24	Modality and Polarity in the Interpretation (expressed through Predicate constituents)	125
4.25	Types of Adjuncts in the Interpretation of the Parable	125
4.26	Types of Non-major Clauses as Adjuncts in the Parable Inter- pretation	126
5.1	Theme in the Parable (Mt 13:3–9)	136
5.2	Theme in the Parable (Mt 13:3–9)	139
5.3	Theme in the Parable (Mk 4:3–9)	139
5.4	Theme in the Parable (Lk 8:5–8)	141
5.5	Theme in the Rationale (Mt 13:10–17)	142
5.6	Theme in the Rationale (Mk 4:11–12)	145
5.7	Theme in the Rationale (Lk 8:9–10)	145
5.8	Theme in the Interpretation (Mt 13:18–23)	146
5.8	Theme in the Interpretation (Mk 4:13–20)	153
5.9	Theme in the Interpretation (Lk 8:11–15)	155
5.10	Theme in the Narrative Frame of Matthew 13:1–23	156
5.11	Theme and Method of Development in Matthew 13:1–23	157
5.12	Theme in the Narrative Frame of Mark 4:1–20	160
5.13	Theme in the Narrative Frame of Luke 8:4–15	161

Chapter 1

Systemic Functional Grammar and New Testament Interpretation

1.1 Context and Interpretation

The role of context in the interpretation of the Gospel according to Matthew has been a fundamental issue in the history of scholarship. To some extent the development of historical criticism of Matthew has been an attempt to place Matthew in its proper historical context, often deriving that context from the gospel itself. Attention to source criticism and the history of traditions increasingly resulted in the fragmentation of the synoptic gospels and a lack of concern for their individual contexts as whole gospels by placing the focus on the value of the gospels as historical documents. Form criticism began to address the question of the contexts of the gospels themselves, e.g., Martin Dibelius' (1961, first published in 1919) conclusion that preaching is the *Sitz im Leben* of most gospel material. Krister Stendahl's (1954) important study challenged Dibelius' conclusions and those of G. D. Kilpatrick (1946), who stated that Matthew in particular was the record of material used liturgically. Stendahl drew the limited but very significant conclusion from careful analysis of Old Testament citations in the text that the context of Matthew was to be found in a school which set about producing material for the training of church leaders and teachers.¹ With the rise of redaction criticism, studies of Matthew gave attention to the theological context of Matthew.² With each of these developments in historical

¹This conclusion was based on an examination of the relationship of the scripture cited in Matthew with available versions, and a comparison of some of the formula citations with known examples of *peshet midrash*.

²See especially Jack Dean Kingsbury's work on Matthew 13 (Kingsbury 1969), which will be treated in Chapter 2 below, and on the structure and theology of the gospel as a whole (Kingsbury 1975).

criticism, the focus moved further from the historical setting of Jesus and closer to the setting of the actual documents in their canonical form. This movement reflected an increasing awareness of how modest is the amount of historical information that can be derived from the texts, including information about the contexts of the texts.

Nevertheless, in the past two decades or so, there has been an increasing interest in the social and historical context of Matthew. Stephenson H. Brooks (1987) attempted to understand the development of Matthew's community against the backdrop of formative Judaism through an analysis of Matthew's special (M) material into distinct layers of tradition. Andrew J. Overman (1990) also studied the relationship between Matthew's gospel and formative Judaism, but using sociological methods.³ Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey (1988) used methods derived from anthropology to contextualize culturally the labels given to Jesus in the conflict stories of Matthew. Daniel J. Harrington's (1991) commentary on Matthew is a sustained argument for the place of the Matthean community in the context of formative Judaism. The second edition of Robert H. Gundry's (1994) commentary bore a new subtitle (*A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*) that demonstrated an increased interest in the whole question of the context of the gospel in relation to formative Judaism. Anthony J. Saldarini (1994), in *Matthew's Christian Jewish Community*, addressed this issue using an eclectic assortment of methods, but leaning heavily on sociology.⁴

As non-historical methods are increasingly supplementing and even replacing historical ones in an effort to derive context from texts as the basis for interpreting the same texts, certain questions arise. Apart from the fact that some information about the historical setting of the texts is available independent of the texts as background to them, and non-historical methods no longer view the texts primarily as historical sources, such methods are nevertheless dependent on the texts as the primary source for information about the [rhetorical, sociological, etc.] context. Is the reconstruction of context a matter of building a speculative, hypothetical context that can shed light on certain interpretive matters in a given text, or are any aspects of context actually embedded in text? If the reconstruction of context is only speculation, then the text loses its own voice and interpretation becomes creative construction of meaning using the text as a point of departure or inspiration, but not a conversation partner with its own voice. In order for the text to speak from a standpoint other than that which is provided by the interpreter, the text must convey something of its own context. If this is the case, how much of context, and exactly which

³He consciously abandoned historical methods in favor of sociological ones, demonstrating the dangers of building on historical speculation (e.g., by debunking the scholarly myth of the "Council of Jamniah"). However, he ended up engaging in historical speculation himself by concluding that the Matthean community should be located in Galilee rather than in Syria, and most probably in Sepphoris.

⁴This is not intended to be a complete listing of scholarship which is focused on the context of Matthew, but a representative sampling. Other notable examples include Amy-Jill Levine's (1988) study, and David Balch's (1991) collection of papers on the social history of Matthew.

aspects of context, can be legitimately derived from a text, and what methods are available for doing so?

Linguistics promises to address the relationship between text and context. In specialized areas, such as pragmatics and sociolinguistics, linguistics makes explicit the relationship between how the language of the text works and the context in which it works. Pragmatics is concerned with cultural information that speakers/writers presuppose that hearers/readers share with them, information that appears in the speech situation rather than in the text. Sociolinguistics is concerned with language as behavior in the context of a social system, with what is appropriate in context (as opposed to what is “grammatical” regardless of context). Linguistics as a whole discipline is concerned with how the various components of language function, both in relation to one another, and in the way people use language. This concern makes linguistics especially useful in addressing questions of context. Linguistic theories are created to explore and explain something about the nature of language, including how language is used in social contexts, and texts (including New Testament texts) provide the data for such exploration. Linguistics therefore offers analytical tools that are appropriate to identifying and organizing texts in a systematic way as a step towards the process of interpretation.

Linguistics could be useful for the New Testament interpreter by compensating for the interpreter’s lack of native familiarity with the language of the New Testament. One who has an ability in a living language knows how to do things with the resources of that language, how to communicate, how to accomplish certain tasks in concrete communicative contexts. Such a person also has the ability to recognize what others are doing in their use of the language. This ability, this knowing how, is not like the ability of a knowledgeable sports fan who can recognize and talk about good and bad performance, violations of the rules, etc. It is instead like the knowledge of a well-trained athlete who knows how to play the game from years of repetition, and who recognizes moves not in order to talk about them, but so as to be able to react, seemingly without effort. In this respect, the well-trained scholar is a knowledgeable fan who will never be able to play the game. Linguistics offers to the interpreter a way of acquiring explicitly at least in part what people once possessed implicitly by living in the social context of the language of the texts. To push the sports analogy further, linguistics offers the interpreter the opportunity to become an educated play-by-play analyst or commentator, describing and explaining what the producers of the text did by means of implicit knowledge and without explicit analysis. In the process, this text-oriented discipline has the potential to provide the interpreter with the resources to predict what aspects of the context are likely to be embedded in a text, as well as methods for determining how to look for them.

Systemic functional grammar is a current linguistic theory that suits the purposes of the New Testament interpreter by systematically examining texts in terms of the ways in which the language of the texts functions, and the ways in which the functions relate to context. Not all linguistic theories are functionally oriented in the sense of studying languages in terms of how they are used

and how they are structured for use. Some linguistic theories, by contrast, are oriented toward describing languages as formal systems. Nor are all pragmatic and sociolinguistic theories rooted in an overall linguistic model that makes explicit the relationship between aspects of context and the grammatical functions of particular texts. Pragmatics and sociolinguistics as sub-disciplines grew out of a need to recognize language use in context within the framework of linguistic models that describe languages as formal systems. The orientation of systemic functional grammar towards function in context can best be understood in relation to the background of the development of twentieth century linguistics, a development which has given rise to both functional and formalist theories. We will see that the development of systemic functional linguistics as a comprehensive linguistic theory that has its origins in functionalist anthropology is particularly well suited to our task of exploring the functions of text in context.

1.2 The Background to Systemic Functional Grammar

In the nineteenth century scholars viewed languages as entities analogous to living organisms that could be seen to change and develop over time. Languages could be named, and their genetic relationships to one another could be identified. Scholars looked at languages comparatively, noting differences and similarities, and accounting for these in terms of development and evolution. Spanish and Italian, for example, were more similar to each other than either was to German. Their similarities were explained in terms of their “descending” from the common ancestor, Latin. The scholars were interested in understanding the processes by which these languages came to differ. They were not interested in understanding “language” as such, or in the structure of a particular language from the standpoint of those who speak it.

Modern linguistics was born when scholars began to look at language from the perspective of its speakers (Sampson 1980, 37). This perspective is synchronic, viewing language at one point in time, in contrast to the diachronic perspective that dominated the nineteenth century. The shift to modern, i.e., synchronic, linguistics is usually associated with Ferdinand de Saussure and the posthumous publication by his students of the *Cours de linguistique generale* (de Saussure 1916). He no longer viewed language as an entity to be observed from the outside as it changes on its journey through time. Instead, he viewed language from the inside, as a system (*langue*), frozen at a single point in time. System represents the potential of the language, the possibilities for what speakers can say. This potential is defined by paradigmatic relationships, relationships between signs in the system. For example, in Standard English, there are two choices for first person pronouns in the subject position: “I” and “we.” In the sentence, “*x* went to work,” a speaker referring to her- or himself can say “I went to work,” or, if others are included, “We went to work.” The significance of the choice of terms in this case is determined by the fact that

there are only two terms for this purpose in the system, one singular and one plural. If, however, there were also a choice of a dual term, then the significance of “we” as a plural would be different, because choosing it would exclude the dual meaning. Furthermore, if there were an additional term for inclusive plural (“we including you”) and “we” were used for exclusive plural (“we but not you”), the significance of the term “we” would once more be changed because its relationship to other terms in the system would be different. It is in this sense of language as system (*langue*) that Saussure saw language from the perspective of its speakers, for whom (as speakers) the history of the language is irrelevant. As they speak, only the state of the system at that moment is important.

Saussure looked at the system as a property of the whole community of speakers, independent of what any particular speaker actually says (*parole*). This system, according to Saussure, exists apart from what people actually say, the contexts in which they say it, and what they talk about. In this way the language as system (*langue*) resembles any social convention, or a society’s legal system. The system as a whole is not completely within the grasp of any particular individual. Saussure was not interested in studying *parole*, what people actually said, for its own sake; his interest was in *langue*, the system, which enabled people to say things. His ideas were influential in the development of structuralism and post-structuralism, as well as structural anthropology and semiotics (e.g., Lévi-Strauss 1966; Propp 1968; Greimas 1966; Barthes 1968; Derrida 1976; Culler 1975). These approaches sought to uncover “deep structures” underlying actual discourse, continuing Saussure’s concern with language (*langue*) which made actual discourse (*parole*) possible. Saussure’s conception of language as system, as potential, was a major contribution to the study of language in terms of its functions, even though his focus was not on the functions of actual discourse in particular contexts.

While Saussure was giving his lectures on synchronic linguistics in Paris in 1911, the Czech linguist Vilém Mathesius was publishing his own independent work on a non-historical approach to the study of language, an approach that viewed language in terms of function in context (Mathesius 1964). A group of linguists known as the Prague School gathered around Mathesius in the 1920s and interacted with one another before they were scattered by World War II.⁵ “They analyzed a given language with a view to showing the respective functions played by the various structural components in the use of the entire language” (Sampson 1980, 103). Prague School linguists occasionally followed Saussure by defining the function of a linguistic element in terms of its place in a system, but the major concern in their functionalist approach was with what people do with language. Mathesius (1964, 22) denied that linguistics and stylistics (or rhetoric) differed in their materials, arguing that they differed only in their aims. While linguistics aims to discover all of the materials available in a language, and the potentiality of their usage, stylistics aims to examine only how given materials are used in a concrete literary work. In other words, Mathesius was not

⁵Among the more famous Prague School linguists, in addition to Mathesius, were the well-known Russian linguists Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson.

interested in describing language as system (*langue*) independent of how people use it, but language as resource (system *and* structures) for doing the things that people do with it. Texts are not simply the data from which *langue* can be abstracted, but provide the actual materials of linguistics, just as they provide the materials for stylistics. This approach to the study of language provides a model for linguistic analysis as it applies to the systematic examination of texts, with a concern for understanding how the language of the texts functions in actual contexts.

Another development was systemic functional grammar, which arose from the London School of linguistics, a parallel development to the Prague School. Scholars from these two traditions have been in frequent conversation.⁶ A significant difference between the development of British and continental linguistics had to do with the particular languages which served as the objects of study. On the continent, the European languages which were already known to the linguists were the objects of study. British linguistics in the early twentieth century, like American linguistics of the same period, known as American descriptivist linguistics, developed in the context of the study of non-Indo-European languages. In the case of American descriptivism, the impetus for development was the presence of numerous Native American languages. In the British case, linguistics developed in the context of the variety of languages throughout the British Empire.⁷ The motive for studying these languages ranged from needing to learn and use them, to the teaching of English to native speakers of other languages, all of which was intended to serve the administration of the Empire, including the construction of language policies. The latter task involved understanding the roles languages play in social interaction and how they function sociologically. So, for example, an expression which may appear innocent to an outsider could prove offensive to insiders in the context in which it is made. Concerns such as these have influenced the development of systemic functional grammar.

J. R. Firth,⁸ the first Professor of General Linguistics in England and founder of the “London School,” developed his theory in conversation with his colleague, the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. Malinowski’s functional anthropology contributed the notion that language is a mode of action. It is a specialized kind of observable behavior that people engage in within particular cultural and

⁶Another major functional “school” not discussed in this study is the Copenhagen School represented by Louis Hjelmslev’s (1970) glossematics and Sydney Lamb’s (1966) stratificational linguistics. Other function-oriented models include the text linguistics of Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler (1981); Simon Dik’s (1980) functional grammar, and Jan Firbas’ (1992) functional sentence perspective, which follow most closely the trajectory begun by the Prague School; Ilah Fleming’s (1988) adaptation of Sydney Lamb’s stratificational linguistics; Kenneth Pike’s (1971; 1981) tagmemics; Victor Yngve’s (1986) human linguistics, etc. All of these models share a lot in common, and their differences are minor compared to their points of agreement.

⁷J. R. Firth, the founder of the “London School” of linguistics discussed below, gained first-hand experience of a variety of languages during tours of duty in India, Afghanistan and Africa during World War I (Butler 1985, 1).

⁸See Butler (1985, 1–13) for an extended discussion of Firth as background to Halliday’s development of systemic functional linguistics, including Malinowski’s influence on Firth and Halliday.



Figure 1.1: Simple model of language as a communication conduit

social environments. This idea stands in contrast to the portrayal of language as a conduit for transporting ideas or meanings from one mind to another, as depicted in Figure 1.1.

In contrast in a systemic functional approach, meaning is the function of language; it is what people do in their use of language (Firth 1957, 182 and all of chapter 14, “Personality and language in society”). Conveying ideas is only one of the things people do with language. From a functional point of view, meaning, including conveying ideas, is something that people *do* rather than something language *has*. This notion of function is not limited to the performatives of speech act theory (“I hereby promise...”), or even to speech acts as such.⁹ Rather, *all* language is a mode of action which functions in relation to context. That is, Firth did not understand function only as the paradigmatic relationship between elements in a system. He also saw function as the relationship between context and the particular choices that are made in a system that result in particular structures in a text, or particular linguistic behaviors in a context.

This understanding of language as system was different from Saussure’s notion of *langue*. For Firth, language was polysystemic. That means that language consists of multiple paradigmatic systems. People regularly use language to do a variety of things in different contexts by simultaneously making choices in each of these different systems. For example, one system might consist of choices concerning the communication of information about the world, another how information is to be structured for a given purpose,¹⁰ and another the relationship between the communicants. Not every system is operative in every context. For example, phatic speech may result from a speaker making choices in a system governing the relationship between communicants, but making no choice in a system (i.e., never entering the system) governing communication of specific kinds of information about the world. In many contexts, however, people often do more than one thing at the same time, making choices in several systems simultaneously. For example, a speaker may make choices in a system governing relationships between the communicants *and* a system governing communication of information about the world, resulting in phatic and informa-

⁹On speech act theory, see the section on du Plessis and pragmatics in Chapter 2 below (page 67).

¹⁰E.g., face to face communication with a friend, or written communication to a general audience.

tional functions in the same utterance.¹¹ Meaning is not simply a matter of how signs are related to one another paradigmatically in a single system that can be conceived of apart from the context in which language is used (Saussure's *langue*). Rather, paradigmatic systems define the linguistic choices available to a speaker or writer precisely for the purpose of acting within the broader context, and more narrowly within the specific context. Firth, following Malinowski, referred to the broader context as *context of culture*, and the specific context as *context of situation*. According to Firth, language is social in nature not because *langue* is shared by a social group¹² but because language is used within social contexts, and used to do particular things in those contexts.¹³ Firth's student, M. A. K. Halliday, inherited his understanding of system, from which systemic functional grammar derives its name.

Halliday developed Firth's ideas further, especially in the area of syntax. Most of Firth's theoretical work had been in the areas of phonology and semantics. Halliday's early development of systemic theory, first called "scale and category linguistics," came in a very practical context. Like his teacher before him, he began his career in service of the Empire. Prior to the withdrawal of the British from China, Halliday, trained as a Sinologist, was assigned to teach English there. Making use of the concept of systems of choices, he began to work up a grammar of English that reflected the linguistic choices available to a native speaker of English, choices that were realized in normal English sentences. By learning these systems of choices, native speakers of Chinese were enabled to produce natural sounding English rather than "Chinese English." In contrast to the generative grammar of Noam Chomsky, Halliday was more concerned with what people actually said and with what they were doing when they said it than with a speaker's intuition concerning what sentences were grammatical and with what the speaker "knew" about the language to enable such judgments to be made. From the beginning, systemic theory was developed in the context of "applied linguistic" concerns. Many systemic functional linguists hold positions in applied linguistics departments or in English departments where their concerns are with teaching composition, teaching English as a second language, or interpreting literary texts. Halliday himself has engaged in the application of systemic functional grammar to the interpretation of both literary (Halliday 1971) and non-literary texts (Halliday 1994, 368–91).

This section has sketched the historical background of systemic functional grammar with a focus on the orientation of systemic theory toward understanding how language functions in actual texts and how the language of texts relates to their contexts. As a functionalist model, the focus of systemic functional grammar is on meaning in context. The next section will describe the tools of this theory, and demonstrate their applicability to the task of the New Testament interpreter.

¹¹This idea of simultaneously realized functions will be discussed in detail below in terms of three components of the semantic level of language.

¹²I.e., exists in a Durkheimian collective mind (Durkheim 1982).

¹³Firth (1957, ch. 16) criticizes the Saussurean dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*.

1.3 Meaning and Context in Systemic Functional Grammar

1.3.1 Context: Genre and Register

Systemic functional grammar is one of several functional theories in the current discipline of linguistics which conceives of text as social interaction.¹⁴ It is thus suited not only for increasing the interpreter's understanding of the language of the texts to be interpreted, but also for relating those texts to their context. Systemic functional linguists view language as systems of meaning potential in human interaction that are realized by various structures. The organizing concept is not structure described by rules, but system.

With the notion of system we can represent language as a resource, in terms of the choices that are available, the interconnection of these choices, and the conditions affecting their access. We can then relate these choices to recognizable and significant social contexts, using sociosemantic networks. . . . The data are the observed facts of 'text-in-situation': what people say in real life (Halliday 1978, 192).

In other words, systemic linguists study texts as communicative behavior, as meaning production in the context of a culture, the behavioral matrix within which all social interaction takes place.¹⁵ The choice to engage in a culturally recognized social process is made at the level of the *genre* plane. J. R. Martin (1992, 505) defines genre as "a staged, goal-oriented social process." An easily recognizable example of linguistic genre in the New Testament is the non-literary letter. According to work on genre summarized by David Aune (1987, 163–164), the ancient Greek letter regularly consisted of opening formulas, body, and closing formulas. Opening formulas include a prescript, consisting of superscription, adscription, and salutation, often following the pattern: "X [nominative] to Y [dative], greetings [χαίρειν]"; a health wish (which may occur among the closing formulas); and a prayer (often of thanksgiving). Optional closing formulas include a closing greeting, a closing farewell, and sometimes the date. This example shows obvious stages of which writers and readers would likely be quite consciously aware, stages by which a goal is achieved through a recognized social process, namely communicating something through letter writing.

While letter-writing is a clear example of a staged, goal-oriented social process, there are many other such processes defined by a culture of which the participants may not be so consciously aware. For example, we might identify

¹⁴A good summary of how systemic linguistics relates to other approaches, socially oriented as well as knowledge oriented, can be found in Halliday 1978, 8–35. In addition to the influence of Malinowski and Firth, noted above, Halliday was also strongly influenced by the sociologist Basil Bernstein; see especially chapter five of *Language as Social Semiotic* (Halliday 1978, 101–107), which is the reprinted forward to Bernstein (1973).

¹⁵Contrast this with a generative grammar, the goal of which is to represent the linguistic competence of a speaker — what the speaker knows without regard to context.

the public lecture as a genre in our own culture, with identifiable stages in a particular order that allow people to achieve certain [educational] purposes within the context of our culture. We may not know those stages on a conscious level, but we can identify a lecture when we hear one. Part of that identification will be the use of language within the lecture itself, but there are other aspects of behavior associated with this social process that enable us to identify it as a lecture and therefore understand it as purposive behavior. Some of these aspects of behavior will also be linguistic, such as introductions of the lecturer or questions addressed to the lecturer at the conclusion. Others are non-linguistic, such as use of certain audio-visual aids, the distribution of handouts, or applause either at the end of the lecture or following questions. Clearly such stages are not unique to a public lecture genre. It is the configuration of stages as a whole that makes a particular social process identifiable as a public lecture. Some stages of the process are required for the process to be identifiable as a lecture, and some are optional, as was also clear in the letter-writing example. The generic structure of a social process (i.e., the stages that are actually used) in which language is used to accomplish something enables people to do certain things, like giving lectures or writing letters, and also allows people to identify this purposive behavior when they see it.

The question of genre, which cannot be discussed in depth within the scope of this study, can be of interest in connection with the Parable of the Sower, and its interpretation within the context of each of the gospels. Only Mark indicates that Jesus was teaching the crowds in speaking the parable (Mk 4:1; cf. Mt 13:3 and Lk 8:4). Nevertheless, the pattern of behavior is clear in all of the synoptic gospels: Jesus sat down in a public place, the crowds gathered around him, and he spoke to them. This context of staged behavior must have given at least a clue to the overall generic structure of the social process in which Jesus was engaged that would enable the reader to know what purpose was served within the gospel narrative¹⁶ by speaking the parable. The whole question of whether parables in general are intended to shed light or to obscure is relevant to the question of genre. It may very well depend on the particular social process that is being engaged in when a parable is told. J. G. du Plessis, as we will see in the next chapter, argued that the admonition “Whoever has ears, hear!” is impolite, since Jesus’ commands his hearers to understand when he has not given them sufficient information to understand (du Plessis 1987, 40). Du Plessis made certain assumptions about the genre, about the culturally recognized social process in which Jesus was engaging when he made that claim. While this study will not address this question in a comprehensive way, it will provide some of the data necessary to begin exploring the question of genre. A comprehensive study of genre would entail significant comparative studies, as well as the question not only of the culturally recognized process reflected in Jesus’ speech, but also of the culturally recognized process of reporting such speech; i.e., the question of the genre of the gospels themselves as wholes.

¹⁶I.e., the purpose as the evangelists portray it for the reader, not necessarily the purpose that the historical Jesus may have had in actually speaking the parables.

In addition to the context of culture (the general context that gives meaning to culturally recognized activities), a text is produced in a specific context of situation (the instantial situation).¹⁷ Choices made on the level of genre are realized by configurations of context-of-situation variables. In systemic theory, these variables are used to talk about the aspects of the immediate context that are embedded in a text. These variables, or aspects of the context of situation embedded in a text, are referred to in systemic functional grammar as the *register* plane.¹⁸ The register variables are *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*.¹⁹

1. *Field of discourse*: what is going on in the context, or the kind of activity (as recognized by the culture) in which language is playing some part. Eggins (1994, 52) defines field of discourse as “what the language is being used to talk about”. This variable includes not only the specific topic of discourse, but also the degree of technicality or speciality on the one hand or everyday quality on the other. For example, a Society of Biblical Literature seminar on Matthew, a seminary lecture on Matthew, and a Sunday School class on Matthew would involve three different fields of discourse, even though the topic is in some sense the same.
2. *Tenor of discourse*: negotiation of social relationships among participants in social action, or who is taking part in the exchange, and the interacting roles of those involved in the exchange of which the text is part. In a meeting between a student and a faculty advisor to fill out and/or sign a registration form, the role relationship is one of unequal status, and the degree of social contact and affective involvement might be quite low. This example contrasts to a casual conversation between friends in which power or status is equal and contact and affective involvement are both high.
3. *Mode of discourse*: the role played by language in realizing social action, including the channel (written, spoken, written to be read aloud, etc.) and the degree to which language constructs what is going on in the context or merely accompanies it.²⁰ For example, a [good] novel is a carefully crafted written work in which there is usually no contact between writer

¹⁷The terms, and the concepts, “context of culture” and “context of situation,” as noted in the previous section, originated with Malinowski (1923, 1935).

¹⁸The distinction between genre and register as distinct communication planes was made by Martin (1992, 501–508). He further distinguishes an *ideology* plane “above” genre, since “a culture’s meaning potential is distributed unevenly across social groups and so constantly changing” (1992, 507). Ideology codes orientations that constitute a culture and is concerned with the redistribution of power. Some systemists have followed Martin in distinguishing these various contextual planes (e.g., Eggins (1994)). However, this is a modification of Halliday’s work, which tends to equate genre with register and to define it as the semantic actualization of context of situation. This study is concerned primarily with the register and semantic planes, with register understood as Martin defines it.

¹⁹Other theories might refer to these as sociolinguistic variables. See also footnote 22.

²⁰Halliday includes rhetorical mode (persuasive, expository, etc.) with mode of discourse on the plane of register (Halliday & Hasan 1989, 12). Martin (1992), who distinguishes between register and genre planes, places rhetorical mode on the genre plane.

and reader, and certainly no immediate feedback to the writer if any at all, and the written work itself constitutes a social activity which does not have any bearing on what else may be happening in the immediate context of the reader. The example given above of a meeting between a student and faculty advisor, on the other hand, is characterized by a face-to-face oral mode in which feedback is immediate, and in which the oral text accompanies a culturally defined social activity and relates explicitly to the immediate context in which the speakers find themselves.

“Public lecture” was given as an example above of a genre in the context of our culture. A particular public lecture would not only have a generic structure, but would also occur in a particular context of situation. For example, a particular public lecture might be described, in terms of register, as:

- field** New Testament studies (or perhaps more specifically, the Gospel of Matthew, or the Parable of the Sower, etc.) at a high level of specialization;
- tenor** professional/teacher/“expert” to specialist audience (colleagues, non-expert professionals/teachers, and students in the field);
- mode** formal lecture, written to be read by the author to a group, with visual and aural contact, but with delayed feedback (e.g., questions only at the end, in contrast to casual conversation).

In systemic linguistics, these three variables are deemed to be the only aspects of the context of situation of a text that are linguistically relevant. It is clear that they are relevant to the cultural context and therefore to the question of genre, insofar as a genre might be described in part as the limits a culture places on the field, tenor and mode of a text that is used to accomplish a particular social goal. While this project is not concerned directly with genre, it is concerned with register on two levels. First of all, it is concerned with the field, tenor and mode of the speech, considered as texts, within the gospels. What are the interactants (especially Jesus) talking about in the narrative (i.e., what is the *field*)? What are the role relationships between Jesus, the crowds and the disciples in the speech (i.e., what is the *tenor*)? What role does language play in the interaction between Jesus, the crowds and the disciples (i.e., what is the *mode*)? Secondly, this project is concerned with the register of the gospel texts which contain and include the speech of the participants within it. What is Matthew (or Mark or Luke) talking about (*field*)? What is the role relationship between the evangelist and the audience for which the gospel is written (*tenor*)? What role is language playing in the interaction (*mode*)? Systemic theory predicts that these aspects of context — field, tenor and mode — will be embedded in the text by being realized in the semantic and grammatical structures of the text.

The hypothesis on which this study is based is that there is a link between text and context that will enable us to recover the linguistically relevant aspects of the context (i.e., register) from an examination of the semantic structures of

the text. Whereas register describes situational context (albeit linguistically relevant context), the *semantic* plane, which will be discussed in detail in the next section, describes systems of linguistic choices, choices which are realized directly by grammatical structures. Just as the grammar and lexicon realize meaningful choices made on the semantic plane, so the functions on the semantic plane realize the values of the register variables. Systemic functional grammar analyzes the semantics of a language and the situational contexts in which the language is used in such a way that each serves to predict the other (Halliday & Hasan 1989, 45). This predictability is the link between text and context, such that listeners or readers have expectations about what is coming next, and are able to follow what is being said or written. The following section on the semantic plane of language will enable us to define this link between text and context more precisely.

1.3.2 Text: Semantic Components of Language

Register is realized directly by the semantic plane of the language,²¹ which consists of three functional components or metafunctions (Halliday 1978, 128–133, 186–188).²² The three metafunctions are ideational, sometimes treated as separate experiential and logical components,²³ interpersonal, and textual. These metafunctions, which will be defined below, illustrate the polysystemic nature of language; each metafunction can be described independently of the others as a system of choices that relate to certain aspects of context and are realized by certain structures. The structural (grammatical) realizations of these multiple systems are simultaneous; i.e., independent choices made in each of the metafunctions must be realized in overlapping grammatical structures. In other words, a single clause can be analyzed in terms of different structures which reflect the realizations of the various kinds of meaning simultaneously in that clause.

Ideational Metafunction

The ideational component on the semantic plane consists of experiential meanings and logical meanings. These are the functions associated with “content,”

²¹For an introductory discussion of the semantic system in the context of general systemic theory see Eggins 1994, and Martin 1992.

²²Semantics is commonly understood to concern only what systemic theory includes in the ideational metafunction. This common understanding is reflected in the work of Brian K. Blount (1995, 7), who uses systemic terminology derived from Halliday, but identifies semantics with the ideational metafunction and field variable, sociolinguistics with the tenor variable and interpersonal metafunction, and the textual metafunction and mode variable with grammar. However, field, tenor and mode are all sociolinguistic variables (i.e., components of the context of situation), and are realized by ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings which are all semantic components. According to Halliday, these are in turn realized in English by grammatical structures through Transitivity, Mood and Theme systems, respectively.

²³Martin (1992), for example, gives separate chapters to the logical and experiential metafunctions within what he calls the discourse-semantic level. I will distinguish these metafunctions in the proposed project, although they will sometimes be referred to together as the ideational metafunction.

with talking about the world as we conceive of it or hypothesize about it, or as we might imagine it could be. These functions operate at various structural levels of the text, as well as in a cohesive way at the level of the entire discourse. The cohesive device of lexical relations is an example of experiential meanings operating at the level of the whole discourse. Lexical relations include both taxonomic relations between lexical items and expectancy relations. Taxonomic lexical relations are either class/subclass relations (e.g., *χόρτος/σίτος* ‘plant/wheat’) or part/whole relations (e.g., *ἄνθος/χόρτος* ‘blossom/plant’). Class/subclass relations include relations between two lexical items that are subclasses of the same class (e.g., *σίτος/ζιζάνιον* ‘wheat/weed’), as well as synonyms and antonyms. Likewise, part/whole relations include lexical items, of which both could be parts of a whole (e.g., *χείρ/πούς* ‘hand/foot’). Expectancy relations, also called collocational relations, are relations between lexical items in which the presence of a lexical item is predictable on the basis of the presence of another item (e.g., *ἐμβαίνω/πλοῖον* ‘board/boat’²⁴). Lexical relations, without regard for clause or other grammatical boundaries in a text, contribute to the cohesiveness of the text, aiding the reader of a text in determining the experiential meanings of the text.

Experiential Meanings Experiential meanings at the grammatical rank of the clause are those functions that reflect or represent processes, participants, and circumstances. For example, the following clause represents a single process, two associated participants, and a circumstantial element: *καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* ‘And great crowds followed him from Galilee, Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea and beyond the Jordan’ (Mt 4:25). The verb *ἠκολούθησαν* represents a process of following, the nominal group *ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ* and the pronoun *αὐτῷ* represent participants in that process, and the prepositional phrase *ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* represents a circumstance of spatial location of the process. In Halliday’s analysis of English, experiential meanings are accounted for in clauses by the *transitivity* system (Halliday 1994, 102–137 (chapter 5)). The transitivity system includes choices of process type and the configuration of possible participants and circumstances which can be associated with a particular process type. (Since the term *transitivity* is used in traditional grammar to distinguish verbs that are capable of taking a direct object [transitive verbs] from other verbs [intransitive], I shall avoid the term in this study, using instead the term *process type*.) In the following paragraphs we will examine the six process types: material, mental, behavioral, verbal, relational, and existential.²⁵

²⁴In fact, *ἐμβαίνω* occurs 16 times in the New Testament, and each time it occurs with either *πλοῖον* or *πλοιάριον*, which two words occur a total of 72 times in the New Testament (all in the gospels).

²⁵Eggins presents definitions of the six process types together with means for identifying each process type in English (Eggins 1994, 227–266). The following material draws on Eggins’ definitions. Reed only mentions five process types in his summary of Koine Greek grammar from a systemic functional perspective (Reed 1997, 69).

Material Processes *Material* processes are processes of *doing* or action. A clause which reflects a material process can be read as the answer to a question, “What did *x* do?” where ‘do’ is a [usually] concrete, tangible action. Material processes have an obligatory participant, the *Actor*,²⁶ which is the doer of the action. The example from Mt 4:25 above is an example of a material process. Ὅχλοι πολλοὶ ‘great crowds’ is the Actor, the participant that “does” the following. In this case the Actor is identified by the presence of a nominative case subject of the verb. Actors in Greek are commonly identified only by the morphology of an active verb. Although a material process always has an Actor, the Actor may be suppressed through the use of a passive verb, as is commonly the case in the New Testament in the so-called “divine passive” (e.g., ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ‘To you has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens.’ (Mt 13:11)). The use of the passive does not necessarily suppress the Actor, however, since the Actor associated with a material process which is represented by a passive verb can be explicitly realized by ὑπό with the genitive (e.g., καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ‘And they were being baptized in the Jordan River by him.’ (Mt 3:6)). A second participant, the Goal of the action, is the participant in some material processes to which the *doing* is done. In Mt 4:25 cited above (καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὅχλοι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου), the Goal is realized by αὐτῷ, indicating the participant to which the action of following is done. Traditionally, the term *transitive* is used of verbs which require a Goal (whether it is made explicit in the clause or not), and *intransitive* is used of verbs which do not take a Goal participant. Two related participants are *Range* and *Beneficiary*. Range often looks like a Goal, but differs in that it restates or extends the process itself. Range is often a cognate accusative, e.g., τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἡγώνισμαι ‘I have fought the good fight’ (2 Tim 4:7), in which the participant τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα extends the meaning of the process ἡγώνισμαι. It does not make sense to ask, “What have I done to the good fight?” in the same way that it makes sense to ask of Mt 4:25, “What did the great crowds do to him?” Beneficiary is semantically what is traditionally called indirect object. In the clause δός μοι τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ‘give me this water’ (Jn 4:15), τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ is the Goal of the process realized by δός, and μοι is the Beneficiary of the process.

In addition to the participants, material processes share with other processes that they may also be accompanied by circumstantial elements, typically realized by adverbial elements, including prepositional and participial phrases. Figure 1.2 represents the range of choices available to a speaker or writer once the choice has been made to include a circumstantial element.²⁷

Each square bracket in the figure represents a logical “or” system, in which one and only one of the terms of the system can be chosen. Thus the system of circumstance includes seven terms: Extent, Accompaniment, Location, Matter, Manner, Role and Cause. When the system is entered, one and only one of these

²⁶Throughout this study, functional labels defined within systemic theory are capitalized.

²⁷Figure 1.2, as well as the definitions and probe questions to follow, is adapted from (Eggsins 1994, 237–239).

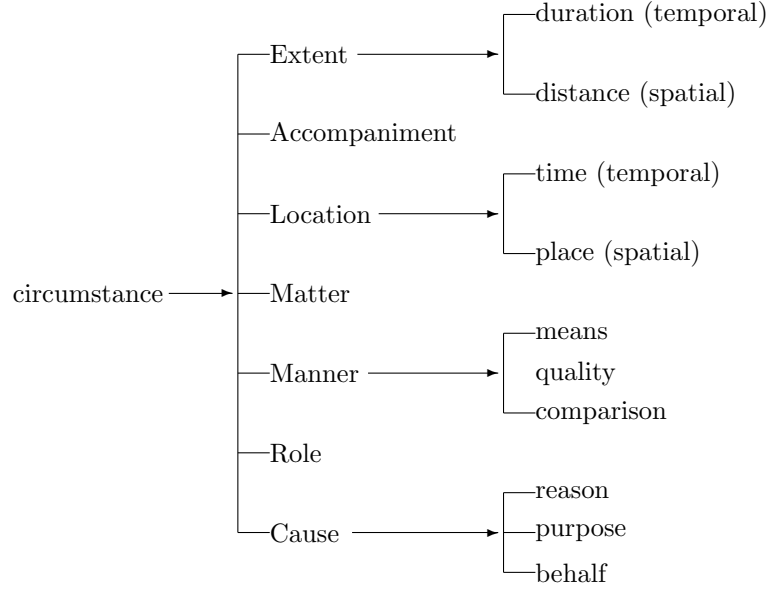


Figure 1.2: System of Circumstances

terms must be chosen.²⁸ Some choices in the system become entry conditions for a further system of choices. For example, if the term Manner is chosen, the manner system is entered and one and only one of the terms Means, Quality and Comparison must be chosen. Circumstantials are identified by considering what the questions are that can be asked for which the circumstantials are the answer. Following are questions that are helpful in identifying circumstantials together with an example of each of the seven terms of the system:

Extent “How long?” (duration); “How far?” (spatial distance). In the following example, the opening prepositional phrases answer the question, “How long (or since when) has the kingdom of heaven suffered violence?”

<i>ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ</i>	<i>ἕως ἄρτι</i>
from but the days of-John the Baptist	until now
CIRC:EXTENT	CIRC:EXTENT

²⁸This does not mean that there cannot be more than one circumstantial element in a clause; clearly there can be. It means that each time the system is entered, only one term is chosen. More than one circumstantial element in a clause indicates that the system of circumstance may be entered more than once.

ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται (Mt 11:12)
 the kingdom of-the heavens has-suffered-violence/come violently
 ACTOR PROCESS:MATERIAL
 From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of the
 heavens has suffered violence/come violently.

Location “When?” (temporal); Where? (spatial). In the following example, the initial participial phrase answers the question, “When did he stand on a level place?” The closing prepositional phrase answers the question, “Where did he stand after he came down with them?” Note that in the absence of an explicit subject the verb morphology in this clause realizes the Actor participant; the verb in this (and many other clauses) thus realizes both process and a participant.

Καὶ καταβὼς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔστη
 and coming-down with them he-stood
 CIRC:LOCATION:TIME PR:MATERIAL (ACTOR)
 ἐπὶ τόπον πεδινὸν (Lk 6:17)
 upon place level
 CIRC:LOC:PLACE
 And coming down with them, he stood on a level place.

Manner “How? With what?” (means); “How? How *x*-ly?” (quality); “What ... like?” (comparison). In the first example immediately following, ἐλαίῳ answers the question, “How/with what/by means of what did ‘you’ not anoint ‘my head’?” In the second example, the prepositional phrase answers the question, “How/with what quality is she to go?” (Answer: “Peacefully/in peace.”)

ἐλαίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου οὐκ ἠλείψας (Lk 7:46)
 with-oil the head of-me not you-anointed
 CIRC:MANNER:MEANS GOAL PR:MATERIAL (ACTOR)
 You did not anoint my head with oil.
 πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην (Lk 8:48)
 go! in peace
 PR:MATERIAL (ACTOR) CIRCUMSTANCE:MANNER:QUALITY
 Go in peace.

Cause “Why?” (reason); “What for?” (purpose); “Who for?” (behalf). The prepositional phrase in the example below answers the question, “For whom should we buy food?”

... ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον
 we should buy for all the people this
 ACTOR PR:MATERIAL CIRC:CAUSE:BEHALF
 βρώματα (Lk 9:13)
 food
 GOAL
 ... we should buy food for this entire people.

<i>Kai</i>	<i>εἰσῆλθεν</i>	<i>σὺν αὐτοῖς</i>
and	he-entered	with them
	PR:MATERIAL (ACTOR)	CIRC:ACCOMP
<i>εἰς τὸ ἱερόν</i> (<i>Acts 3:8</i>)		
into the temple		
CIRC:LOCATION		

And he entered with them into the temple.

παντός ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνέντος
all hearing the word of the kingdom and not understanding
CIRCUMSTANCE:MATTER
ἐρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς (Mt 13:19)
comes the evil-one
PR:MATERIAL ACTOR

Everyone who hears the word of the kingdom and does not understand, the evil one comes.

<i>ποίησόν</i>	<i>με</i>	<i>ὥς ἕνα τῶν μισθίων σου (Lk 7:46)</i>
make!	me	as one-of-the hired-hands of-you
PR:MATERIAL (ACTOR)	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE:ROLE
Make me like one of your hired hands.		

²⁹These examples are taken from Reed (1997, 65).

is sensed. The exception to the presence of a Phenomenon is the use of *projection*, a grammatical construction which is characteristic of mental processes but not material ones. Projection is a relationship between two clauses such that one is projected by another, completing the process of the other. In the case of a mental process, the projected clause functions in place of the Phenomenon. Consider Pilate's question of Jesus in Mt 27:13: Οὐκ ἀκούεις πόσα σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν 'Don't you hear how much they testify against you?' Οὐκ ἀκούεις is a simple clause which realizes a mental process of perception (hearing). This first clause projects a second clause, πόσα σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν, providing a further process (a verbal process, discussed below) that functions as the Phenomenon that is sensed.³⁰ The examples given here point toward two further process types. Verbal processes share in common with mental processes that they can be realized by clauses that project other clauses. These will be discussed below. A second process type that is indicated here is one that shares characteristics of both material and mental processes, namely the *behavioral* process.

Behavioral Processes *Behavioral* processes are action or doing, like material processes, but actions that must be experienced by a conscious being. The verb ἀκούω was given above as an example of a verb that can realize a mental process of perception (hearing). But this verb can also realize a behavioral process when it is used in the sense of listening. When it is used in this way, the Phenomenon is frequently a genitive case nominal participant that realizes the participant being listened to rather than what is heard, e.g., τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ in the following example.

τά πρόβατα	τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ	ἀκούει (Jn 10:3)
the sheep	his voice	hear
BEHAVER	PHENOMENON	PROCESS:BEHAVIOR

The sheep hear his voice.

Verbal Processes *Verbal* processes are verbal actions performed by a Sayer. Unlike the Sensor of a mental process, a Sayer does not have to be a conscious being, e.g., Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ 'But we know that whatever the law says it says to those under the law' [Rom 3:19], in which both λέγει and λαλεῖ realize verbal processes with ὁ νόμος as Sayer.³¹ Maximally, a verbal process may (and frequently does) have a Verbiage participant, and may have a Recipient (the verbal equivalent of a material Beneficiary) as well. Verbiage may be absent, as in the following example:

³⁰Acts 19:26 contains a more complex example of a mental process clause projecting a material process clause: καὶ θεωρεῖτε καὶ ἀκούετε (Process: mental/Sensor) // ὅτι οὐ μόνον Ἐφέσου ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας (Circumstance: location) ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος πείσας (Actor) μετέστησεν (Process: material) ἱκανὸν ὄχλον (Goal). Jn 9:31 contains an example of a mental process of cognition clause projecting another clause: οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀκούει.

³¹Note that this is an example of a mental (cognitive) process clause (Οἶδαμεν δέ) projecting a clause complex (beginning with ὅτι) that itself consists of a verbal process clause (τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ) projecting another verbal process clause (ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει).

καὶ ἀνεφώνησεν κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ (Lk 1:42)
 and she-exclaimed with a-loud shout
 PR:VERBAL (SAYER) CIRC:MANNER
 And she exclaimed with a loud shout.

If Verbiage is realized, it may be realized by a nominal element, e.g., τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην in Mk 10:5:³²

Πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν
 because of your stubbornness he wrote to you
 CIRC:CAUSE PR:VERBAL (SAYER) RECIPIENT
 τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην
 this command
 VERBIAGE
 It was because of your stubbornness that he wrote you this command.

Instead of Verbiage, the verbal process clause may project another clause or clauses that realize that which is verbalized, as in the following example from Mt 4:6:³³

καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ
 and he-says to him
 PR:VERBAL (SAYER) RECIPIENT
 PROJECTING CLAUSE
 Εἰ υἱός εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ
 if son... you-are ...of God
 VALUE... PR:INTENSIVE (TOKEN) ...VALUE
 PROJECTED [RELATIONAL] CLAUSE
 And he says to him, “If you are *God’s* Son...”

The processes discussed up to this point — material, mental, behavioral, and verbal — have in some sense all been processes of action. The remaining two process types are processes of *being* rather than action. *Existential* processes, which will be discussed below, are those in which something is simply stated to exist. *Relational* processes, discussed immediately below, are those in which something is stated to exist in relation to something else.

Relational Processes *Relational* processes are a rich and varied process type in which a relationship is established between two terms. This relationship can be one of two sub-types, *attributive* or *identifying*. In the former sub-type, an Attribute is assigned to a Carrier, specifying a quality, classification,

³²See also the clause in Mt 27:3 given above as an example of a projection of a mental process: πόσα σου (Verbiage) καταμαρτυροῦσιν (Pr:verbal/Sayer).

³³In this case, the first clause of the projected clause complex realizes a relational process. For more on the analysis of relational clauses, see the following section.

or description of the Carrier. In the latter, the emphasis is not on describing or classifying, but on defining. The participants in identifying processes are called Token and Value. In addition to the distinction between attributive and identifying sub-types, relational processes, whether attributive or identifying, can also be differentiated into *intensive*, *circumstantial* and *possessive* relational processes. Intensive processes are those in which sameness is posited between the two terms of the relationship. In the following example from Mt 13:22, the sameness is posited between the word, which is identified from the preceding clause (καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον ‘and the deception of wealth chokes the word’) and its acquired attribute of fruitlessness.

καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται (Mt 13:22)
 and fruitless it becomes
 ATTRIBUTE PR:INTENSIVE (CARRIER)
 And it [the word] becomes fruitless.

In Jn 6:35, the sameness is posited between the speaker (Ἐγώ) and the description, ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς:

Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς (Jn 6:35)
 I am the bread of life
 TOKEN PR:INTENSIVE VALUE
 I am the bread of life.

Circumstantial processes are those in which a circumstantial element is attributed to or used to identify a participant. The first of the following examples is a circumstantial attributive process and the second is a circumstantial identifying process:

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σοῦ (Mt 7:4)
 and behold the log in your eye
 CARRIER ATTRIBUTE/CIRC:LOCATION
 And look! the log is in your eye.

μεῖζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολή
 greater than these another command
 VALUE/CIRC:MANNER:COMPARISON TOKEN
 οὐκ ἔστιν (Mk 12:31)
 is not
 PR:CIRCUMSTANTIAL
 Commands greater than these do not exist.

Possessive processes are those in which the relationship between the two terms is one of possession. The first example of a possessive process which follows is identifying and the second is attributive.

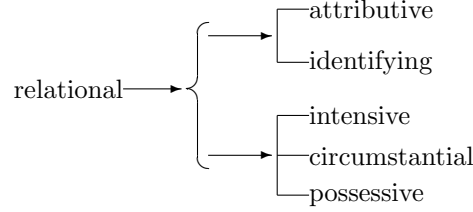


Figure 1.3: Relational Processes System

τῶν γάρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν
 for to such as these is/belongs
 VALUE/POSSESSOR PR:POSSESSIVE
 ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (Mt 19:14)
 the kingdom of the heavens
 TOKEN/POSSESSED
 For to such as these belongs the kingdom of the heavens.

Ἄργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει
 silver and gold do not exist/belong
 CARRIER/POSSESSED PR:POSSESSIVE
 μοι (Acts 3:6)
 to me
 ATTRIBUTE/POSSESSOR
 Silver and gold I do not have.

The system of relational processes is summarized in Figure 1.3. The curly bracket represents a logical “and”, specifying that both terms of the system must be chosen if the system is entered. As in Figure 1.2, the square brackets represent choices which must be made between terms of the system. In the relational system, either attributive *or* identifying must be chosen, *and* one and only one of intensive, circumstantial, *or* possessive must be chosen.

Existential Processes *Existential* processes, in contrast to relational processes, have only one participant (not counting circumstantial elements), namely the Existent, or that participant which is said to exist. Existential process clauses can frequently be translated by English existential clauses with the dummy subject “there.”³⁴ For example:

³⁴Cf. [πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὸν προσερχόμενον τῷ θεῷ] ὅτι ἐστὶν ‘[for it is necessary for the one coming to God to believe] that he is’ (Pr:existential/Existent) (Heb 11:6).

ἔστιν *ὁ ζητῶν καὶ κρίνων* (*Jn 8:50*)
 [there] is the-one seeking and judging
 PR:EXISTENTIAL EXISTENT
 There is one who seeks and judges.

Existential process clauses, like other clauses, can include circumstantial elements, and it is not always easy to distinguish between such an existential clause and a relational circumstantial process clause. The following clause is analyzed as existential with two circumstantial elements:

γίνεται *χαρὰ* *ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ*
 is joy before the angels of God
 PR:EXISTENTIAL EXISTENT CIRC:LOCATION
ἐπὶ ἐν ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι (*Lk 15:10*)
 over one sinner repenting
 CIRC:CAUSE
 There is joy before God's angels over one sinner who repents.

Summary of Process Types The summary of the process types in Figure 1.4³⁵ shows that this system represents experiential meanings at the level of the clause. In the system of experiential meanings at the clause level, one and only one process type must be chosen. The choice of whether to include a circumstantial element is independent of the choice of process type. The small arrows pointing diagonally from left to right and downward indicate realization. Each process type is realized by a process and its accompanying participants. Optional participants appear in parentheses. The clause level, however, is not the only lexico-grammatical level at which experiential meanings are realized.

Another important level at which to analyze experiential meanings is the morphological level, especially of the verb. In addition to the important resource of circumstantials that New Testament Greek has at the clause level for realizing experiential meanings related to time, there are the important morphological categories of tense and aspect that have received considerable attention in recent years.³⁶ As Mari Broman Olsen (1997) has demonstrated, aspect itself cannot be properly accounted for at a single level, such as the morphological level of the verb. She has demonstrated that aspect can be fully accounted for only in the interplay between lexical aspect, which is a semantic property of particular verbs, and grammatical aspect, which is a semantic property of verb morphology. I mention this important area of research to emphasize that the grammatical realization of experiential meanings are not exhausted by analysis of clauses, but properly includes analysis of lower level constructions (such as verb phrases)

³⁵This figure is adapted from Eggins (1994, 228).

³⁶Stanley Porter's *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament* is one major study that draws on systemic concepts and notation (Porter 1989). Other significant studies of verbal aspect in Greek include those of Buist Fanning (1990), James Voelz (1993), and Kenneth L. McKay (1994). The recent dissertation by Mari Broman Olsen is also a significant study (Olsen 1994).

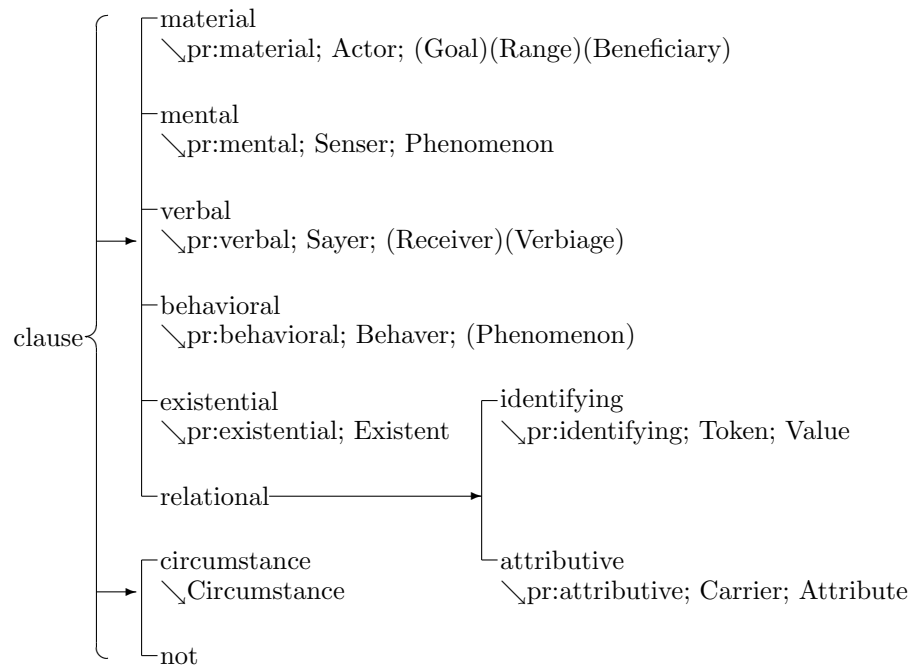


Figure 1.4: System of Process Types

and lexical items. Nevertheless, clause level realizations, and process types in particular, will be the focus of my analysis of experiential meanings in this study.

Logical Meanings As noted above, the ideational metafunction includes not only experiential meanings but logical ones as well. Logical meanings are realized by relationships of coordination and subordination between clauses or other structural units, often through the use of conjunctions, relative pronouns, ellipsis, and so on. In the discussion of process types above, each clause, whether dependent, independent, or embedded in another clause, can be analyzed in terms of process, participants and circumstances. This way of analyzing the clauses produces constituency structures. Logical meanings, in contrast to this, are associated with interdependency structures. The relationship between head words and the words that modify them or are dependent on them (e.g., nouns and the adjectives and articles that modify them; verbs and the adverbs that modify them) are examples of logical meanings. Another example is the relationship that holds between clauses in a text. The relationship between independent clauses and clauses that are dependent on them, as well as logical relationships between independent clauses in a text, are logical meanings. Logical meaning must be taken into account in any ideational analysis. Nevertheless, the focus of ideational analysis in this study will be on experiential meanings at the clause level.³⁷

Interpersonal Metafunction

Introduction: Text as Exchange The second metafunction, the interpersonal component of the semantic level, has to do with the exchange that takes place between speaker and listener or writer and reader. The functions within this component include giving or demanding information, expressing intention, assessing degree of probability, expressing attitude, and so on. These functions have more to do with social interaction than with “content.” In Halliday’s analysis of English, the interpersonal component is associated with mood, modality and person. These functions are realized in a variety of ways, from the use of vocatives and the use of first and second person forms of identification to the use of distinctions between imperative and indicative moods and the use of modals and negatives.

Since interpersonal meanings have to do with interaction or exchange between people, they are most conspicuous in conversation or dialogue and least conspicuous in formal texts written for a general audience. Nevertheless, language is social behavior, and by its very nature text is exchange. Language can be used to exchange information or “goods and services.” Information is generally exchanged verbally, whereas goods and services can include material objects or actions that are given or demanded in the exchange in addition to

³⁷It will be necessary in this study to give some attention to logical meanings as well as to patterns of experiential meanings across the discourse, including lexical relations, to the extent that these are necessary for the analysis of register. Nevertheless, the focus will remain on the clause rank.

Initiating speech function	Responding speech function	
	Supporting	Confronting
offer	acceptance (may be non-verbal)	rejection
command	compliance (may be non-verbal)	refusal
statement	acknowledgment	contradiction
question	answer	disclaimer

Table 1.1: Speech Function Pairs (Initiations and Responses)

verbal responses, and thus a positive response in a goods-and-services exchange may be non-verbal. Table 1.1³⁸ summarizes initiating and responding speech functions.

The offer and command functions have to do with offering and demanding goods and services, respectively. The statement and question functions have to do with giving and requesting information, respectively.

Mood: The Grammar of Interpersonal Meanings Interpersonal meanings are realized through the grammar of mood in the same way that experiential meanings are realized through the grammar of process types. Whereas the grammar of experiential meanings focuses on the clause as a representational unit structured as a configuration of process, participants, and circumstances, the grammar of interpersonal meanings focuses on the clause as a unit of exchange structured as Subject, Predicator, Complements and Adjuncts. When these elements are used in the exchange of information, the resulting structure is a *proposition*. When these elements are used in the exchange of goods and services, the resulting structure is a *proposal*. The speech functions of exchange and how clauses are structured to realize them will be illustrated following a brief discussion of the Subject, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct labels.

The Predicator is the primary focus of mood analysis because of the morphology of the Greek verb for the identification of mood and for the identification of the Subject. While the Subject element of the clause is optional, the Subject is identifiable from the verb morphology, and this identification is important for analysis of the clause as exchange. When the clause realizes an assertion in an argument, for example, the Subject is the element about which the remainder of the clause is asserted, “the thing by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied. It provides the person or thing in whom is vested the success or failure of the proposition, what is ‘held responsible’” (Eggins 1994, 156–157).³⁹ We might add that the Subject can also be the one in whom is

³⁸This table is taken from Eggins 1994, 151.

³⁹See also Halliday 1994, 76.

vested the success or failure of a proposal, i.e., the one who is held responsible for the proposal, especially the carrying out of a command or responding to an offer. The Predicator is the part of the clause that specifies the process that is going on in the clause. It can be identified as the finite verb, which carries the morphological identification of the Subject and of mood. We shall return to mood below, since it is the primary means of grammaticalizing the speech functions of exchange in New Testament Greek. The importance of the Subject in interpersonal meaning can be seen in the fact that every non-elliptical finite clause in Greek has either a Subject or a finite verb, the morphology of which identifies the Subject.

Other less important participants than the Subject are labeled as Complements. In experiential analysis, it was important to understand the particular configuration of participants in relation to each process type. In interpersonal analysis, however, all non-Subject participants are labeled the same way. A Complement can be defined as a non-Subject participant that has the potential to become the Subject of the clause with the use of the passive voice (Egins 1994, 163). Complements, along with Predicators, constitute the major part of what is being asserted of the Subject in a proposition.

The remaining element of clauses in interpersonal analysis is the Adjunct. Adjuncts are additional, but non-essential, information of various sorts that is added to the clause (Egins 1994, 165). Adjuncts are generally realized by adverbs, particles and prepositional phrases. They can be classified broadly according to whether they add experiential, interpersonal, or textual meaning to the clause. Circumstantial elements in an experiential analysis are considered Adjuncts of circumstance in an interpersonal analysis. Textual Adjuncts are generally conjunctions and adverbs or particles that function to give continuity or to announce that a message is coming.⁴⁰

In addition to experiential and textual Adjuncts, a number of Adjuncts are significant to interpersonal analysis. One is the Vocative Adjunct, by which a particular participant in the exchange is directly addressed, and it is made clear who is expected to respond in an exchange. The Polarity Adjunct (ναί or οὐ) is most often used in answer to “yes/no” questions, usually elliptically (e.g., προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ χιλιάρχος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Λέγε μοι, σὺ Ῥωμαῖος εἶ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Ναί. ‘And approaching, the commanding officer said to him, “Tell me, are you a Roman?” And he said, “Yes.”’ [Acts 22:27]). More common are the Modal Adjuncts — adverbs and particles that express such categories as probability, usuality, obligation, and inclination, categories generally associated with mood. Jeffrey T. Reed (1997, 83) has compiled the modal adjuncts shown in Table 1.2.

We should probably add the general category of Polarity to this collection, since negation (οὐ, μή, οὐ μή, μή οὐ) occurs very much like any of these Adjuncts.

The categories chosen by Reed to represent Modal Adjuncts are used by systemic linguists to represent the broader meanings of modality. Propositions

⁴⁰Textual Adjuncts of continuity include words in conversational English, such as “yeah,” “well,” and “uh,” when used at the beginning of sentences with only a textual function; ἴδε and ἰδοὺ ‘behold’ sometimes function this way in the New Testament (e.g., Jn 16:29; Acts 1:10).

probability	πάντως, καλῶς, ἀσφαλῶς, ὄντως, εἰ μήν, ἄν + imperfect (apodosis of conditional), μήποτε, ἄρα, ἴσως, τάχα
usuality	ἀεί, πάντοτε, ἐκάστοτε, εἰς αἰῶνα, πολλάκις, πολυμερῶς, πυκνότερον, ποσάκις, διὰ παντός, ποτέ, πώποτε, δήποτε, μήποτε, μηδέποτε, οὐδέποτε
obligation	ἀναγκαστῶς, δεῖ
inclination	ἐχουσίως, προθυμῶς, ἐκτενῶς, σπουδαίως, ἀσμένως, ἡδέως, ἀφόβως

Table 1.2: Modal Adjuncts

are used to assert what is, or, with Polarity, what is not. But these two extremes are not the only choices. The grammar of modality enables people to assert that things are or are not with varying degrees of certainty about the probability or likelihood (possible, probably, certain) of something being, and the usuality or frequency (sometimes, usually, always) of something being (Egins 1994, 178–179; Halliday 1994, 88–92, 354–367). Likewise, we use proposals to influence each other’s behavior, and commands and offers reflect the extremes of what we want to see happen. The grammar of modality enables people to convey varying degrees of obligation (must, should, may) to do what is demanded, and inclination (willing, want to, determined) to do what is offered (Egins 1994, 183–187; Halliday 1994, 89–91). While such meanings are sometimes realized by Modal Adjuncts in New Testament Greek, they are more frequently realized by the same verb endings marked for mood that also realize the speech roles displayed in Table 1.1. The following examples illustrate the major concepts and labels that have been introduced and defined here for analyzing the grammar of interpersonal meanings. These examples show how the various interpersonal meanings are realized (grammaticalized).

The Grammar of Propositions: Exchanging Information The default grammatical realization of propositions (exchange of information) is the use of indicative mood. This is true of both statements and questions. While questions may have been differentiated from statements by inflection or intonation in oral speech, they are typically not differentiated grammatically. Questions must sometimes be recognized from their co-text in the New Testament. In the following exchange from Jn 11:26–27, the second clause is understood as a question, even though it is not grammatically distinct from a statement:

<i>καὶ</i>	<i>πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ</i>	<i>οὐ μὴ</i>
And	all the-ones living and believing in me	not not
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	POLARITY
<i>ἀποθάνῃ</i>	<i>εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα</i>	
shall-die	into the age	
PREDICATOR	ADJ:CIRC	
“And all who live and believe in me shall never die.”		

<i>πιστεύεις</i>	<i>τοῦτο;</i>
you-believe	<i>this</i>
PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)	COMPLEMENT
“Do you believe this?”	

<i>Nai,</i>	<i>κύριε,</i>	<i>ἐγὼ</i>	<i>πεπίστευκα</i>
yes	Lord	I	have-come-to-believe
ADJ:POLARITY	ADJ:VOCATIVE	SUBJECT	PREDICATOR
‘‘Yes, Lord, I believe. . .’’			

<i>ὅτι</i>	<i>σὺ</i>	<i>εἶ</i>	<i>ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ</i>
that	you	are	the Christ the son of-the God
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJ	PRED	COMPLEMENT

ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος.

the [one] into the world coming

(COMPLEMENT)

“...that you are the Christ, the son of God who is coming into the world.”

In addition to the grammar of the question, this exchange illustrates several other aspects of the grammar of propositions. The answer, like the question, is given in the indicative mood, accompanied by an Adjunct of Polarity (ναί), which indicates the affirmative response to the question, and a Vocative Adjunct (χόριε), which not only directs the answer back to the questioner, but serves to acknowledge (or define) something about the role relationship between the parties in the exchange.

The opening assertion that led to the question in the above exchange, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστευόν εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, illustrates that propositions are not always grammaticalized by the indicative mood. In that assertion, the subjunctive mood (the mood of the verb ἀποθάνῃ) grammaticalizes modality. The double negative οὐ μὴ is combined with the phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ‘into the age (i.e., forever)’ to represent an emphatic polarity (“never ever”),⁴¹ and this emphatic “never” is combined with the modality of the subjunctive mood, grammaticalizing possibility rather than certainty, to express a strong denial that something will happen. The effect is similar to using the modalized English construction “can’t possibly die” instead of the normal declarative construction

⁴¹Cf. John 4:14; 8:51; 8:52; 10:28; 13:8; and 1 Cor 8:13.

“will not die” to deny emphatically a possibility rather than simply to make an assertion.

Less common means of realizing modalized propositions include the use of modal Adjuncts and the use of the optative mood.⁴² In the following example (from Lk 23:47), the modal Adjunct *ὅντως* represents a modification of the assertion by realizing the speaker’s attitude of certainty.

<i>ὅντως</i>	<i>ὁ ἀνθρώπος οὗτος</i>	<i>δίκαιος</i>	<i>ἦν.</i>
truly	the man this	just	was
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJ	COMPLEMENT	PRED
Truly this man was just.			

The following example demonstrates that the use of the optative mood realizes a lower degree of possibility/probability than does the subjunctive mood in a proposition — in this case an interrogative proposition. In response to Philip’s question whether he understands what he is reading, the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:31 responds:

<i>Πῶς</i>	<i>γάρ</i>	<i>ἄν</i>	<i>δυναίμην</i>
how	for	ever	I might be able
ADJ:CIRC/INTERR	ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:MODAL	PRED (SUBJ)
How can I.../How could I possibly...			

<i>ἐάν μὴ</i>	<i>τις</i>	<i>ὀδηγήσει</i>	<i>με;</i>
unless	someone	will guide	me
ADJ:CONJ/MODAL/POLARITY	SUBJECT	PREDICATOR	COMPL
... unless someone guides me?			

Note that the Ethiopian eunuch’s question in the previous example, in contrast to the question from Jn 11:26 discussed above, is marked as interrogative not only by context, but also by the use of an interrogative element in the clause. The interrogative word is a circumstantial Adjunct in the above example. In general terms, an interrogative word can be an Adjunct, Subject or Complement. The functional label of the interrogative word defines the kind of information for which the question is asking. In the above example, the question is asking for a circumstance; the full answer to the question would be of the form: “I might be able to understand in the circumstance *x*.” In this case, the question is rhetorical, and the answer is given in the following clause, i.e., *x* = the circumstance in which someone will guide me. In the following question from Mk 16:3, the interrogative is Subject:

⁴²The optative mood is never used in Matthew and only once in Mark (11:14). Apart from Paul’s well-known use of the expression *μή γένοιτο*, most uses of the optative in the New Testament occur in Luke-Acts.

<i>Τίς</i>	<i>ἀποκυλίσει</i>	<i>ἡμῖν</i>	<i>τόν λίθον</i>
who?	will roll away	for-us	the stone
SUBJ/INTERR	PREDICATOR	COMPL	COMPL
<i>ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου;</i>			
from the entrance of the tomb			
ADJUNCT:CIRCUM			

Who will roll away the stone for us from the entrance of the tomb?

The interrogative word acts as a variable, seeking an answer of the form: “*x* will roll away the stone for us from the entrance of the tomb.”

In addition to questions that request information by using interrogative words, there are also yes/no questions that present information in the form of a proposition and request an affirmation or rejection of that information. Once again, the example from Jn 11:26 given above is of this type. The use of a polarity element in a clause, however, helps to distinguish a question from a statement, while at the same time suggesting the expected answer to the question. In the following example (from Mt 7:22), the use of οὐ rather than μή indicates that the expected answer is in the affirmative, much as a tag question would do in English (i.e., “we did, didn’t we?”):

<i>Κύριε, κύριε</i>	<i>οὐ</i>	<i>τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι</i>
Lord, lord	not	in your name
ADJ:VOCATIVE	POLARITY	COMPLEMENT
<i>ἐπροφητεύσαμεν...;</i>		
we prophesied		
PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)		

Lord, lord, we prophesied in your name, didn’t we?

The answer, however, is not a supporting proposition, acknowledging the expected answer, but a confronting one. In essence, the question is rejected by a disclaimer.

<i>Οὐδέποτε</i>	<i>ἔγνων</i>	<i>ὑμᾶς</i>
never	I-knew	you
ADJ:MODAL	PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)	COMPLEMENT
I never knew you.		

The Grammar of Proposals: Exchanging Goods and Services The grammar of proposals differentiates clearly between offers and commands. The latter are typically realized by the imperative mood. Examples of this are easy to obtain. The following example from Mt 9:9 demonstrates a command with a positive non-verbal response.

<i>ἄκολούθει</i>	<i>μοι.</i>
follow!	me
PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)	COMPLEMENT
Follow me!	

<i>καὶ</i>	<i>ἀναστὰς</i>	<i>ἠκολούθησεν</i>
And	rising up	he followed
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRCUM	PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)
<i>αὐτῷ</i>		
him		
COMPLEMENT		
And rising up he followed him.		

The imperative mood in the verb ἠκολούθει marks the clause as a command. The next clause in the narrative indicates that the person addressed by the second person imperative verb responded positively by carrying out the action intended by the command.

A command can be issued in Greek without being addressed directly to the agent responsible for carrying it out and at the same time without losing the force of the command. Third person imperative forms realize this semantic option. Lk 3:11 contains an example of a third person imperative in which the agent of the desired action is the subject, as would be the case in a second person imperative, but the use of third person enables the speaker to issue a directive that applies to a class of people, many of whom are not present to be addressed. Nevertheless, the command does not lose its force as a command, i.e., it is not merely a suggestion for being in the third person:

<i>Ὁ ἔχων δύο χιτῶνας</i>	<i>μεταδώτω</i>	<i>τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι</i>
the one-having two frocks	share!	with not one-having
SUBJECT	PREDICATOR	COMPLEMENT
Whoever has two frocks must share with one who has none.		

Such commands are difficult to translate into English, since English does not have third person imperatives. The nearest equivalents are the traditional translation using “let” (“Let whoever . . . share”) and the use of the modalized indicative (“Whoever . . . must share”). The following example from Mt 8:13 demonstrates how the third person imperative can be used to issue a command to God without naming God as the agent responsible for the proposed action, much like the “divine passive” is used to avoid explicitly identifying God as agent:

<i>ὥς ἐπίστευσας</i>	<i>γενηθήτω</i>	<i>σοι</i>
as you-believed	be-[it]!	to-you
ADJ:CIRCUM	PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)	COMPLEMENT
Be it done for you as you have believed (RSV).		

The negative particle *μή* gives negative polarity to a command. Such negative commands are traditionally referred to as prohibitions. Whereas a command communicates what the speaker wants done, a prohibition communicates what the speaker does not want done. Negated second person imperatives are always in the present tense in the New Testament,⁴³ as in the following example from Mt 6:19:

⁴³Negated aorist imperatives in the second person are rare in any case (Smyth & Messing 1984, §1840).

<i>Μή</i>	<i>θησαυρίζετε</i>	<i>ὑμῶν</i>	<i>θησαυροὺς</i>	<i>ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.</i>
not	store-up!	for yourselves	stores	on the earth
ADJ:POL	PRED (SUBJ)	COMPL	COMPL	ADJ:CIRCUM
Do not hoard treasures for yourselves on earth.				

Second person present imperative prohibitions are sometimes interpreted as commands to cease doing an action that has already begun (“stop doing *x*”), in contrast with second person aorist subjunctive prohibitions, which are interpreted as a complete prohibition against an action not already begun (“don’t [ever] do *x*”) (Brooks & Winbery 1979, 127). An example of a second person aorist subjunctive prohibition is found in Lk 3:8:

<i>μή</i>	<i>ῥξήσθε λέγειν</i>	<i>ἐν ἑαυτοῖς...</i>
not	you-should-begin to-say	among yourselves
ADJ:POL	PRED (SUBJ)	ADJ:CIRC:PLACE
Don’t start saying among yourselves...		

As the two preceding examples make clear, the difference in meaning between a present imperative prohibition and an aorist subjunctive prohibition is not always a difference between calling for the cessation of an action that has already begun and prohibiting absolutely an action that has not yet begun. Often both forms are used as a more general prohibition (“don’t do *x*”) the context of which may determine whether the action referred to is a potential action or one actually in progress (Smyth & Messing 1984, §1841a). Nevertheless, the aorist subjunctive prohibition is frequently a general, absolute prohibition. This may be related to the fact that the subjunctive is also used to realize a degree of obligation (similar to the English modals “should” and “may”) in other contexts without having the force of a command.

The subjunctive mood can realize the expression of varying degrees of obligation that fall between the polar extremes of positive command and prohibition. This function shares much in common with the function of expressing degrees of certainty discussed above. The grammar of expressing degrees of obligation is in fact like the grammar of propositions in which information is being offered or demanded. In this case however the information that is being offered or demanded is information concerning obligation. In this way the offer or demand of goods and services expressed by the imperative can be softened. This use is an instance of what Halliday calls *grammatical metaphor*, in which meanings are realized by lexico-grammatical structures that are less congruent with those meanings than another expression; e.g., the use of the grammar of propositions to express obligation (Halliday 1994, 342–343; see especially 354–367 on interpersonal metaphors). The following example from Lk 3:14 is in the form of a question, a demand for information concerning obligation.

<i>τί</i>	<i>ποιήσωμεν</i>	<i>καὶ</i>	<i>ἡμεῖς</i>
what?	should-do	even	we
COMPL/INTERR	PREDICATOR	ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT
And we, what should we do?			

One would expect the answer to such a question to be in the form either of a statement in kind of a degree of obligation to perform a certain action or even of a command. The answer that is in fact given in Lk 3:14 is a series of aorist subjunctive prohibitions and an imperative command (μηδένα διασείσητε μηδὲ συκοφαντήσητε καὶ ἀρκεῖσθε ὀψωνίοις ὑμῶν “Do not extort nor falsely accuse anyone and be satisfied with your wages”).

In the same way that the subjunctive can be used to express obligation, the future indicative can also express obligation metaphorically. As with the subjunctive, the grammar is like that of propositions even to the point of using the indicative mood and allowing for either statements or questions. The following example from Mt 1:21 contains a future indicative statement in which an obligation of the addressee to carry out the future action is implied.

<i>καλέσεις</i>	<i>τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ</i>	<i>Ἰησοῦν.</i> (<i>Mt 1:21</i>)
you-will-call	the name of-him	Jesus
PRED (SUBJECT)	COMPLEMENT	COMPLEMENT
You shall name him Jesus.		

Obligation can also be expressed in the indicative mood through choice of lexical items, namely with certain modal verbs (e.g., δεῖ and ὀφείλω) together with an infinitive. The following example is from Mt 25:27:

<i>ἔδει</i>
was-necessary
PREDICATOR
<i>σε {οὖν} βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζίταις</i>
you {therefore} to-deposit the money of-me with-the bankers
SUBJECT {ADJ:CONJ}
You should have deposited [were obligated to deposit] my money
with the bankers.

The syntax of “quasi-impersonal” verbs, such as δεῖ (Smyth & Messing 1984, §1984–§1985), places the mood element as the main verb and all of the experiential meanings in an infinitival phrase (σε βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζίταις), which functions as the subject of the verb.

The future indicative is the default realization of an offer in Greek (Reed 1997, 87). The following example from Mt 4:9 shows an offer realized by a future indicative clause to which a condition has been attached:

<i>ταῦτά σοι πάντα</i>
these {to-you} all
COMPL {COMPL}
<i>δώσω, [ἐάν πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃς μοι.]</i>
I-will-give, [if falling down you were to worship me.]
PREDICATOR (SUBJECT)
I offer you all these things [on the condition that you prostrate
yourself before me.]

The following co-text of this offer (Mt 4:10) indicates that the offer is rejected. The command that is issued by the party to whom the offer is made directs the party making the offer to do something other than the action that was offered (ὑπάγε “go away!” rather than δίδου “give!”).

In addition to the modal verbs mentioned above which express obligation, the Greek of the New Testament also has modal verbs (such as βούλομαι, θέλω and ζητῶ) to express degrees of inclination in the indicative mood together with an infinitive that expresses the desired outcome or action. The following example from Lk 13:31 expresses inclination toward a certain action, or the desire to carry out that action:

<i>Ἡρώδης</i>	<i>θέλει</i>	<i>σε ἀποκτεῖναι.</i>
Herod	wants	you to-kill
SUBJECT	PREDICATOR	COMPLEMENT
Herod wants to kill you.		

The following from Lk 6:19 is perhaps a stronger example of inclination in that those who want the action of the infinitive to take place are actively seeking to make it happen:

<i>καί</i>	<i>πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος</i>	<i>ἐζήτουν</i>	<i>ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ.</i>
and	all the crowd	were-seeking	to-touch him
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	PREDICATOR	COMPLEMENT
And everyone in the crowd was trying to touch him (REB).			

This section has considered and illustrated how interpersonal meanings are structured in New Testament Greek texts. The structures of exchange are simultaneously realized with experiential meanings in a single clause. Yet another set of meanings is structured independently of experiential and interpersonal meanings, but simultaneously realized with them in a single clause. To these meanings, textual meanings, we now turn.

Textual Metafunction

The textual component consists of the enabling or text-forming functions. These include some aspects of cohesion,⁴⁴ information structure and Theme, all of

⁴⁴Halliday (1994, 308–309), following his foundational work and that of his collaboration with Hasan (Halliday 1973, e.g., the chart on p. 141; Halliday & Hasan 1976), treats cohesion as textual meaning realized by semantic relationships at the level of discourse rather than as structural relationships (as, for example, Theme is within the clause and information structure is within tone groups [units defined by intonation patterns] in English). (Martin 1992, 26) analyzes cohesive relationships in English as four separate discourse systems: negotiation, identification, conjunction and ideation, corresponding to the interpersonal, textual, logical and experiential metafunctions, which also include corresponding structural systems in English: Mood, Theme, interdependency (parataxis and hypotaxis) and Transitivity. Eggins (1994, 113) follows Martin’s analysis of cohesion, with some adjustments. In this study, I will treat the various aspects of cohesion as analyzed by Martin with the appropriate metafunction rather than treating all cohesion as part of the textual metafunction. Nevertheless, all cohesive

which give texture to a text. Since they are enabling functions, textual meanings are not independent of ideational and interpersonal meanings. For example, the selection of particular participants and processes in the ideational component (e.g., the participants “boy” and “ball” and process “hit” such that “boy” is the actor and “ball” is the goal of the process) can be textually organized in a variety of ways (e.g., “The ball was hit by the boy” or “He hit it”). The actual realization of these ideational meanings (as well as interpersonal and textual ones) will be shaped by textual meanings, including cohesion, information structure and Theme.

Cohesion as Textual Meaning Two of the resources that a language has for realizing textual meanings at the level of the discourse are referential and conjunctive cohesion. While participants of a process are part of the experiential meaning of a text, the way those participants are referred to is part of the textual meaning of the text. Similarly, while the logical relations between clauses in a text are part of the ideational meaning of the text, logical meanings are sometimes reflected in the use of conjunctions, one of the textual devices for connecting clauses together in a text. Reference and conjunction are both realized at the level of the clause but the function of both is cohesive over multiple clauses.⁴⁵

Participant reference contributes to the cohesiveness of a text when a participant is referred to multiple times in a text. The way in which a participant is referred to in any particular case, however, is determined largely by the flow of information in the text. A major character in a narrative, for example, might be introduced with a descriptive phrase or means of identifying the character that need not be repeated again in the narrative. Such introductions frequently take the form of identifying clauses or of descriptive nominal phrases with salient identifying information in the attributive position. A briefer description of the character or a name is generally only used after the introduction when the identity of the character might be in doubt. Otherwise, minimal references, such as verb or pronoun morphology, are the norm.⁴⁶ To realize a character reference by a name where the identity is not in doubt risks confusion, supplying information that is not needed in order to communicate clearly. Such unnecessary information might even suggest that another character of the same name is being referred to.⁴⁷

devices contribute to the texture of text and to that extent have an enabling function. As we shall see, particular patterns of cohesion are significant semantic predictors of the contextual variable mode.

⁴⁵Compare the way in which lexical choices within the clause realize ideational meanings at the level of the discourse, give lexical cohesion to the text while realizing the field of the text (see under Ideational Metafunction, on p. 13).

⁴⁶Stephen H. Levinsohn (1992) outlines particular conditions under which the identity of a character is not in doubt; e.g., when the subject of a finite verb is unchanged from the preceding clause or is the last character referred to in the preceding clause. Levinsohn also makes the helpful observation that the articular pronoun is the default means of referring to a Sayer in a verbal process clause when that Sayer has just been addressed in a running dialogue.

⁴⁷Compare the following examples:

An example of a reference chain beginning with the introduction of a character in a narrative is Simon in the story of the Samaritan mission of Philip in Acts 8. In the following section (vv. 9–13), explicit references to Simon are double-underlined and finite verbs of which Simon is the subject (i.e., implicit references by verb morphology) are wavy-underlined. Other nominal elements that agree in gender, number and case with a reference to Simon are underlined. Such elements are not references in and of themselves but descriptions that modify references to Simon.

⁹Ἄνθρωπος δέ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων προὔπῃρχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγέων καὶ ἐξιστάνων τό ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας, λέγων εἶναι τίνα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, ¹⁰ὧς προσεῖχον πάντες ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου λέγοντες, Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη Μεγάλη. ¹¹προσεῖχον δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγείαις ἐξεστακέναι αὐτούς. ¹²ὅτε δὲ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες. ¹³ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσεν καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἦν προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας γινομένας ἐξίστατο.

⁹But there was a man named Simon who had previously practiced magic in the city and amazed the nation of Samaria, saying that he himself was somebody great. ¹⁰They all gave heed to him, from the least to the greatest, saying, “This man is that power of God which is called Great.” ¹¹And they gave heed to him, because for a long time he had amazed them with his magic. ¹²But when they believed Philip as he preached good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. ¹³Even Simon himself believed, and after being baptized he continued with Philip. And seeing signs and great miracles performed, he was amazed (RSV).

Simon is introduced with the descriptive phrase ἄνθρωπος τις ὀνόματι Σίμων ‘a certain man named Simon’ in v. 9. The basic referent is ἄνθρωπος ‘a certain man’ to which is added in predicative position ὀνόματι Σίμων ‘named Simon,’ thus

- (1) I saw John yesterday. He was making deliveries with his car.
- (2) I saw John and Bill yesterday. John was making deliveries with his car.
- (3) I saw John yesterday. John was making deliveries with his car.
- (4) I saw John yesterday. He was making deliveries with John’s car.
- (5) I saw John yesterday. John was making deliveries with John’s car.

It is natural to infer from (1) and (2) that John was making deliveries with his own car. “John” is used as the subject of the second sentence in (2) to avoid the ambiguity that the pronoun “he” would have produced. However, when “John” is used as the subject in (3) where there is no ambiguity produced by the preceding sentence, the reader is left with several possible inferences. One possibility is that “John” is intended to contrast with someone else not mentioned in the co-text (“Unlike you, John was making deliveries with his car.”). Another possibility is that the second occurrence of “John” refers to a second person with the same name. The third possibility is that there is no cohesion between the two sentences; the writer started to say one thing and started over. The same sorts of confusion on a larger scale are produced by the three-fold use of “John” in (5). Example (4), however, exhibits cohesion between the first “John” and the subject pronoun. The natural inference is that the second “John” refers to a second person.

supplying the name by which the character will be referred to as the narrative continues. Successive references are realized by the pronouns *ἐαυτὸν* (v. 9), *ὃ* (v. 10), *οὗτός* (v. 10), and *αὐτῷ* (v. 11). All but *οὗτός* are in oblique cases and therefore minimal references. *Οὗτός* is not a minimal reference since the form of the verb *ἔστιν* refers already to Simon as its subject. This reference, however, occurs in reported speech and in the context of that speech the demonstrative functions to make clear that Simon and not another is being identified as *ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη Μεγάλη* ‘the power of God called Great.’ In each case, the referent of these pronouns was not ambiguous because no intervening characters appear in the narrative except the crowds, who are referred to using plural forms. In v. 12, however, the character Philip appears once again in the narrative so that the reference to Simon in v. 13 must be *ὁ Σίμων καὶ αὐτός ἐπίστευσεν* ‘Even Simon himself believed’ rather than simply *καὶ αὐτός ἐπίστευσεν* ‘he himself believed.’ The remaining references to Simon in v. 13 are the minimal implied references of the verb morphology of the successive verbs of which Simon is subject.

Conjunction contributes to the cohesiveness of a text by realizing certain aspects of the relationship between clauses. In so doing, conjunction is part of the resource that a language has for giving structure to a text and revealing its method of development. Since the method of development of a text is both constrained by genre and subject to the choices of individual speakers/writers. Thus the pattern of conjunction will naturally vary with genre and from author to author. Certain general tendencies can be recognized in the use of conjunctions in a language. For example, the most common conjunctions in Greek narratives are *καί* and *δέ*, and asyndeton is relatively rare. *Καί* frequently indicates chronological simultaneity, elaboration, or other close relationship between clauses that does not serve to advance the narrative. In the story of Simon referred to above, the clause *ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτός ἐπίστευσεν* ‘even Simon himself believed’ is followed by *καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἦν προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ* ‘and after being baptized, he continued with Philip’ (Acts 8:13). The *καί* at the beginning of the second clause indicates that, in this narrative, Simon’s baptism and attending to Philip are a part of the complex event of Simon’s believing, not a new event in the narrative.

Δέ, unlike *καί*, is frequently used to indicate significant difference or advancement. In the first clause of Acts 8:13, *δὲ* indicates that Simon’s believing is an event that pushes the narrative forward. Reading the independent clauses in Acts 8:4–25 with *δὲ* is to read a summary of the salient points of the narrative: Philip preached, the crowd paid attention, many were healed, there was much joy there, Simon was already there, the crowds paid attention to him, when they believed Philip they were baptized, Simon also believed, the apostles sent Peter and John, the people had only been baptized (i.e., not received the Holy Spirit), Simon offered Peter and John money, Peter spoke to him, Simon answered.

The conjunction *οὖν* tends to be used in narrative to indicate both a close relationship, like *καί*, and significant advancement, like *δέ* (Buth 1992). *Οὖν* is used to make the transition into the story about Simon: *Οἱ μὲν οὖν δια-*

σπαρέντες διήλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον ‘Now those who were scattered went about preaching the word.’ It is also used to transition from the Simon story to the next story: Οἱ μὲν οὖν διαμαρτυρούμενοι καὶ λαλήσαντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου ὑπέστρεφον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, πολλὰς τε κώμας τῶν Σαμαριτῶν εὐηγγελίζοντο ‘Now when they had testified and spoken the word of the Lord, they returned to Jerusalem, preaching the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans.’ In both of these transitions, the message of the clauses summarizes what has gone before while communicating salient information about the movement of the larger narrative. The uses of conjunctions illustrated here are, of course, only tendencies. The Fourth Gospel uses οὖν much more frequently in narrative than Acts or the synoptic gospels⁴⁸ and Mark uses καὶ more frequently than other New Testament narratives.

Much more could be written about cohesion in New Testament Greek. I have mentioned briefly reference insofar as it is relevant to information structure, to which we turn next, and conjunction insofar as it is relevant to the thematic structuring of clauses. Theme will be the primary focus of my analysis of textual meanings for two reasons. The level of focus in this study is the level of the clause. As we will see below, Theme is realized at the level of the clause, whereas information structure may or may not coincide with clauses. More importantly, there are inherent difficulties and limitations associated with analyzing information structure in an ancient language such as New Testament Greek. Before turning to Theme, we will examine these difficulties and limitations.

The Information Structure and Problem of Ancient Languages Information structure is the textual resource of a language that allows multi-dimensional structures (such as narrative worlds and plots) to be conveyed in a linear fashion, which is, after all, the way language must convey things.⁴⁹ The information comes one bit at a time along with implicit instructions for where to add the new information to the developing structure. The next bit of salient information is referenced to information presented as recoverable by the hearer, frequently information that has been previously supplied in the text, or perhaps available from the context. The salient information — that which is presented as non-recoverable — is labeled New, and the information that provides a point of reference for adding the New information to the developing structure — that which is presented as recoverable — is labeled Given. Since the choice to present information as Given or New lies with the speaker, Given information is not necessarily recoverable nor New non-recoverable by the hearer.⁵⁰ The terms Given

⁴⁸The different use of asyndeton, καὶ, δέ, and especially οὖν in the Fourth Gospel compared to the synoptic gospels is the primary issue investigated by Randall Buth (1992).

⁴⁹I am indebted to Helma Dik (1995, 23–24) for this metaphor. She in turn cites Gernsbacher (1990) as the source for the image of text production and text processing as structure-building.

⁵⁰Halliday (1994, 200) notes that the potential for presenting information enables a variety of rhetorical effects. For example, a speaker might flatter a hearer by presenting what is actually new information to the hearer as Given, implicitly communicating, “But of course you already knew that.” Not giving sufficient information to actually inform in the same circumstances might be a rhetorical move to put down the hearer, implicitly communicating, “You should know this, but I know that you don’t.”

and New are nevertheless used to distinguish information structure from a different kind of textual structure, namely thematic structure, discussed further below.

The distinction between information and thematic structure which is characteristic of systemic functional grammar is not characteristic of most functional linguistic theories. Various functional approaches use the terms Theme/Rheme, Topic/Comment or Topic/Focus with regard to flow of information, or information structure, without distinguishing it from thematic structure as defined by systemic grammar. Halliday borrowed the terms Theme and Rheme from the Prague School linguists, but he developed the terms differently. His analysis of Theme in English led him to the conclusion that, in spite of the fact that they are often conflated, Theme and Rheme are not the same as Given and New information (Halliday 1967a;b; 1968). Whereas information structure (Given and New) is listener-oriented, thematic structure (Theme and Rheme) is speaker-oriented (Halliday 1994, 299). The difference between the two is the difference between how one might outline a sermon to aid in one's delivery of it (thematic structure) and the structure of the information that one hopes one's hearers will take away from it (information structure). The distinction between the two will become more apparent as Theme is defined in the next section. The difference in how Theme and information structures are realized is where the problem for our analysis of information structure arises.

Whereas thematic structure is realized in the grammar at the level of the clause, information structure is realized instead phonologically at the level of intonation units, or what Halliday (1994, 292) calls tone groups. Tone groups may, and frequently do, coincide with clauses, but they sometimes do not. But even if we could identify the boundaries of tone groups in ancient Greek texts, we do not know the intonation patterns, or even where the tonic prominence would have been as the words of the texts were read aloud. Helma Dik (1995), in her application of the analysis of information structure to understanding word order in ancient Greek, understood this problem. "Undoubtedly, many problems of interpretation would be solved if we had access to intonation, but the fact is that this is one thing we do not have. We will have to deal with the evidence we do have in the form of word order data" (Dik 1995, 5). She recognized that the information unit, the purpose of which is to communicate "a piece of new information which is grounded in given information," is an intonation unit (Dik 1995, 24). She conducted her analysis on the assumption that the information unit can be equated roughly with the clause, and that the pragmatic categories of Topic and Focus, acquired from Simon Dik's functional grammar, can be analyzed at the level of the clause.

Evidence for intonation in ancient Greek texts is not completely lacking, as Helma Dik demonstrated in her analysis of postpositive elements that fall in second position in Greek. She demonstrated that it is reasonable to conclude that "second position" is determined phonologically (i.e., within tone groups) rather than grammatically (i.e., within clauses). "Unfortunately, apart from conclusions drawn on the basis of postpositive placement and general assumptions on the basis of research on modern languages, we have no access to intonation and

prosody of Greek clauses” (Dik 1995, 35). We do in fact have other evidence as well, such as the evidence of reference chains briefly presented in the previous section, including the use of “emphatic” nominative personal pronouns, which suggest tonic prominence. Nevertheless, the evidence for intonation is meager.

Since the assumption of this study is that information structure is realized primarily by intonation, about which we know little in ancient Greek,⁵¹ the focus of our analysis of textual meanings will be on thematic structure instead. Insofar as information structure tends to coincide with thematic structuring of the clause, it will surface in our analysis of Theme structure, to which we now turn.

Theme as textual meaning Thematic structure, as noted in the previous section, is the way textual meanings are realized at the grammatical level of the clause. Just as process types structure the clause as representation and propositions and proposals structure the clause as exchange, thematic structure is the semantic structure in view when the clause is analyzed as a message (Halliday 1994, 37). The functional labels given to the constituents of thematic structure are Theme and Rheme. “The Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned. The remainder of the message, the part in which the Theme is developed, is called in Prague school terminology the Rheme” (Halliday 1994, 37). Theme functions as “the starting point for the message; it is the ground from which the clause is taking off” (Halliday 1994, 38), the “orienteer for the message which is about to come up” (Fries 1993, 339). Peter H. Fries (1995a, 58; 1995b, 4) proposed to define Theme less metaphorically as the part of a message unit that provides a framework for the interpretation of the remainder of the message (the Rheme). In the following examples, Theme is in boldface.

- (1) **The boy** hit the ball.
- (2) **The ball** was hit by the boy.

The experiential meanings in these examples remain the same, but the thematic structure changes. In (1) “the boy” provides the framework for interpreting the message. The clause communicates, albeit in a much more subtle way, the textual meaning, “Let me tell you something about the boy: he hit the ball.” In (2) the passive voice is used to make “the ball” the Subject, which is unmarked Theme in English.⁵² The textual meaning realized by this thematic structure (but, again, subtler than this), is “Let me tell you something about the ball: it was hit by the boy.” Note that, in the absence of a context, the same

⁵¹Martin Davies has written on how readers discern information structure in writing in spite of the fact that intonation is not represented in written English through cohesion (Davies 1994), e.g., the clues given by referential cohesion as we saw above. Davies also explored the implications of the use of cohesion, Theme and method of development to identify information structure in English prior to sound recording going back to Chaucer, Donne and Shakespeare (Davies 1996). This is an avenue worthy of pursuit after further work has been done on cohesion, Theme and method of development in New Testament Greek.

⁵²Note that changing the Subject also changes the interpersonal meaning.

intonation pattern is natural when either clause is read aloud, with the tonic prominence at the end. In this unmarked case, the New information (the most salient information of the information unit) comes at the end of the clause. Changing the thematic structure by using the passive voice also changes the experiential constituent that is unmarked New information; the textual effect of the passive voice in this case is to reverse the Theme and New roles played by the participants. The thematic structure could be preserved and the information structure shifted by changing the tonic prominence, as in (3) (tonic prominence indicated by italics), or by using a “pseudo-cleft” construction, as in (4).

(3) The *boy* hit the ball.

(4) It was the boy who hit the ball.

“The boy” in (3) is still the orienter for the message and is, in addition, the salient New information. Note how the tonic prominence in (4) naturally falls on “boy” — italics are not necessary to communicate the information structure even in writing. “The boy” is placed in the position of being unmarked New while remaining Subject of the Predicate “hit.”⁵³

The significance of the Theme function for our study is the part it plays in the method of development of texts. The descriptions of Theme given above — point of departure, that with which the message is concerned, starting point, orienter, framework for interpretation — illustrate the speaker-oriented organizational function of thematic structure. If information structure is the resource that enables hearers to build multi-dimensional structures of meaning from linear text, then thematic structure is the resource that enables speakers to develop the linear text. Again, it is a difference between an outline from which a speaker speaks (= thematic structure) and the notes of salient points that a hearer might take down (= information structure). However, Fries noted the tendency in written text for New information to be realized in ways that would be unmarked in spoken text, resulting in an expectation that the Rheme will contain the most salient information in a text, “information which is directly relevant to the goals of the text or text segment” (Fries 1993, 339; Fries 1995c). Theme in written text, according to Fries, is less likely to contain meanings which are directly relevant to the goals and purposes of the text or text segment, responding instead to “local issues in the text,” namely the issues of orienting the message of the clause (Fries 1993, 339). These tendencies of written text make it possible to identify the method of development of a written text by analyzing thematic structure. We can expect to see a correlation between method of development and clause Theme and we can expect to see information that contributes to the overall purpose of the text in the Rheme.

⁵³This construction illustrates what Halliday calls grammatical metaphor. The literal construction consists of two clauses. “The boy” appears in the Rheme (as unmarked New information) in an identifying relational process clause, i.e., a clause devoted to identifying the boy, and is referred to again by “who,” the Theme of the second clause. This is a grammatical metaphor which expresses in a marked way the textual meaning of example (3): one might analyze the whole of (4) as “**It was the boy who** hit the ball,” where the boldface text is Theme.

Theme, as it is defined here, is realized in Greek, as in English, by initial placement of the thematic element in the message unit.⁵⁴ While I am not aware of any previous studies of Theme in New Testament Greek from a systemic functional perspective, there are reasons that we should be predisposed to the notion that Theme is realized by initial position. One reason is the expectation based on experience with other languages. In the absence of a particle affixed to the thematic constituent, as in languages such as Japanese and Tagalog, a language will tend to realize Theme by constituent ordering, in which case it is natural for Theme to be in initial position in the message unit (Halliday 1994, 38). Another reason for us to begin with the hypothesis that Theme is realized by initial position in the message unit is the evidence of relevant studies from various non-systemic perspectives.

Recent studies⁵⁵ of constituent order in Greek clauses using eclectic theoretical models have noted the significance of first position in the Greek clause in terms of “prominence,” variously defined. Stanley E. Porter used the concepts of markedness and topicality (or prominence) to analyze constituent order in New Testament Greek. He focussed on the subject as the primary marker of topicality (Porter 1993). The most unmarked clause, according to Porter, is predicate-complement order with subject not explicit.⁵⁶ An explicit subject in initial position marks primary topic, a position following the predicate marks secondary topic, and following a complement even less attention is drawn to the subject (Porter 1993, 200–201). Porter argued that predicate-first order does not draw attention to the predicate; what matters is the position of the subject, which is always marked whenever it is explicit. Topicality in Porter’s analysis seems to describe, in Halliday’s terms, participant reference as it is affected by information structure. Furthermore, it is only relevant when there is a deviation from normal (“unmarked”) word order. Although the notions of “primary” and “secondary” topic and “attention” are somewhat vague, Porter has given reason to conclude that there is special significance to initial position in a clause, espe-

⁵⁴As we shall see below, the message unit can be larger than the clause when an independent clause has one or more dependent clauses. While analysis of Theme can still be done strictly on the level of the clause, pre-posed dependent clauses may also act as Theme of an independent clause and contribute to thematic development, especially when such clauses function as circumstantial elements in relation to the process of the main clause.

⁵⁵Some significant older studies, reviewed by Dik (1995, chapter 9), are Dover 1960; Loepfe 1940; Frisk 1933.

⁵⁶Numerous attempts have been made to determine “normal,” unmarked word order for Greek. Davison (1989) concluded that the basic word order of clauses in Paul and Luke is VSO, which according to Greenberg’s (1963) word order universals, has an alternate order of SVO. Timothy Friberg (1982) also argued for VSO word order. Porter criticized such attempts for failing to take into account that no element (Verb, Subject or Object) is obligatory in Greek; one might even argue that the unmarked position for the Subject is to be implicit. However, Irene Philippaki-Warbuton (1985; 1987) has argued convincingly for VSO as unmarked word order in Modern Greek on the basis of intonation evidence applied to all possible clause constituent combinations, including the absence of an explicit subject. Her argument is not that VSO is statistically more frequent than other orders (Porter may be correct that unmarked position for the Subject is to be implicit if by unmarked he means most frequent) but that it bears unmarked intonation in spoken Greek, whereas alternative orders require marked intonation.

cially if the clause is marked with respect to the particular constituents present or their order.

Jeffrey T. Reed also followed the prominence/topicality model of word order (Reed 1995a; 1997, 117), but distinguished three levels of prominence, namely background, theme, and focus (Reed 1997, 107). According to Reed, these three levels are not absolute levels, but are on a cline from least prominent (background) to most prominent (focus). “A general rule to follow is that the more to the right a linguistic item occurs, the more prominent (in terms of topicality) it tends to be in the clause. The more to the left an item occurs, the more prominent topically it tends to be in the discourse” (Reed 1997, 117–118). Prominence (or topicality) is as vague in Reed’s analysis as in Porter’s. It is not clear what prominence in the clause and prominence in the discourse are. What is clear is that there are different kinds of prominence (represented by Reed’s cline) and that the beginning of a message unit tends to carry one kind of prominence and the end of the message unit another.

Using “theme” in the sense of “topic,” or what the clause is about, Levinsohn wrote, “In general terms it is the theme, rather than the subject of a clause, which is or is not forefronted” (Levinsohn 1987, 7). Levinsohn thus agrees with Porter that deviation from an unmarked order is what marks prominence, but disagrees that the subject is necessarily the marked constituent. Indeed, while Porter denied that predicate-initial clauses were marked for prominence, he did not address the issue of non-subject participants in initial position. Levinsohn did not, however, go as far as Halliday in allowing circumstantial constituents to be “theme,” since this did not accord with his definition of theme. Many of Levinsohn’s rules to describe when a theme is or is not forefronted are necessary only if non-participants cannot be theme. Levinsohn differed from the systemic understanding of Theme both by ignoring non-participant constituents in initial position and by taking an understanding of theme that, like Porter’s and Reed’s topic, resembles Halliday’s Given information function. Nevertheless, his study does point to the significance of the clause-initial position.

Iver Larsen (Larsen 1991, 29), argued that “the more to the left an item occurs, the more prominent it is,” regardless of what word order might be unmarked (Larsen 1991, 33). Larsen pointed out that an unmarked order is difficult to identify. Even if there is such an order, he allows that there might be unmarked prominence as well as marked prominence. His study offered even less clarity and precision than did Porter’s and Reed’s, however, concerning the concept of prominence. He was clear that there is significance to initial position in the clause, but not clear on the nature of that significance. It is not clear whether the significance is similar to that of systemic information structure as it was for the other studies cited here.

Helma Dik’s study, *Word Order in Ancient Greek* (Dik 1995), is especially important in warranting a hypothesis of initial position as realization of Theme as that term is understood in systemic theory. Dik’s careful study made use of slightly modified technical terms from the Functional Grammar theory of Si-

mon C. Dik.⁵⁷ Even though the terms used by Dik — Topic and Focus — do not mean the same as Halliday’s Theme and Rheme, they are clearly and precisely defined, which allows us to draw specific conclusions about the relevance of her results to the analysis of Theme. Her analysis of word order is clearly in terms of information structure (Dik 1995, 20–25). Her definition of Topic makes it a subset of Halliday’s Given information; Topic is not all Given information in a clause, but Given information “which the speaker regards as an appropriate foundation for constructing a message which is relevant to the subject matter of the discourse” (Dik 1995, 24). Along with her description of Topic as “information that serves as a point of orientation” (Dik 1995, 24), this definition comes tantalizingly close to Theme in systemic grammar. Nevertheless, Dik is clear that Topic functions in the information unit, which is roughly equated with the clause, but defined by intonation. As Topic is a subset of Given information, so Focus is a subset of New information; it is that information which is the most urgent or most salient part of the message (Dik 1995, 24–25).⁵⁸ According to Dik, unmarked Topic is in first position of an information unit (like Given information in English), giving a “point of orientation,” and unmarked Focus is in second position, following the Topic element (Dik 1995, 12). Topic and/or Focus may, of course, be marked and occur in other positions in the information unit. Since unmarked Given information in English occurs in initial position, conflating with Theme, but can occur elsewhere in the marked case, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the same is true of Greek. In the unmarked case, the information unit and the clause will be conflated, information contained in the clause Theme will be Given, and information in the clause Rheme will be New.

Certain grammatical classes are natural Themes, occurring overwhelmingly in initial position. An example of a natural Theme is a relative pronoun. Regardless of case, relative pronouns tend to occur in initial position in relative clauses, orienting the message of the clause. In the following example from Acts 8:10, ᾧ ‘whom’ is Theme, providing the framework for interpreting the rest of the clause:

ᾧ προσεῖχον πάντες ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου. . .

whom they-were-heeding all from small to great

THEME RHHEME

... to whom they were paying close attention, from the smallest to the greatest of them. . .

Since relative pronouns tend to be anaphoric, they are naturally Given information and therefore naturally orient the clause relative to information in the preceding clause, hence the term ‘relative clause.’ Another natural Theme is an interrogative word, which tends also to occur in initial position in a clause. In the following clause from Rom 7:24, τίς is Theme.

⁵⁷Especially from Dik 1989.

⁵⁸Cf. Peter Fries’ (1993, 339) definition of N-Rheme, which he identifies as the final constituent of a clause in written English, i.e., the realization of unmarked New information.

τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου;
 who me will-deliver from the body of-the death this

THEME RHEME

“Who will rescue me from this body of death?”

When actually used to ask a question, the interrogative word naturally provides the framework by which the remainder of the clause is to be interpreted.

Both of these examples of word classes that are natural Themes also illustrate non-topical Themes. The term “topical Theme” is used in systemic linguistics to refer to the element of Theme that is an experiential constituent. But non-experiential elements also frequently occur at the beginning of clauses. Relative pronouns serve a dual function, realizing a textual meaning in connecting the relative clause to another clause as well as realizing an experiential role (usually a participant). In the example from Acts 8:10 above, *ὅς* realizes both a textual meaning, showing the connection to the preceding clause, and an experiential meaning, the participant role of Beneficiary to the material process *προσεῖχον*. Interrogative pronouns, when used to ask a question, also realize an experiential role in addition to the interpersonal function of indicating that a question is being asked rather than a statement being made. In the example from Rom 7:24 above, *τίς* realizes the interpersonal meaning of question as well as the experiential meaning of Actor to the material process *ῥύσεται*, and both of these meanings are thematic, providing the framework for interpreting the message. Other textual and interpersonal functions can be realized in thematic positions as well. The discussion of conjunctions above illustrates the most common of textual Themes.⁵⁹ Particles serving as modal adjuncts (such as *ἄν*) and vocatives, though not as common as conjunctions, are elements that are potential interpersonal Themes. While each message unit (clause or clause complex) will have a topical Theme, it may have textual and interpersonal Themes as well. The first clause in Philemon 20 is an example of a clause with all three kinds of Themes:

ναί, ἀδελφέ, ἐγώ σου ὀναίμην ἐν κυρίῳ
 yes brother I from-you would-benefit in Lord
 TEXT INTERP TOP THEME RHEME

Yes, brother, I want a favor from you in the Lord.

The order of these Themes is significant. Textual Themes, when used, always occur first in a message unit and interpersonal Themes always occur prior to the topical Theme, but not before a textual Theme.

The topical Theme can be any constituent of the clause that realizes an element of the experiential structure of the clause. Since the basic word order

⁵⁹While all clause-level conjunctions realize meanings that contribute to the texture of a text, only conjunctions occurring initially in a message unit (clause or clause complex) will be treated as textual Themes. The distinction between conjunctions that occur as Theme and post-positive conjunctions that are never textual Theme is apparent in the relationship between Theme and mode, which we will explore in detail in chapter five.

of Greek is VSO (Friberg 1982; Davison 1989), the least marked topical Theme of a clause is the finite verb.⁶⁰ The finite verb in thematic position can thematize the process, but can also thematize the Mood of the verb and the implied subject of the verb. For any participant, including the grammatical subject of the finite verb, to be unambiguously Theme, it must be realized in initial position, before the verb. The question arises whether there can be more than one topical Theme when more than one participant reference occurs prior to the verb, as in the example from Philemon 20 above (ἐγὼ σου ὀνάμην ἐν κυρίῳ ‘I want a favor from you in the Lord’). In answering this question, it is important to keep in mind that “the Theme is not so much a constituent as a movement from the beginning of the clause” (Halliday 1994, 52). Thus an element that would clearly be a marked Theme if it were clause initial, but which follows the first experiential element, is also thematic, but perhaps less so than the initial element. In the case of a clause complex, in which a dependent clause is Theme, the participant constituent that is Theme of the main clause becomes “displaced” as Theme of the message unit, yet remains thematic in the message unit.⁶¹ A dependent clause as Theme is typically a circumstantial element, an example of a non-participant topical Theme.

If the systemic concept of Theme seems vague, it is because it is best understood as a textual function in connected text. Observe how Theme at the level of the clause functions in connected text from Acts 8 cited on page 37 in the section entitled “Cohesion as Textual Meaning”. In Table 1.3, verse numbers are indicated on the left and multiple message units within a verse are labeled with alphabetic characters consecutively. Textual Themes are in italics. The post-positive conjunction δέ occurring in the midst of a topical Theme is enclosed in square brackets. A participant reference as marked Theme is underlined. A circumstantial element as marked Theme is wavy-underlined.

Table 1.3: Theme-Rheme Analysis of Acts 8:9–14

	Theme	Rheme
9	<u>Ἄνθρω</u> [δέ] <u>τις ὀνόματι Σίμων</u> <i>man and certain named Simon</i>	προϋπήρχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας, λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, <i>was-beforehand in the city practicing-magic and amazing the people of-the Samaria, saying to-be someone great</i>

⁶⁰This statement is based on the understanding that ‘basic’ word order means ‘least marked’ word order, not necessarily most frequently occurring word order (Philippaki-Warbuton 1985). See also n. 56.

⁶¹David Rose has compared the realization of Theme in a variety of languages and concluded that more than one experiential element can be included in topical Theme (Rose forthcoming). Thus in the example from Philemon 20, both ἐγὼ and σου can be topical Theme according to Rose. Nevertheless, elements become less thematic the further they are from the front of the message unit.

	Theme	Rheme
10a	<u>ὃν</u> <i>whom</i>	προσεῖχον πάντες ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου λέγοντες, <i>they-were-heeding all from small up-to great saying</i>
10b	<u>Οὗτός</u> <i>this</i>	ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη Μεγάλη. <i>is the power of-the god the one-(power)-called Great</i>
11	προσεῖχον [δὲ] <i>they-were-heeding and</i>	αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγείαις ἐξεσταζένοι αὐτούς. <i>him because-of the for-enough time by-the magic to-amaze them</i>
12	<u>ὅτε [δὲ] ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Φιλίπῳ</u> <u>εὐαγγελιζομένῳ περὶ τῆς</u> <u>βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ</u> <u>ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,</u> <i>when and they-believed the Philip preaching-good-news about the kingdom of-the God and the name of-Jesus Christ,</i>	ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες. <i>were-baptized men both and women</i>
13a	<u>ὁ [δὲ] Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς</u> <i>the and Simon even himself</i>	ἐπίστευσεν <i>believed</i>
13b	<u>καὶ βαπτισθεὶς</u> <i>and being-baptized</i>	ἦν προσκατερῶν τῷ Φιλίπῳ, <i>he-was keeping-with the Philip</i>
13c	<u>θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις</u> <u>μεγάλας γινομένας</u> <i>observing both signs and acts-of-power great happening</i>	ἐξίστατο. <i>he-was-amazed</i>
14	<u>Ἀκούσαντες [δὲ] οἱ ἐν</u> <u>Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι ὅτι</u> <u>δέδεχται ἡ Σαμάρεια τὸν λόγον</u> <u>τοῦ θεοῦ,</u> <i>hearing and the in Jerusalem apostles that have-received the Samaria the word of-the God</i>	ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην <i>they-sent to them Peter and John</i>

The text in Table 1.3 illustrates several aspects of the realization of Theme in Greek that have not yet been discussed. One of these is the status of participles. Participial phrases, e.g., those in the Rheme of v. 9, can be viewed as clauses from the standpoint of an experiential analysis. The participle realizes a process and all of the various participants (Actor, etc.) associated with the process can also be realized.⁶² From the standpoint of interpersonal analysis,

⁶²What is said here of participles can also be said of infinitives and infinitive phrases or “infinitival clauses.” See for example the articular infinitive that is object of a preposition in v. 11.

however, participles do not realize mood, i.e., they are not finite (not marked for person and mood) and do not have a Subject that agrees with the verb in person and thus do not realize propositions which can be argued or proposals which can be accepted or rejected. They are dependent on predications. Even from the standpoint of experiential analysis, because of the nominal nature of the participle and its agreement with another nominal element in the clause (sometimes only implied if the subject of the finite verb), the participial phrase has the formal status of an adjectival element. It clearly can be and often is separated from the nominal element it “modifies” in a clause, and so will be treated as a separate element in the clause. This analysis will recognize participial phrases (such as those in v. 9) as having the same status as embedded clauses; they have an internal thematic structure of their own⁶³ but will not be considered in the pattern of Themes in the sequential message units of the text.⁶⁴ Note that this status also allows a participial phrase itself, as an experiential element of a clause, to be Theme of that clause, as vv. 13b, 13c and 14 in Table 1.3.

A related issue is the treatment of preposed dependent clauses, as in Acts 8:12 (see Table 1.3). We have alluded to this issue above in mentioning clause complexes as message units. Clearly a dependent clause has a thematic structure of its own and the main clause on which it is dependent has a thematic structure of its own. However, a dependent clause when placed before the main clause displaces the Theme of the main clause in the sequential flow of the text by providing the orientation, the point of departure, the framework of interpretation for the message. In this case, the clause complex, rather than the individual clauses, becomes the primary message unit in the analysis of connected text. In Acts 8:12, the whole dependent clause is a circumstantial component of the main clause that is also topical Theme. It orients the main clause, which asserts that both men and women were baptized, to the time when those baptized believed Philip’s proclamation of good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ.

The text in Table 1.3 illustrates some tendencies of thematic method of development in Greek narratives. Narratives move forward through processes that can be termed “events.” The Themes in a narrative tend overwhelmingly to be participants that might be termed “characters” in the narrative and circumstantial elements that might be termed “settings.” Of the nine independent clauses in Acts 8:9–14, four have participant Themes (referring to Simon in each case), four have circumstantial Themes, and one has a process (realized by a finite verb) as Theme.⁶⁵ In the 39 independent clauses of the whole episode about Simon (Acts 8:4–25), 15 have participant Themes, 16 have circumstantial

⁶³It can be argued that other phrases and groups below the clause level, such as nominal groups and prepositional phrases, also have thematic structure. The focus of this study, however, is on the clause.

⁶⁴Helma Dik (1995, 12) also treats participial phrases as clause constituents on formal grounds in her analysis of Topic and Focus.

⁶⁵The process as Theme in v. 11 repeats the earlier process of v. 10a, resuming the narrative following direct discourse, but this time with the process itself rather than the Beneficiary of the process as Theme.

Themes, and eight have process (finite verb) Themes (four of these in direct discourse). In the clauses preceding those displayed (i.e., in vv. 4–8), the thematic development moves from those dispersed by the persecution to Philip in particular to the signs he did to the crowds who witnessed them and benefited from them. In the displayed clauses, the thematic development shifts to Simon for a number of clauses as he is introduced to the story.⁶⁶ He becomes more focal when the process of paying attention is made Theme, in contrast to the earlier occurrence of the same process (v. 6) in which the crowds are first introduced as paying attention to what Philip was saying and doing. The Theme then shifts to a circumstantial element — the response of faith to Philip’s preaching — that provides the setting for men and women from the crowds being baptized. Simon returns as Theme when he too responds in faith. Participles indicating Simon’s subsequent baptism and observations of the signs that the crowds earlier saw provide the Themes for the remainder of this section that introduces Simon into the narrative. The Theme then shifts again to a circumstantial element indicating that the apostles in Jerusalem heard what was happening as a setting for the next episode in the narrative.

A different method of development is illustrated by Hebrews 11. This expository section begins with ἔστιν as Theme and πίστις in the Rheme of the opening clause to identify the concept that is being characterized in this attributive clause. The circumstantial phrase ἐν ταύτῃ is Theme of the next clause, bringing the entire characterization of πίστις forward as the point of orientation for the next clause. There follows a series of clauses in which πίστει, a circumstance of means, is Theme. In Heb 11:3–9, this pattern is broken only by χωρὶς πίστεως in v. 6, which is still a circumstance of means expressed negatively.

These two examples of thematic development illustrate at least two of the three methods of development described by František Daneš (Daneš 1974; Fries 1995c, 321; Fries 1995b, 8). One method of thematic development can be described as linear. In its purest form, linear development makes use of an element of Rheme for one clause as the Theme of the next, an element of Rheme of the new clause as Theme of the next, and so on. This method is evident on a small scale in Acts 8:10–11 where the finite verb προσεῖχον in the Rheme of v. 10a is the Theme of v. 11 and in Heb 11:1–3 where πίστις is in the Rheme of v. 1 and πίστει is the Theme of v. 3. The second method of thematic development is Theme iteration, a method in which a series of clauses has the same (or co-referential) Themes orienting a series of different Rhemes. Hebrews 11 provides a classic example of this method of development with a series of messages concerning “people of old” all interpreted within the framework of πίστει ‘by faith,’ the circumstance of means. A third method can be described as progression with derived Themes. In this method, a text is unified by a general notion and the individual Themes each relate to the general notion in some way.⁶⁷ Texts

⁶⁶The fact that Simon is introduced in thematic position (v. 9) illustrates that Theme is not always Given information.

⁶⁷Hebrews 11 seems to be an example of derived *Rhemes*. The notion expressed by ἐμαρτυρήθησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ‘the people of old received approval’ in the Rheme of v. 2 is developed in the Rhemes which are all predications with various “people of old” as subjects. One

are rarely developed with a single method, more commonly with a combination of methods.

The description of Theme in the above examples has focused on topical Theme to this point, but textual Themes also play a significant role. In Heb 11, the iterative Themes are topical and what is remarkable is the lack of textual Themes (i.e., the asyndeton) in these clauses. The narrative of Acts 8:9–14, while not characterized by asyndeton, has only two textual Themes in ten clauses. A clear change of topical Theme is accompanied by the presence of the conjunction $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, suggesting that in this narrative the thematic development and the logical development of the narrative are closely aligned. In addition to the six occurrences of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in 10 clauses, three other clauses are also independent clauses. Only one of these, v. 13b, has a textual Theme. The only dependent clause, the relative clause in v. 10a, also has a textual Theme, the relative pronoun. While conjunctions point to the logical relationships that exist between clauses in the text, textual Themes do not play a significant role. This is an important fact about the textual structure which contributes significantly to predicting the mode of the text. Spoken texts tend to have a higher proportion of textual Themes than written texts. The kind of textual Themes used in a text, however, also realize mode.

The kind of textual Themes used in a text is an indicator of the amount of information that is packaged in each message unit. A high proportion of coordinating conjunctions in a text (whether textual Themes or post-positive conjunctions) suggests that a high proportion of message units are independent clauses, and independent clauses with conjunctions such as $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ indicate clauses that are paratactically related. A large number of subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns as textual Themes in a text indicate a high proportion of hypotactically related clauses. Whether the predominant logical relation between clauses in a text is paratactic or hypotactic is directly related to the density of information in a text. There are two primary ways to package a given amount of information in message units. One way is to use a single message unit with a simple grammatical structure at the level of the clause but with lexical complexity. Lexical complexity is achieved by using nominalization, including the use of abstract nouns, participles and infinitives, by chaining together prepositional phrases, and by heavier use of attributive adjectives, also including participles. These grammatical devices function within the nominal groups, making nominal groups very complex and creating a high proportion of lexical items (“content words” as distinct from “function words”) per message unit. The message units within which such complex nominal groups are used can be grammatically simple. The structure of the following clause from Heb 1:3–4 is quite simple at the level of the clause, but the initial nominal phrase, to which the material at the end of the clause also belongs grammatically, is lexically very dense. The density is achieved by adding three participial phrases to the nominal element, $\delta\omicron\varsigma$, before the verb and an additional participial phrase

might hypothesize that derived Rhemes might be the rule where the thematic development is iterative.

with an embedded clause at the end of the message unit.

Table 1.4: A Grammatically Simple, Lexically Complex Clause
(Hebrews 1:3–4)

ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτῆρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος	ἐκάθισεν	ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς,	τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσω διαφορώτερον παρ’ αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα
<i>who being brilliance of-the glory and exact-likeness of-the being of-him, bearing and the all-things by-the word of-the power of-him, purification of-the sins having-made</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>at right-hand of-the majesty on high,</i>	<i>so-much greater having-become than-of-the angels as-much-as superior to them he-has-inherited name</i>
nominal group...	finite verb	prepositional phrase	... nominal group

... who, being the brilliance of his glory and his exact likeness and bearing everything by his powerful word, having made purification for sins, sat at the right of the Majesty on high having become so much greater than the angels as much as he has inherited a name greater than them.

Note that the entire portion of the nominal group preceding the verb is the topical Theme of the clause.

The alternative to packaging the same amount of information is to increase the grammatical complexity. The experiential information in the above example could have been presented in a series of hypotactically related clauses. The grammar in such a case becomes more complex in terms of the number and relationship between clauses and in the addition of explicit grammatical information associated with finite verbs, such as mood and number. In the following example from Philemon 10–14, the number of lexical items (“content words”) is similar to the number in the above example from Heb 1:3–4, but the lexical items are distributed across eight clauses. Textual Themes are in *italics*.

Table 1.5: Theme in Philemon 10–14

Theme	Rheme
παρακαλῶ <i>I-urge</i>	σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, <i>you concerning the my child</i>
ὃν <i>whom</i>	ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς, Ὀνήσιμον, τόν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον νυνὶ δὲ [καὶ] σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον, <i>I-fathered in the imprisonment, Onesimus the-one then to-you useless now but [both] to-you and to-me useful</i>
ὃν <i>whom</i>	ἀνέπεμψά σοι, αὐτόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα· <i>I-sent to-you, himself, this is the my inward-parts</i>
ὃν <i>whom</i>	ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν κατέχειν, <i>I-myself wanted with myself to-keep</i>
ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ <i>so-that on-behalf-of you</i>	μοι διακονῇ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, <i>me he-might-serve in the imprisonment of-the gospel</i>
χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης <i>without but the your knowledge</i>	οὐδὲν ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι, <i>nothing I-wanted to-do</i>
ἵνα μὴ ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην <i>so-that not as by necessity</i>	τὸ ἀγαθὸν σου ᾗ <i>the good of-you should-be</i>
ἀλλὰ [ellipsis] <i>but [your goodness should be]</i>	κατὰ ἐχούσιον. <i>by willing</i>

I appeal to you for my child, Onesimus, whose father I have become in my imprisonment. (Formerly he was useless to you, but now he is indeed useful to you and to me.) I am sending him back to you, sending my very heart. I would have been glad to keep him with me, in order that he might serve me on your behalf during my imprisonment for the gospel; but I preferred to do nothing without your consent in order that your goodness might not be by compulsion but of your own free will (RSV).

Note that the first of these eight clauses is independent, the next three are relative clauses, each successively dependent on the preceding one, and the fifth clause is also dependent on the fourth. The sixth clause is independent, paratactically related to the fifth clause (not to the first independent clause) and is followed by two dependent clauses again forming a hypotactic chain, each related to the immediately preceding clause. By contrast with the preceding example from Hebrews, the topical Themes are all quite simple internally.

The significance of grammatical intricacy versus lexical density for this study is the relationship it has to the contextual variable of mode. According to Halliday (1987), grammatical intricacy is characteristic of oral language and lexical density is characteristic of written language. Wallace Chafe and Jane Danielewicz (1987) attribute the difference in lexical density between oral and

written language to cognitive processing. Both speaker and hearer are under cognitive constraints on the amount of information they can process at a time. The result is information in smaller packets, although, as Halliday pointed out, speakers have a remarkable ability to produce grammatical complexities in which “dependencies are resolved and there are no loose ends” (Halliday 1987, 67). Writers and readers, on the other hand, have the luxury of editing, reading slowly and rereading, and are generally too self-conscious to produce the kinds of grammatically intricate constructions that people regularly produce in oral language without thinking about it.⁶⁸ There remain cognitive limits on the flow of information, but they are clearly less restrictive than in spoken language.

The distinction between spoken and written language is not a simple binary distinction. These are extremes on a cline. Heavily edited academic or scholarly writing is perhaps at one end of the cline and completely spontaneous, informal conversation at the other. There are forms of spoken language, such as academic lectures, in which there is much forethought and a great presumption on the part of the speaker that hearers have the training and the ability to process more information for the particular field of discourse than would otherwise be possible. Even though such language is spoken, it has a written quality about it, though not to the degree that a published paper might. Likewise, a casual letter quickly written with little editing has a spoken quality about it.

Of the two examples cited above, Heb 1:3–4 is decidedly more written in character. In spite of the fact that the example cited is itself a relative clause, the proportion of dependent and hypotactic clauses is small in the text by virtue of the fact that so much information that might have been strung along in six or eight hypotactic clauses is included in the one clause. The Philemon text, on the other hand, has a spoken character about it. One might even note that the rather long second clause in the text displayed above is easily and naturally read as three information units rather than one unit coinciding with the clause boundaries. The first unit, *ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς* ‘whom I fathered in prison,’ could have been a clause by itself. The second unit, *Ὀνήσιμον, τὸν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον* ‘Onesimus, useless to you then,’ expands upon the description of the participant to which the clause Theme *ὃν* refers. The third unit, *νυνὶ δὲ [καὶ] σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον* ‘but now useful [both] to you and to me,’ still belongs to the same nominal group, but in terms of information provides a contrast to the previous information unit. The use of the conjunction *δὲ* especially marks this last text segment as a distinct information unit (Dik 1995, 35). On the cline between spoken and written, the text from Acts 8:9–14 (see Table 1.3 on p. 47) exhibits characteristics of written text with use of participles (especially in Theme position) and coordinating conjunctions but few textual Themes. Nevertheless, there are more features of oral text than in Hebrews, perhaps due to the nature of expository versus narrative genre.

⁶⁸Halliday cited an utterance that he heard — ‘it’ll’ve been going to’ve been being tested every day for the past fortnight soon’ — in which the complexity of tense in the verbal group ‘will have been going to have been being tested’ was so great (Halliday analyzed the tense as present in past in future in past in future, as well as being passive voice) that the speaker, when made aware of it, denied that he did or could have said it (Halliday 1987, 57).

This section has introduced the range of textual meanings from referential and conjunction cohesion to information structure to thematic structure. Since the focus of this study is on the grammatical level of the clause, the focus of this section has been on the analysis of Theme, which is realized by constituent ordering at the level of the clause and the clause complex. The focus on Theme does not ignore cohesion and information structure insofar as they interact with thematic structure.

The three metafunctions described above are the semantic components of a language. They are the ways of meaning that lie behind this functional approach to language. A text does not have either one function or another. Rather, texts have an ideational, an interpersonal and a textual component. An entire text can be analyzed from the perspective of each of the components.⁶⁹ The essence of a functional approach to language is to ask what people do with language and what are the resources that are available for them to do it. In order to understand what is being done in a particular text, we must examine each of the three functional components in the text. In so doing, we systematically raise the full range of questions concerning how the language of the text works, and thus what the text means.

1.3.3 The Relationship between Semantics and Register

The choices made on the semantic plane are related to the context of situation in which those choices are made. Systemic functional grammar “analyze[s] the context of situation into three components, corresponding to the three metafunctions. This enables us to display the redundancy between text and situation — how each serves to predict the other” (Halliday & Hasan 1989, 45).⁷⁰ The relationship of the semantic plane to the register plane is one of realization. Just as lexico-grammatical resources, such as word order, diction, classes of words (nouns, verbs, adverbs, etc.) realize meaningful choices made on the semantic plane, so the functions on the semantic plane realize the values of the register variables. Field predicts experiential meanings, representing the ideational component on the semantic plane of the text. Tenor predicts interpersonal meanings on the semantic plane, or what Martin refers to as the *negotiation system*. Mode predicts textual meanings on the semantic plane (Martin 1992). Predictability in this context means that there is a link between text and context, such that listeners or readers have expectations about what is coming next. This predictability is what enables communication to take place. The hypothesis on which this study is based is that this same link between text and context will also enable us to recover the linguistically relevant aspects of the context (i.e., its register) from an examination of the semantic structures of the text.

⁶⁹Appendices A (page 177), B (page 197) and C (page 215) present a conflated analysis of all three metafunctions for each clause in the Parable of the Sower in Matthew, Mark and Luke respectively.

⁷⁰Note that the logical metafunction is often ignored in the discussion of register, since it is the experiential functions within the ideational metafunction that are most often discussed in relation to register. In the context of her introductory textbook, Eggins does not discuss the logical metafunction at all (Eggins 1994).

1.3.4 Overview of the Study

The following chapters focus on the semantic level, with attention to how it relates to register. While I will examine the lexico-grammatical resources that realize meanings in the Parable Discourse, I will not attempt to describe all of the lexico-grammatical potential of which the text is an instance, i.e., I will not produce a complete systemic functional grammar of New Testament Greek. While the meanings in the text will predict certain features of the context within which it was produced, I will not attempt to reconstruct that context in its entirety. In this study I will apply systemic functional grammar in an analysis of specific New Testament texts in order to clarify how language functions in these texts and how the texts predict limited but important aspects of their own context as a contribution to a better understanding of them. The texts are the synoptic parallels of the Parable of the Sower, the explanation for Jesus' speaking in parables, and the interpretation of the parable (Mt 13:1–23||Mk 4:1–20||Lk 8:4–15). No one has used systemic functional grammar to analyze these or other New Testament texts systematically in this way. Only two studies have made extensive use of systemic theory for the study of New Testament Greek: Stanley Porter's *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament* (1989), which is one of the major contributions to the study of verbal aspect in New Testament Greek in recent years, uses systemic terminology and notation. However, Porter follows a branch of systemic theory developing in England which differs from Halliday's work, on which the present study is based, in several important respects. This branch of systemic linguistics is represented by the British linguist Robin Fawcett, who has focused on cognitive linguistics (what one must know to be a native speaker of a language) as Halliday has continued to focus on the social and cultural dimension of language (Fawcett 1974; 1975; 1976; 1980). Fawcett's interest in cognitive linguistics has produced a concern for explicit formalism in syntax, a concern that Porter shares in his work. However, Porter does not engage the syntactic issues in terms of the semantic metafunctions. Jeffrey T. Reed's *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians* (1997) applies discourse analysis to the question of the literary integrity of Philippians.⁷¹ Although his approach is somewhat eclectic and oriented toward the application of discourse analysis broadly defined to historical critical problems, his model is based on systemic functional grammar. His book contains the outline of a systemic grammar of New Testament Greek which informs this study. In addition, G. H. Guthrie (1994) used some systemic concepts in his study of the structure of the Epistle to the Hebrews. New Testament scholars have used Halliday's work on social semiotics on occasion in support of the notion that semantic choices reflected in language are related to recognizable, significant social contexts (Blount 1995; Malina & Neyrey 1988, Introduction).

Chapter two reviews the history of New Testament scholarship on Mt 13:1–23 and parallels, and on their contexts. Chapter three is a comparative examination

⁷¹See also Reed's work on theme (Reed 1995a), and his eclectic application of discourse analysis which draws on systemic functional grammar to the study of the unity of 1 Timothy (Reed 1992; 1995b).

of the texts in terms of the ideational metafunction, with a focus on experiential meanings. The purpose of this examination is to discover something about the range of experiential (and logical) meanings in the texts by observing how the language of the texts works such that parallel texts with obvious similarities are nevertheless structured differently in order to function differently. I will give special attention to how the functions realized in particular structures in the texts may serve to predict the field of discourse of each text. Chapters four and five repeat the examination in terms of the interpersonal and textual metafunctions respectively, with special attention to how the functions realized in the texts predict the tenor and mode of discourse for each text. After reviewing the interpretive issues raised by this examination of texts using the tools of systemic functional grammar, chapter six summarizes what this approach offers the interpreter about how the language of the texts works, and about what aspects of the context of situation of the texts can be predicted from the text.

Chapter 2

The Interpretation of Matthew 13:1–23 and Parallels

The interpretation of Mt 13:1–23 and its parallels (Mk 4:1–20 and Lk 8:4–15)¹ in the past century has been dominated by parable research. This portion of text is, after all, the beginning of the Parable Discourse in Matthew’s Gospel (13:1–52), as is its parallel in Mark’s Gospel (4:1–41). The Parable of the Sower followed by a statement of the reason for speaking in parables and an interpretation of the parable appear together in all three of the synoptic gospels. These parallel passages, together with *Gospel of Thomas* 9, have provided data for those seeking the original message of Jesus in the parables. They have provided examples of what the gospel writers understood parables to be, and how they understood them to be appropriately interpreted. The major focus on the parables since Adolf Jülicher’s ground-breaking work, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (Jülicher 1899, originally published in 1888), has been on the parables as parables *of Jesus*.² Jülicher characterized Jesus’ parables as expanded similes

¹I have referred to these texts as Matthew and parallels because my primary interest is in the interpretation of the texts of the gospels, and not in either the reconstruction or interpretation of an underlying form. This will become increasingly clear below. I have chosen to focus on the interpretation of Mt 13:1–23 in comparison and contrast to its parallels as texts in their own right without regard to whether one text was constructed using another as source.

²Warren Kissinger (1979, 72) notes that G. V. Jones (1964) divides the history of parables into “before and after Jülicher” in the opening chapter of *The Art and Truth of the Parables*. Mary Ann Tolbert (1979, 18) describes modern research on the parables as two streams since Jülicher. The parables as parables *of Jesus* have received considerably more focus than parables as parables *of the gospels*. Examples of the latter include Tolbert’s own work and that of Madeleine Boucher (1977), as well as redaction-critical work, such as that of Jack Dean Kingsbury (1969), which is discussed below. Dan O. Via, in *The Parables* (Via 1967, 21), distinguished within the dominant stream (parables *of Jesus*) the ‘severely historical approaches’ from those which take account of the literary and aesthetic nature of the parables.

with a clear, self-explanatory single point which can be expressed in the most general terms as a moral. This is in sharp contrast to allegories, which Jülicher ruled out as a speech form of Jesus. According to Jülicher, the gospels have made something mysterious out of genuine parables of Jesus by transforming them into metaphors, allegories and example stories. However, the text with which I am concerned, the Parable of the Sower, is one that Jülicher identified as a true allegory, and for that reason he denied that it originated with Jesus.³ It stands instead as part of the gospel writer's mistaken theory of the mysterious parables. Joachim Jeremias (1972) represents the height of development of the research begun by Jülicher.⁴ He attributed the predominance of the allegorical method of interpretation to the "hardening" theory which considers the parables as a means of hiding the Kingdom from outsiders. He followed Dodd (1961) in recognizing the eschatological nature of Jesus' speech, and of the parables in particular. But more importantly, he followed Dodd in asserting that Jesus' parables did not possess general moral points which could be summarized as maxims, "but each of them was uttered in an actual situation of the life of Jesus, at a particular and often unforeseen point" (Jeremias 1972, 21).⁵

More recent parable research, represented by Robert W. Funk and John Dominic Crossan, has focused on the interpretation of the parables in their own right without abandoning Jeremias' interest in the parables as parables of Jesus.⁶ This research has been driven by hermeneutical concerns and characterized by literary approaches that give attention to the function of the language of the parables.⁷ Funk (1966; 1982, 30) and Crossan (1973, 13) followed Amos

³C. H. Dodd (1961) followed Jülicher in focusing on the parables of Jesus, and in rejecting allegory, but his judgment about the Parable of the Sower was strongly affected by his judgment that the parables of Jesus had an eschatological nature. After Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (Schweitzer 1968), it was difficult to read the parables as having a general moral point rather than an eschatological nature. Dodd saw the Parable of the Sower as an authentic part of a collection of growth parables which made the point, in the context of Jesus' preaching, that the Kingdom had come at the end of a process of God's working just as harvest does.

⁴According to Norman Perrin (1976, 102–103), "to all intents and purposes the current discussion of the parables of Jesus is a discussion of the parables of Jesus as Jeremias has reconstructed them."

⁵As Bernard Brandon Scott (1989, 47) has noted, Jeremias substituted a 'single situation' method for Jülicher's 'single point' method of interpretation. He argued that the grouping of parables in the discourse of Mark 4 (and Matthew 13) was an artificial grouping, and that the gospels did not reflect the true situation in which Jesus spoke each of the parables. The particular situations in which Jesus' parables were spoken, according to Jeremias, were situations of conflict, of correction, reproof and attack, and especially conflict with Pharisaism (Jeremias 1972, 11, 21).

⁶Perrin referred to Jeremias as "the archetypal 'old quester'" (Perrin 1976, 92), and noted that the weakness of his severe historical approach was that it was not ultimately concerned with the interpretation of the parables in their own right (Perrin 1976, 105).

⁷The literary approach was directly influenced by the groundwork provided by the 'New Hermeneutic,' and in particular by the idea of *Sprachereignis* (language event) in the writings of Ernst Fuchs (see Fuchs 1964). The language of the parables was not viewed by Fuchs as a means of transmitting ideas, but as a means of bringing into existence that which existed prior to the language event, namely the possibility of the hearer sharing in Jesus' own understanding of existence before God.

N. Wilder (1964, 92) in understanding the parable as an extended metaphor,⁸ a major departure from Jülicher's original understanding. The parable is no longer seen as a vehicle for conveying information from one mind to another, but it is the bearer of reality.⁹ The parables are not illustrations or ornaments; they are the message itself.¹⁰ Dan O. Via (1967, 25) pressed the effort to interpret the parables in their own right, arguing for an aesthetic definition of the parable according to which the parables have a certain autonomy.¹¹ As aesthetic objects, parables are not as time-conditioned as other texts. Their meanings are not determined by the particular situation in which they are uttered, and should not be thus interpreted.¹²

This study builds on a different trajectory of interpretation from that of parable research as it is outlined above insofar as it is not concerned with whether the Parable of the Sower and/or its interpretation are authentic, nor with the nature of parables and how they might be defined and contrasted with other figures of speech, or whether the Parable of the Sower was intended as an aesthetic object which, in its authentic form, is relatively undetermined by the particular situations in which it has been uttered. I am concerned instead with Matthew's telling the story of the telling of this parable, the purpose for speaking in parables, and the interpretation of the parable. In particular, I am interested in what the text can tell us about its own context, and about what the evangelist is doing with the text in that context. Since my primary concern is with the

⁸Funk went beyond the understanding of parable as metaphor in applying literary analysis to the parables. He also analyzed the narrative parables in terms of participant and plot. He used structuralist concepts of Vladimir Propp (1968) and A.-J. Greimas (1966) to analyze the plot structure of the parables in terms of "the contractual move." In so doing Funk brought linguistic analysis to the parables in service of determining the structures of the authentic parables of Jesus.

⁹In his more recent work, *The Dark Interval* (Crossan 1988), Crossan's view of parable shifted. Myth took the place of parable in establishing world, and parable was described as subverting world.

¹⁰Like Funk, Crossan held that the message was not so much the conveying of information as the creation of world. "When a metaphor contains a radically new vision of world it gives absolutely no information until after the hearer has entered into it and experienced it from inside itself" (Crossan 1973, 13).

¹¹"There is more than one important element in a parable, and all of these features must be given consideration, but they do not relate primarily and in the first place to an event, events, or ideas outside of the parable. They relate first of all to each other within the parable, and the structure of connections of these elements is not determined by events or ideas outside of the parable but by the author's creative composition" (Via 1967, 25).

¹²Bernard Brandon Scott (1989) further developed Via's conception of parables as aesthetic objects that resist contextualization. He characterized them as short narrative fiction the structures of which we should seek to interpret. He argued that the orality of the parables makes it impossible to recover the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. Furthermore, he considered it highly unlikely that Jesus used a parable only once. It is structure and not exact words that are remembered and performed again by others, including the Gospel writers. Scott seemed to agree with Via's assessment that the Gospels were not able to assimilate the parables completely. He examines how each of the Gospels (including Thomas) interprets the parables, but always the goal was to reconstruct the basic structure of the parable that resists contextualization. He was perhaps even more reticent than Via to draw conclusions concerning the historical Jesus, arguing that what we are able to reconstruct is only the implied author of the parables projected by them.

evangelist's text, it is particularly useful to compare and contrast what Matthew is doing in telling his story with what Mark and Luke are doing in telling what is in some sense the same story. These concerns have been addressed previously for Mt 13:1–23 and its parallels primarily by redaction criticism and linguistic criticism.

2.1 Kingsbury and Redaction-Criticism

In his redaction-critical study of Matthew 13, Jack Dean Kingsbury's (1969) point of departure was the parable research that had preceded him. His redaction-critical method, however, put him outside of the trajectory of parable research described above. He turned the focus away from a general theory of parables and from the question of whether individual parables originated with Jesus and how they were intended as he spoke them to the question of how the parables were intended to be understood as they were presented in Matthew. This redaction critical approach was thus concerned with context in two senses. It was concerned with the context of the parables within the gospel of Matthew itself, and it was concerned with the situation in which that gospel was written, or more precisely, the situation in which the materials available were redacted for particular theological purposes. His focus was on context in this latter sense, and in particular on how "Matthew employed parables that had come down to him to meet the demands of the situation of the Church to which he belonged" (1969, 10). While his study was not linguistic, he did begin to turn the focus from the sources and the history of the traditions to the function of the text in the writer's own context. His redaction-critical method was only a beginning in this change of focus, however, since he emphasized the theological activity evident in Matthew's editorial work as he used sources such as Mark.

Kingsbury began his study with an examination of the structure of Matthew 13 and its context within the Gospel. He understood the immediate context of the parable discourse to be defined in terms of the classic Five Books structure of Matthew formulated by Bacon (1930) — each of the "five discourses" are delimited by the formula: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς 'and it happened when Jesus had finished'.¹³ The parable discourse concludes a division of the Gospel, 11:2–13:53, which begins with a narrative presentation of steadily mounting intensity of opposition to and rejection of Jesus (Kingsbury 1969, 15), including a series of conflict stories which pit Jesus against the Jewish leadership. This narrative section concludes with a pericope in which Jesus' disciples, those who do the will of God, are identified as the true family of Jesus in contrast to the crowds surrounding him. Kingsbury understood this narrative context to set the stage for the parable discourse. But whereas the narrative depicted

¹³Kingsbury later abandoned the Five Books approach as the major structural principle of Matthew in favor of the tripartite structure, of which he has become a chief proponent, based on the formula Ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς + infinitive: The presentation of Jesus (1:1–4:16); The ministry of Jesus to Israel and Israel's repudiation of him (4:17–16:20); and The journey of Jesus to Jerusalem and his suffering, death and resurrection (16:21–28:20) (Kingsbury 1975; 1988).

Jesus in conflict with various segments of Jewish society, in the beginning of the parable discourse Jesus “faces in the crowds the whole of unbelieving Judaism” (Kingsbury 1969, 16). Thus the narrative context within which the parables are told is a situation of escalating hostility culminating in rejection, to which Jesus responds in parables.

The largest section of Kingsbury’s study is a chapter on Jesus’ parables to the Jewish crowds beside the sea (13:1–35), from which he drew specific conclusions about the theological function of the text and about the context of situation in which and for which the text was written. He concluded that this first part of the chapter has an apologetic function aimed at unbelieving Jews. The “situation is characterized by the disappointing results of the Christian mission to the Jews and the attendant debate between the Church and Pharisaic Judaism over which of these two communities was the true people of God” (Kingsbury 1969, 51). The dominant apologetic function of this text does not, however, rule out the paraenetic function that it might have had for the members of Matthew’s own community. They are urged to be those who bear fruit, as the seed on good soil did in the parable. In 13:10–17 they are reminded that they are the true eschatological community of God. The interpretation of the parable is spoken to the disciples, and has a predominantly paraenetic function (and was hence identified by Kingsbury as an excursus): “Through it Jesus, the exalted Kyrios, exhorts the members of a Church that was beset by lawlessness, persecution and affliction, secularization and materialism, to make certain that they are disciples who are hearing the Word aright, i.e., that their response to the Word by which they have been called into God’s kingly rule is a hearing with understanding, a knowing and a doing of the will of God” (Kingsbury 1969, 63). In these statements of the apologetic and paraenetic function of Jesus’ speech, Kingsbury summarized his understanding of the context of situation in which Matthew wrote and shaped this text.

While Kingsbury’s use of redaction criticism turned attention to the text itself and how it functions within its own context, its nature was to continue to give significant attention to sources and the use of those sources. As a result, much of his energy as a redaction critic was still focused on what lay behind the text rather than on the text itself. This focus of redaction criticism generally can be seen in Graham N. Stanton’s caution while urging the continued use of redaction criticism:

Even though it is very difficult indeed to isolate with confidence changes made to Mark, Q, or ‘M’ traditions by redactors other than Matthew, there are good grounds for urging caution: not every difference between Matthew and the sources on which he drew represents a modification introduced by the evangelist himself (Stanton 1993, 40).

The focus is not so much on how the text of Matthew functions as it is on the ways in which the redactor of Matthew shaped and changed his sources. One consequence of this is the excessive attention given to differences between

Matthew and the other synoptics.¹⁴ The method does not provide a way for analyzing the context of situation of the text as it stands, apart from consideration of parallel texts and use of sources. While one would expect to benefit by comparing similar texts that are undoubtedly genetically related, a linguistic method that focuses on the function of the language of the text is a necessary component of a complete analysis of the context of situation within which a text is produced. I would suggest that an understanding of the linguistic functions of a text and what they convey about the context of situation should be done prior to asking questions about sources, and could potentially provide important data for the source- and redaction-critical tasks, including the consideration of the “synoptic problem.”

Another characteristic of redaction criticism is its interest in the theological motivations of the redaction. This theological interest often results in focus on differences in wordings between the gospels and speculation as to the theological motivation for choices of wordings that differ from what the sources are surmised to contain. But theological motivation is only a part of the context of situation which is reflected in the text. Furthermore, the theological motivations that are identified are not derived from the analysis of the text as much as they are inferred by the critic in order to explain differences between a redactor’s choice of wordings and the reconstructed sources. Just as historical and social background studies must be done for a more comprehensive understanding of the situation in which a text is produced,¹⁵ so an analysis of the function of the text in its own right must be done to uncover from the text itself clues it may contain to the situation in which it was produced. Only after such preliminary work has been done should the critic attempt to interpret differences between the related texts and surmise theological significance of differences between those texts.

2.2 Sellin and Text-linguistics

Gerhard Sellin (1983) shared Kingsbury’s commitment to redaction criticism as an important exegetical tool. For Sellin, this commitment was explicitly related to a concern for context. He stated that redaction-critical analysis is primary in exegesis if one’s concern is for the function of a text part (*Teiltex*t) in its

¹⁴Stanton also warns against this tendency of redaction criticism (Stanton 1993, 41–42), although he is more concerned about the fact that critics too often draw theological conclusions from every redactional change of a source, rather than allowing that some changes might be purely stylistic. My concern is that too much emphasis is put on the redactional differences, and not enough on the text of Matthew in its own right. Presumably the evangelists (and later editors perhaps) wrote what they did because they were trying to say something, even if that something was already partially expressed in the sources (Sellin 1983, 514). On this point see the discussion of Gerhard Sellin (1983) below.

¹⁵Stanton (1993) is essentially arguing this point, urging that newer sociological and literary approaches be used in conjunction with redaction criticism rather than in place of them. Anthony J. Saldarini (1994, 4), representing a more sociological approach, also understands the need to be eclectic methodologically, using various historical, sociological and literary approaches in investigating the social context of Matthew’s Gospel.

overall context (Sellin 1983, 511), or more properly, the overall co-text.¹⁶ The importance of context for Sellin can be seen in his statement that the term 'Redaktionsgeschichte' is unfortunate because it suggests a methodologically shaky model in which one moves from isolated text (*Einzeltext*) to the setting (Sellin 1983, 515). The correct model, according to Sellin, is one in which the whole text ranks hierarchically over the isolated text. Sellin did not deny that the message of the sources influenced the author who used those sources. In fact, he argued that literary (source) criticism was a necessary preparation for exegesis. However, source material that is taken over can function as an element of a new message, and the exegete must ask of each text part whether it functions within the whole text of which it is part.

This understanding of redaction criticism illustrates Sellin's general methodological approach, which was to use linguistic and semiotic methods to give more precision to traditional exegetical methods, not to supplant them. If our goal is the exegesis of texts, linguistics and semiotics provide a starting point by enabling us first to clarify what a text is, and then to gain precision regarding what we do when we exegete a text. Sellin defined text pragmatically, i.e., in relation to text-external context. More specifically, he defined 'text' as a *sign* that functions in a *speech act* (Sellin 1983, 508). A text can be a simple sign at the level of a word, or it can be a super-sign at the level of extended text which consists of multiple parts, each in turn consisting of multiple sentences, and so on. As a sign, a text stands in relation not only to that to which it refers (sigmatics), to concepts (semantics), and to other signs (syntax), but also to participants in the communicative situation (pragmatics). This is what it means for text to be defined in terms of function within a speech act. Texts are demarcated according to the communicative situations in which they are produced, not according to text-internal or grammatical criteria. A very important implication of this definition is that the New Testament texts which we exegete are in fact fossils of speech acts, fixed vestiges of communicative acts that took place in a distant time (Sellin 1983, 526, n. 1). From this perspective, exegesis is far more than understanding abstract meanings and grammatical relations; it is understanding how a text functioned in a human act in a particular communicative situation.

Sellin's primary concern in the parable discourse of Mark, however, was not for the text-external context of the whole text of Mark, but for the levels of "context" provided within the text (i.e., co-text) for the "worlds" constituted by the text. Each text as a whole is constitutive of "world," which stands in some relationship to the "world" of the communicative situation (Sellin 1983, 511). But Sellin did not explore this relationship in his study of Mark 4. He was interested instead in the world *constituted by* the whole text which provided "context" for the parables that are told within that world. Just as the text is produced in a particular context, so the "texts" spoken by characters within the narrative are "produced" within the "context" or communicative situation

¹⁶It is a convention in text-linguistics to distinguish between two senses of context by referring to linguistic context as *co-text* and to extra-linguistic context as *context*. This convention will be used throughout this study.

provided by the narrative. If those “texts” are also narrative in nature, then characters within them can also potentially produce their own “texts” within the world constituted by the embedded narrative, and so forth.¹⁷ When a character in the narrative tells a story, yet another “world” is embedded at another level within the text. Of course not all texts produced (as speech acts) within the larger text are also narratives. Whether narrative or not, however, many such embedded texts referred to as parables, including various non-narrative metaphors and similes, also constitute “worlds.” Sellin was primarily interested in the parables, but, like Kingsbury, he was interested in them as they function in the text of the gospel rather than in what they might have looked like at a previous stage of the tradition history, even if that history for a particular parable could be traced all the way back to the historical Jesus.

The purpose of exegesis, then, according to Sellin, is to determine the function of the text in its bygone speech act (Sellin 1983, 514). As noted above, source criticism is a necessary preparation for this task. But the speech act within which source material originated is only the starting point. Sellin helpfully described the process through which a text is used or appropriated, and, in being used, becomes part of a new speech act. The producer of the new speech act may incorporate the function of the source material, or he may change it to serve a new purpose. The compilers of the synoptic gospels, for example, use the old texts (their sources) from the communication acts that were performed prior to them as material for their new arguments. Those new arguments may or may not reflect the function of the sources in their previous speech acts.¹⁸ Exactly the same wording can have a very different sense in various speech acts. Every publication of a collection is thus a new speech act. This shows once again how the communication situation belongs to the text (Sellin 1983, 528, n. 33).

Sellin’s analysis of Mk 4:1–34 began with an analysis of the hierarchy of embedded levels within the text and with source criticism. He distinguished five levels (Sellin 1983, 516), the first of which is the communicative setting external to the text. Within the text there is the narrative setting, and embedded within it is speech, which creates a world of its own. Within this spoken world is embedded non-narrative metaphorical speech and a further narrative world. This analysis of levels raises the question of the sources of these various parts, and to what extent each part either functions within the context or clearly brings with it a function from an earlier stage of tradition. Sellin concluded that only the parable of the seed which grows by itself and the parable of the mustard seed can be understood as individual speech acts on a pre-Markan level

¹⁷John G. Cook (1995, 122–125) refers to these “worlds” as levels or communication frames that are embedded in one another. The term communication level is applied to this concept by text linguists such as Gülich, Heger, and Raible (1979, 81) and Hellholm (1980, 77–78).

¹⁸Sellin points out that the context, *Sitz im Leben*, yielded by form criticism is general rather than specific. The ‘*Sitz im Leben*’ is not understood as the historical origin of respective individual texts, but as the typical setting of *pragmatic functions* of a *Gattung*, thus of a class of texts (Sellin 1983, 515). Form criticism thus cannot tell us about the tradition history of an individual text or the sources and strata behind the texts. Nor can it tell us about the function of a text part in a specific speech act.

by themselves (Sellin 1983, 519). The parable of the sower and its interpretation function completely within the context of Mk 4:1–34, both operating not only at the same literary level, but specifically at the literary level of the Markan redaction. The function of this text part Sellin understood to be related to apocalyptic esoteric and the messianic secret.

In particular, the theological function of the parable and interpretation is twofold (Sellin 1983, 523): 1) It exemplifies the purpose of Jesus' teaching to conceal and to require interpretation. 2) Its content exemplifies the general esoteric motif in that the λόγος 'word, speech' is not correctly heard and understood by everyone. As a whole, Mk 4:1–34 has five distinctive characteristics (Sellin 1983, 523–524): 1) It is μυστήριον 'mystery.' 2) The hearers are separated into insiders and outsiders. 3) The outsiders only hear, but the speech is also interpreted for the insiders. 4) The insiders cannot understand by themselves, but are dependent on the interpretation. 5) The teaching is presented as παραβολή 'parable,' which is understood as allegory or secret symbol. According to Sellin, these characteristics together constitute the Gattung 'allegory,' and derive historically from Jewish apocalyptic. Its pragmatic function cannot be determined with a great deal of specificity. The closest analogy for understanding its pragmatic function is probably the oracle of a priest, which the priest then interprets for his congregation.

Sellin's analysis of the parable of the sower and its interpretation drew on text linguistic theory, and in the process he made very helpful observations about the relationship between text and context. However, his basic method of analysis was not linguistic, but the traditional historical-critical methods, namely literary- (source-), form- and redaction-criticism. He made good use of generally accepted linguistic concepts in defining the text or parts of a text that are the objects of the exegetical activity, and he drew on linguistic theory in an eclectic way to sharpen the historical-critical methods, especially with regard to the understanding of text and its relation to the context that is implicit in those methods. He did not fully exploit the potential of applying a specific linguistic theory to a text as a separate step in the exegesis of the text in order to understand how the text as it stands functions, and to make explicit those aspects of pragmatic context that are embedded in the text. Sellin was correct to use linguistics as a supplement to the exegetical tools currently available rather than to supplant them, but his work does not yet demonstrate the full potential of rigorously applying specific linguistic theories to a text.

2.3 Du Plessis and Pragmatics

J. G. du Plessis (1987) presented a specific linguistic theory, Geoffrey Leech's (1983) principles of pragmatics, and applied it to the Parable of the Sower and its interpretation in Matthew 13:1–23.¹⁹ Pragmatics is defined by Leech (1983,

¹⁹Du Plessis (1987, 34) noted that pragmatics is an extension of speech act theory, which originated with the philosophical research of J. L. Austin (1962), John Searle (1969), and H. Paul Grice (1975), and has been used in parable research by Anthony C. Thiselton (1970),

6) as “the study of meaning in speech situations.” Du Plessis contrasted pragmatic meaning with the “sense” of a text. While the latter represents the literal or verbal meaning of a text, the former must be read from “between the lines.” In particular, according to Leech (1983, 17), pragmatic meaning implicated by an utterance can be described in terms of two “forces” at work in every utterance. *Illocutionary force* is a reconstruction of the act that the speaker of an utterance was attempting to perform as the goal of the communication (Leech 1983, 14–15). For example, the illocutionary force of the utterance “Beware!” is a warning, if the goal of the speaker was that someone should be warned of a specific danger (du Plessis 1987, 34). *Rhetorical force* is a reconstruction of the social goals of the speaker, which consist of adherence to (or flouting of) principles such as truthfulness and politeness.

Leech (1983, 16) divided rhetorical force into “inter-personal rhetoric” and “textual rhetoric.” The latter includes principles of *processibility*, *clarity*, *economy* and *expressivity*. These principles have to do with the ease of processing, lack of unintentional ambiguity, avoidance of excessive brevity or repetition, and the aesthetic aspect of texts. Inter-personal rhetoric, according to du Plessis, is where Leech made his most important contributions. He began with Grice’s (1975) *cooperative principle*, and added to it the *politeness principle* and the *irony principle*, to name the most important ones. The cooperative principle consists of a number of maxims known as Grice’s maxims: the *maxim of quantity* states that a speaker should give the audience enough information, but not too much; the *maxim of quality* states that a speaker should be honest and not lie; the *maxim of relation* states that a speaker should advance both his own and the audience’s goals; the *maxim of manner* states that the illocutionary force of an utterance should be indicated. Leech’s (1983, 132) major contribution, the politeness principle, includes the maxims of *tact*, *generosity*, *approbation*, *modesty*, *agreement*, and *sympathy*. These maxims have to do with maximizing benefit and praise to the other and minimizing their opposites in the exchange, maximizing cost and minimizing praise to self, and maximizing agreement and sympathy between self and other while minimizing disagreement and antipathy.

Pragmatic force (illocutionary force and rhetorical force combined) is the intended effect of an utterance. Pragmatic analysis is represented by a set of *implicatures*, deductions made from an utterance about how the principles of textual and inter-personal rhetoric have been held to or flouted by the speaker, and about the illocutionary force(s) implied by the utterance. Du Plessis (1987, 36) noted that instances of flouting of the principles (or maxims thereof) are often most significant, because flouting of one principle or maxim usually indicates that another is implicated in order to compensate, as we shall see in the summary of du Plessis’s analysis which follows. The total set of implicatures for a text represents the intended effect, or pragmatic force, of the text. Du Plessis noted that this effect must be viewed in light of the fact that the expectations of the listener plays a constitutive role, and thus meaning “comes into being in

Tullio Aurelio (1977), and Edmund Arens (1982).

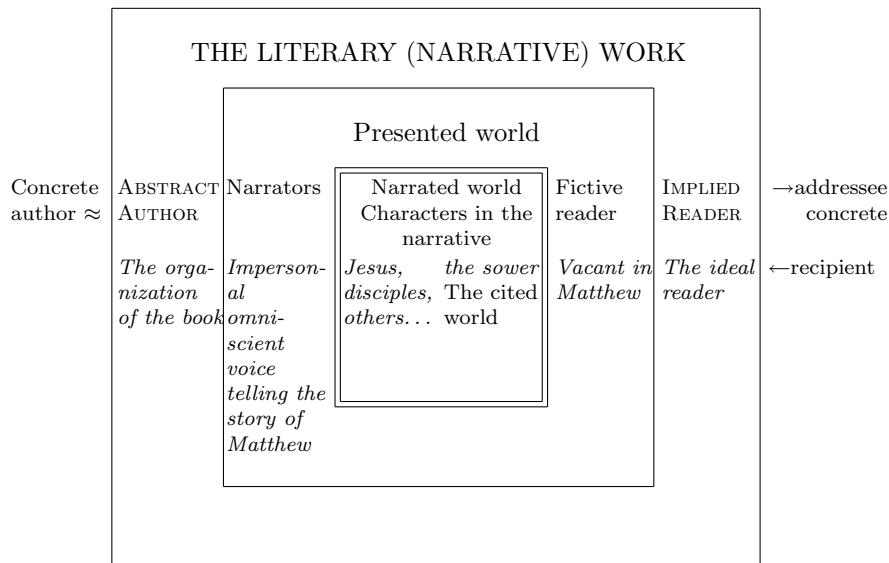


Figure 2.1: Narrative Frames in Mt 13:1–23

the relation between addresser and addressee" (du Plessis 1987, 37).

Like Sellin, du Plessis used a "scheme of narrative roles" which distinguishes the context external to the text from the world presented in it, worlds narrated by characters, and so on. Du Plessis chose a narrative model, that of Wolf Schmid (1973), which describes narrative roles in terms of real (concrete) authors and recipients, abstract authors and implied (ideal) recipients, and characters within the narrative who act and speak. Figure 2.1, taken from du Plessis (1987, 38), represents the narrative roles. In this scheme, the addressee is the one to whom the work is directed. A recipient is one who actually "realizes" the work by reading it. By adding narrative frame analysis, du Plessis made it clear that his analysis of Mt 13:1–23 was designed to probe the relationship between writer and reader only insofar as that relationship is embedded in the text, or at least implied by the text, and not in a complete historical sense. He was interested in showing the pragmatic force or intended effect of the discourse, both in terms of the relationship between Jesus as speaker and the disciples as addressees, and in terms of the relationship between implied author and implied reader of the narrative, i.e., the relationship between author and intended addressee that is implied by the text itself, not as it is known through historical research.

Du Plessis's method, then, is to "read between the lines," analyzing the text for what is implied, given Leech's pragmatic principles, about the goals of

communication between Jesus and the disciples internal to the narrative, and between the abstract author and implied reader of the narrative of Matthew. The analysis proceeds through the text (Mt 13:1–23) as a communication process, beginning with Jesus' telling of the parable, continuing with the conversation between Jesus and the disciples, and ending with Jesus' interpretation of the parable.

The focus of du Plessis's analysis of the parable itself was on the apparent flouting of the cooperative principle of inter-personal rhetoric and of the clarity principle of textual rhetoric. In particular, the maxims of quantity and relation are at stake. In his telling of this brief story, Jesus dwelt on the failure of seed to produce for a variety of reasons all having to do with the nature of the tracts of land on which the seed is sown. Only in the end is good soil and success brought in, but the abundance of the harvest demonstrates that success was assured, and the "waste" of seed that fell on unproductive soil is not an issue. But how is the telling of the story relevant to the goals of Jesus in telling it, as demanded by the maxim of relation? Has enough been said, as per the maxim of quantity, to enable the images to be decoded? It seems that both of these maxims of the cooperative principle have been flouted by Jesus. Furthermore, Jesus' concluding remark, ὁ ἔχων ὧτα ἀκούέτω (Mt 13:9), flouts the politeness principle, specifically the tact maxim which requires that the speaker maximize the benefit and minimize the cost to the hearer. After having flouted the cooperative principle by having said less than is necessary for the hearers to understand, Jesus ordered the hearers to understand. This presents a challenge to the hearers that implies a cost to them. The reader is left also to ponder the relevance of the parable and its narrative at this point in the gospel, and to wonder at the challenge issued by Jesus' command.

Within the narrative, we can infer that the disciples do not understand the communication process to be complete, or at least they assume that the flouting of the cooperative principle will be rectified by an explanation of the parable to them, for their question to him (v. 10) concerns Jesus' reason for having flouted the cooperative principle and the politeness principle in speaking *to the crowds* (du Plessis 1987, 41). This assumption is validated by Jesus' response (v. 11) that they (the disciples) have been given knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Pragmatically, benefit to them has been maximized, and the promise of explanation implied. While Jesus' relationship to the disciples is maintained and even strengthened, the disciples are assured that the social goals of Jesus' communication through the parable are in fact not failing, despite the apparent flouting of the cooperative and politeness principles in speaking to the crowd. Jesus' explanation makes it clear that the people are not intended to understand. The use of the negated passive οὐ δέδοται 'it has not been given' (v. 11) implies that the withholding of understanding is God's doing, or in accord with God's plan. The statement that their lack of understanding fulfills scripture (v. 14) makes this explicit. Du Plessis noted that the pattern of the parable itself parallels the entire conversation in that Jesus' utterance, like the action of sowing in the parable, is apparently unsuccessful and futile, but in the end success (of some sort) is assured (du Plessis 1987, 41).

There are implications for the reader of this conversation as well as for the disciples who are involved in it. Du Plessis noted that, although the conversation is directed toward the disciples and not the others, there are implied threats to the others that are repeated a total of four times (vv. 11, 12, 13, 14–15), in violation of the textual principle of economy (du Plessis 1987, 46). These threats function as a contrast to the favored position of the disciples, but they also function as a warning to the reader. The reader, along with the disciples, has been assured that Jesus' proclamation will not be fruitless, but is accomplishing the will of God. The reader is also privy to the statements that those who do not have will lose even what they have *because* (ὅτι) seeing they do not see and hearing they do not hear nor understand (vv. 12–13). On the level of the abstract author and implied reader, then, there is an implied warning rather strongly stated to the reader. The reader overhears the conversation between Jesus and the disciples, and is thus an insider in terms of the information that is available to the disciples. But the reader must choose whether to associate with the disciples and accept the message concerning Jesus or not. The reader of the gospel may deduce that the conflict between Jesus and the Jewish authorities is becoming more intense, and that the rejection of Jesus is widespread. "The incident becomes an assurance that the crucifixion as the climax of this rejection is not a chance happening due to unforeseen circumstances, but is a calculated effect" (du Plessis 1987, 50). Thus the exhortation of v. 9 ("Whoever has ears let him hear!") is a warning to the reader, a challenge to choose to be among the disciples to whom the mysteries will be explained. The repetition of this warning throughout the conversation as well as the extravagance of what is given to the disciples (the prophets longed to hear and see what they see, but did not) creates comity between Jesus and the disciples, and by implication the reader is invited into this relationship as well.

The explanation of the parable (vv. 18–23) makes explicit the parallel between the content of the parable and Jesus' response to the disciples' question. At the same time, this explanation fulfills the implied promise understood by the disciples that Jesus would give them understanding, and thus repair the damage done to the cooperative principle in the telling of the parable itself. Du Plessis described the illocutionary force of the explanation as the assertion of "the relationships between the parable world and the disciples' circumstances" (du Plessis 1987, 52). A promise is entailed in the abundant fruitfulness that is portrayed in spite of apparent failure that is described in an open-ended list of causes, and a warning is entailed in the failure. The seed that fails is associated with those who see but do not see, and hear but do not hear nor understand. "The attention is directed to the various causes for disobedience. The addressees are implored by implication to consider their own position and to listen with responsibility" (du Plessis 1987, 52).

Du Plessis summarized the results of his pragmatic analysis of Mt 13:1–23 in the following paragraph, which is worth quoting at length:

The pragmatical force of the conversation with the disciples, which was initiated by the telling of the Sower and which reaches a prelim-

inary conclusion with the giving of the explanation of the parable, is the creation of a relationship between Jesus and the disciples in which he is the dominant partner and they are shown to be dependent on him. They are urged to accept and adhere to his words. By doing this they are part of the future success of the kingdom. In brief: the disciples must adhere to the relationship of discipleship with Jesus. Everything converges on this: the promise and assurance of the parable; the implied warning; the assertion that the kingdom comes in this way; the stress on God's and Jesus' full control of the situation; the stress on the lack of obedient listening as a calculated event; the continuous assurance given to the disciples of their privileged position and the illumination of the dangers threatening the relationship (du Plessis 1987, 53, emphasis original).

This summary draws attention to the illocutionary goals of Jesus within the conversation, especially the goals of assurance and warning, and his social goals to maintain a certain relationship with the disciples in which they accept the assurance and heed the warning. At the same time, Jesus' flouting of cooperative and politeness principles in speaking the parable to the crowd obscured the illocutionary force, thus intentionally guaranteeing that the crowd would not execute the illocutionary goal of the parable.

Although he focused on a different part of the model, Du Plessis's model of language is essentially the same as Sellin's. This model presents syntax as the relation between signs in texts, semantics as the relationship between signs and meaning,²⁰ and pragmatics as the relationship between signs, their meanings, and the users of the signs (both producer and recipient of texts). The tendency in using this model is to treat syntax, semantics and pragmatics as autonomous components of language that can be examined adequately independently of one another. Du Plessis makes reference to semantic meanings and, to a lesser extent, syntactic relations in his study on occasion because he is interested in a complete interpretation of the text. But his analysis of the pragmatics of the text does not make explicit reference to the semantic or syntactic structure of the text. In short, the focus of his study was on what is "between the lines" of the text rather than on what the text says. He sought to elucidate the illocutionary and rhetorical force that can be inferred by reading the text in light of a set of pragmatic principles, thereby reconstructing something of the communication situation of the text, or the way in which the text was used by specific persons. This approach to pragmatics must use terms such as "inference," "implicature" and "between the lines" because it assumes a formal approach to semantic and syntactic structure.

In contrast to this perspective on language, a functional approach, such as the one presented in the previous chapter, views language from the start as a tool

²⁰Sellin distinguished between semantics as the relationship between sign and concept (commonly referred to as connotation) and sigmatics as the relationship between sign and object (commonly referred to as denotation) (Sellin 1983, 508). John G. Cook (1995, 4), in his linguistic approach to the study of Mark, represents the more common practice of including connotation and denotation as meaning treated by semantics.

which people use to make meanings in particular contexts. Thus the question asked by pragmatic theory — “How do people use language?” — also guides the analysis of the texts themselves. It is not merely a matter of what is between the lines, but what is in them. From a functional standpoint, the companion question to the above is, “How is language structured for use?” (Eggins 1994, 2). The systemic-functional approach to semantics is to ask what kind of meanings people make in the process of using language to do what they do. In other words, it is expected that linguistic meanings will realize social goals. The systemic-functional approach to grammar is to ask how the meanings that people make are mapped onto one another in grammatical and lexical structures. The assumption of this approach is that, while the relationship between content and expression is arbitrary and conventional, the structures on the expression plane of the language (grammatical and lexical structures) are functionally organized for the express purpose of expressing meanings, and the semantic structures of the language are functionally organized for the express purpose of enabling people to do things with language. The implication of this functional approach to language is that a careful examination of the lexico-grammatical and semantic structures of a text, as defined by a functional approach, will reveal something of the uses in the situational and cultural context of the text.

Of the studies of the Parable of the Sower and its interpretation discussed in this chapter, Kingsbury’s and du Plessis’s focused on Matthew’s version, and Sellin’s on Mark’s. In the following chapters I will focus on the text of Matthew to see what functions are evident in it and how they relate to context. I will, however, also give consideration to the Markan and Lukan parallels, pointing out similarities and differences, not as an engagement in issues of mutual dependence, but in order to highlight the features of each text. To focus on issues of dependence, which I will nevertheless not ignore, may tend to distract from the linguistic features by resolving them, even if rightly, as issues of mutual dependence. My primary concern is to elucidate aspects of context that are embedded in the texts, and to show the differences those aspects of context make in the way a story of the telling and explanation of a parable by Jesus is told within three different gospels.

Chapter 3

Ideational Meanings and Field of Discourse

We begin our search for the context in the text with the aspect of the context of situation (or register variable) that was identified in the first chapter as “field of discourse.” Field of discourse is the activity in regard to which language is functioning in the context of situation. In the first chapter, we defined field of discourse as what is going on in the context, the kind of activity (as recognized by the culture) in which language is playing some part, or “what the language is being used to talk about” (Egins 1994, 52). What we sometimes refer to as topic is an important aspect of the context of situation. People who produce texts are talking or writing *about* something with some degree of specialization or generality. But field is more than topic or subject matter. It includes activity as well as subject matter, or “what’s going on with reference to what” (Gerot 1995, 39). In this chapter we will examine the field of discourse of Mt 13:1–23 in terms of Activity Focus (i.e., “what is going on” in the context of situation) and Object Focus (i.e., “with reference to what” is the focal activity “going on”).¹

Since field of discourse is predicted by the ideational metafunction, the focus of this chapter is on the ideational (especially experiential) meanings in the text. In particular, the focus is on the experiential meanings realized at the clause rank as processes, participants and circumstances, experiential meanings realized by patterns of lexical choices in the text, and logical meanings realized by conjunctions and other grammatical devices for showing the relationship of clauses to one another. I begin with an examination of logical meanings in order to give a framework for the analysis of experiential meanings that follows it.

¹These terms are used by Linda Gerot (1995, 39).

3.1 Logical Meanings: Relations Between Clauses

An analysis of the contextual features embedded in a text assumes that the text that is the object of analysis is a whole text or a part of a text that has not been arbitrarily or randomly delimited. The text under analysis in this study, Mt 13:1–23, is commonly viewed as a discrete section within Matthew on the parable of the sower and its interpretation.² The section can be further subdivided into a narrative introduction (vv. 1–3a), the parable (vv. 3b–9), a dialogue in which Jesus explains why he speaks in parables (vv. 10–17) and the interpretation of the parable (Davies & Allison 1991, 373). A major reason this portion of the text of Matthew is commonly understood in this way is because of the logical relations between clauses.³ It is helpful to note these logical groupings of clauses when analyzing the experiential meanings realized by the clauses.

The most prominent logical relation that explains why the structure of Mt 13:1–23 is understood in this way is projection. Projection, as defined in the first chapter,⁴ is a relation that most commonly holds between a clause that realizes a verbal process and one or more clauses that realize that which is verbalized by the Sayer of the verbal process.⁵ In Mt 13:1–23, there are a number of verbal processes that project multiple clauses. Since these clauses are logically related as a group to the verbal process that projected them, it is natural that each instance of direct discourse will be perceived as a discrete text part. Projection goes a long way toward giving a linguistic explanation to du Plessis' narrative frame analysis of the text described in the previous chapter.

The display below demonstrates the logical relations between clauses at the highest level of Mt 13:1–23 taken as a unit. Each clause that stands in relation to the clauses around it is boxed in. Clauses that are paratactically related (i.e., their logical relationships place them on the same level; neither is subordinate to the other) are lined up at the left margin of the display. The clause that is a subordinate clause (in a hypotactic relationship to a neighboring clause) is indented. Conjunctions and relative pronouns that point to the logical relationship that holds between clauses are underlined. Words that realize a verbal process and project other clauses appear in bold and italic typeface. Clauses

²E.g., Gundry (1982, 251), Davies & Allison (1991, 373), and Harrington (1991, 193).

³John G. Cook's (1995, 190–192) linguistic outline of Mark, which shows a similar structure for the Markan parallel to Mt 13:1–23 (Mk 4:1–20), depends heavily on what systemic linguistics identifies as logical meanings. At the broadest level of outline of Mk 4:1–20, Cook shows the introduction to teaching in parables (vv. 1–2a), the parable spoken to the crowd (vv. 2b–8), the challenge to hear the parable (v. 9), and Jesus speaking to his disciples alone (vv. 10–20). He adds at the same level of the outline Jesus turning to speak more parables to the crowds (vv. 21–34), paralleling the remainder of the “parable discourse” in Mt 13:24–52. Cook's analysis parallels those of Gundry, Davies & Allison, and Harrington for the Matthean parallel in that he subdivides vv. 10–20 into the question about the parables (v. 10) and the answer, which divides into the part about the mystery of the kingdom (vv. 11–12) and the explanation of the parable (vv. 13–20).

⁴See the discussion of Mental Processes (p. 18) and Verbal Processes (p. 19) above.

⁵As noted in chapter one, mental process clauses may also project other clauses.

that are projected as a group by a single verbal process appear in a single box and the logical relationships within the box are not indicated, although the conjunctions and other grammatical markers that help to realize tactic relationships between clauses are underlined.

13.1 Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ ἐξεληθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν·
καὶ συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλοι πολλοί,
ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι,
καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰστήκει.
13.3 καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς <i>λέγων</i> ,
projection
Ἴδού ἐξηγήθην ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν. 13.4 καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν ἃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα τὰ πετεινὰ κατέφαγεν αὐτά. 13.5 ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· 13.6 ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη. 13.7 ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ἐπνίξαν αὐτά. 13.8 ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπόν, ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὁ δὲ ἐξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα. 13.9 ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω.
13.10 καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ <i>εἶπαν</i> αὐτῷ,
projection
διὰ τί ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς;
13.11 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς <i>εἶπεν</i> αὐτοῖς,
projection
Ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκεῖνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται. 13.12 ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ καὶ περισσευθήσεται· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὁ ἔχει ἀρθηθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ... (continued)

... (continued)

13.13 διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ,

ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν

καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν

οὐδὲ συνίουσιν,

13.14 καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα,

Ἄκοῦ ἄκούσετε

καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε,

καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε

καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε.

13.15 ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου,

καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν

καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν,

μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν

καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν

καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

13.16 ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ

ὅτι βλέπουσιν

καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν

ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.

13.17 ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν

ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε

καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,

καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε

καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.

13.18 Ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείραντος.

13.19 παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς

καὶ ἀρπάζει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς.

13.20 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ

χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν,

13.21 οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ρίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ

ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν,

γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζεται.

13.22 ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων,

καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἵῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον

καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται.

13.23 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς,

ὃς δὴ καρποφορεῖ

καὶ ποιεῖ

ὃ μὲν ἑκατόν,

ὃ δὲ ἐξήκοντα,

ὃ δὲ τριάκοντα.

The independent clauses that are normally read as the introduction or narrative setting to the parable discourse are paratactically linked by the conjunction καί, and are thus closely related to one another. Furthermore, the clauses in vv. 10 and 11 that realize verbal processes use the conjunctions καί and δέ, indicating continuity with the preceding narrative rather than the beginning of a new section. Most of the rest of the text is in two large blocks — the projected group of clauses that constitute the parable, and the projected group of clauses that constitute the answer to the question regarding the use of parables, including the interpretation of the parable.

Just as the narrative frame in the opening verses is linked to that of vv. 10 and 11 by conjunctions, so the answer given by Jesus beginning in v. 11 is linked to the question which precedes it by a conjunction, namely ὅτι (“because”), which answers the question διὰ τί (“why?”). Within the projected direct discourse blocks there are also logical relations consisting largely of subordinating relationships indicated by relative pronouns and conjunctions such as ὅτι and ὅτι, and paratactic relationships indicated by conjunctions such as καί and δέ. The notable departure from ordinary tactic relations is the use of οὖν in v. 18, indicating a special logical relationship to what precedes that clause, followed by asyndeton, which helps to indicate the beginning of something new. The logical relationships alone hint at a distinction between the explanation for why Jesus is speaking in parables in vv. 10–17 and the explanation of the parable of the sower in vv. 18–23. In the Markan parallel, this distinction is made by separating the two sections (Mk 4:11–12 and Mk 4:13–20) with another narrative clause, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, realizing a verbal process that distinguishes the interpretation of the parable (the real answer to the question in Mark) from the statement about the mysteries of the kingdom (a diversion in Mark).⁶

The logical relations in this passage help to make clear the texts within the text, and are thus important to examine in preparation for an analysis of the experiential meanings realized in the clauses of the text. In particular, the logical relations give warrant to treating the direct discourse material as texts that can be analyzed independently of the surrounding text prior to being considered a part of the whole text. This means that the narrative frame, as du Plessis called it, might also be fruitfully examined independently of the direct discourse material for which it provides a frame. I shall not give further attention to the logical meanings of the text insofar as doing so is beyond the scope of this study. I turn instead to an analysis of the processes, participants and circumstances realized in the clauses of the various text parts. It is in these experiential meanings that the object focus and activity focus of the text-in-context are embedded.

⁶On the gratuitous nature of the parable rationale in Mark (and in Luke) as a delay in answering the real question by interpreting the parable itself, see Section 3.2.3 beginning on p. 88.

3.2 Activity and Object Focus: Processes, Participants, and Circumstances

The purpose of examining the experiential meanings of the text is to determine from them how that aspect of the situational context here referred to as “field of discourse” is reflected in the semantic structure of the text. The first step is to analyze the text into its components of experiential meaning at the level of the clause.⁷ In particular, we are interested in the processes, participants and circumstances. It is this semantic information that realizes the activity and object focus of the situational context, i.e., what is going on with regard to what, in the situation in which the text is produced. We are not concerned at this stage with what grammatical case or class of words is used to refer to the participants, word order, whether the active, passive or middle voice is used, etc. We are only concerned with which processes occur in the text and what types of processes they are, what participants are associated with those processes and the particular semantic roles they play in relation to the processes, and under what circumstances the processes are said to occur.

It is important to note that the entire text stands in a particular relationship to Matthew’s situational context. However, the status of the narrative frame is special. In addition to being a part of Matthew’s text, it also provides an explicit situational context for the direct discourse that stands in relation to it by projection. Thus our interest in the parable, the rationale and the explanation of the parable is on two levels. Jesus, the disciples and the crowds are participants in relation to processes within the narrative frame, and are thus related to Matthew’s activity and object focus. In addition, however, those narrative characters utter speech within the narrative that has its own activity and object focus in relation to their situational context constituted by the narrative.⁸

An analysis of the experiential meanings of Mt 13:1–23 confirms the distinctions between the narrative frame, the parable of the sower, the discourse on the purpose of the parables, and the interpretation of the parable suggested by the logical relations at the highest level of the text. I will examine each of these parts of the text in turn, then return to Mt 13:1–23 as a whole in the concluding section.

3.2.1 Activity and Object Focus of the Narrative Frame

The activity and object focus of the narrative frame is straightforward. The narrative frame is relatively small, consisting of only seven clauses in these 23 verses. The processes, participants and circumstances, i.e., the information relevant to activity and object focus, has been extracted from the whole experiential

⁷The results of the experiential analysis of Mt 13:1–23 is displayed in Appendix A on p. 177.

⁸Already, in mentioning narrative, we are talking in terms of genre and context of culture. The analysis reflected here is relevant to the analysis of genre, and hypotheses about genre in the sense in which it is defined here can be made. However, a complete analysis of genre would involve comparative analysis of a range of texts, which is beyond the scope of this study.

analysis for all of these clauses and displayed in Table 3.1.⁹ This table makes explicit the obvious, that the whole of the narrative frame is divided between material and verbal processes, and that the participants are Jesus (references to whom are in boldface), the crowds (references to which are underlined), and the disciples (references to whom are in italics). There are a relatively high number of circumstantial elements, explaining why the narrative frame is perceived as “setting the scene” for the direct discourse material (Davies & Allison 1991, 373).

Table 3.1: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:1–3a, 10a, 11a (Narrative Frame)

ACTOR	PROCESS PROCESS	CIRCUMSTANCE			
ὁ Ἰησοῦς	ἐκάθητο	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῆς οἰκίας παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν			
<u>ὄχλοι πολλοί</u>	συνήχθησαν	πρὸς αὐτὸν			
<u>αὐτὸν</u>	καθῆσθαι	εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα			
<u>πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος</u>	εἰστήκει	ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν			
SAYER	VERBAL PROCESS	RECIPIENT	VERBIAGE	CIRCUMST.	
[Jesus]	ἐλάλησεν	<u>αὐτοῖς</u>	πολλὰ	ἐν παραβολαῖς λέγων	
<i>οἱ μαθηταί</i>	εἶπαν	αὐτῷ		προσελθόντες	
ὁ ἀποκριθεὶς	εἶπεν	<i>αὐτοῖς</i>			

What can be said about the activity and object focus of this text on the basis of this information? It can be said that the focal activity of the text is teaching and that the participants are in rather clear roles with regard to that activity. The material processes in these clauses involve no goals or beneficiaries, but only actors. Those actors are Jesus and the crowds. What Jesus does is to sit (two processes convey this information, one realized by a finite verbal clause and the other by an infinitival clause), and what the crowds do is to gather round him and to stand. These actions lead up to Jesus speaking to the crowds. As in the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount (5:1), these actions indicate a didactic situation in which Jesus teaches from a position of authority and the people listen (Newman 1983; Luz 1990, 297; Harrington 1991, 194). The remaining verbal processes in the narrative frame are of a different character. Jesus and the disciples are now the participants, and the nature of the verbal processes is an exchange. The disciples ask and Jesus answers. The narrative frame itself, then, takes on the character of a narrative in which Jesus is being portrayed

⁹The entire experiential analysis can be found in Appendix A on p. 177. The lexical and grammatical glosses of the texts presented in tables throughout this chapter, as well as free translations, can also be found in the appendices.

as an authoritative teacher to the crowds and a source of information to his disciples. Yet the narrative does not develop. It simply provides background for what Jesus has to say to two groups of people: the crowds who gather to hear authoritative teaching and the disciples.

A similar action and object focus is present in the Markan parallel. Table 3.2 shows that the didactic activity is made explicit by the repetition of the material process of teaching as well as the (redundant) reference to teaching as the circumstance of the first verbal process, i.e., the one which projects the parable. Mark has not only used structures that appear to be generic of a teaching situation, as Matthew has; he goes out of his way to emphasize the teaching activity.

Table 3.2: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:1–2, 9a, 10–11a, 13a (Narrative Frame)

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	BENEFICIARY	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
[Jesus]	ἤρξατο διδάσκειν	[crowd]		πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν
<u>ὄχλος</u> <u>πλεῖστος</u> <u>αὐτὸν</u>	συνάγεται καθησθαι			πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα ἐν παραβολαῖς
[Jesus]	ἐδίδασκεν	<u>αὐτοὺς</u>	πολλά	
CARRIER	RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE		
<u>πᾶς ὁ</u> <u>ὄχλος</u>	ἦσαν		πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	
SAYER	VERBAL PROCESS	RECIPIENT	VERBIAGE	CIRCUMSTANCE
[Jesus]	ἔλεγεν	<u>αὐτοῖς</u>		ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ
[Jesus] <u>οἱ περὶ</u> <u>αὐτὸν σὺν</u> <u>τοῖς δώδεκα</u>	ἔλεγεν ἡρώτων	<u>αὐτὸν</u>	τὰς παραβολὰς	ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας
[Jesus]	ἔλεγεν	<u>αὐτοῖς</u>		
[Jesus]	λέγει	<u>αὐτοῖς</u>		

Mark also uses a concentration of circumstantial elements in the narrative frame as Matthew does. Mark, however, separates out one element of circumstance, which appears as the relational (attributive) process that places the crowd on the shore as Jesus begins to teach.

The nature of the participants is also somewhat different in Mark than in Matthew. Jesus is much more prominent, appearing as the Actor of the two teaching processes that do not occur in Matthew's text and as Sayer in more verbal processes. In addition, the distinction between the disciples and the crowd is not as clear, as it is in Matthew. It is not merely the disciples who ask Jesus a question, but οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα 'the ones around him with the twelve.' This fuzziness is amplified by the nature of the question; they did not ask why Jesus spoke to the crowds in parables, as the disciples did in Matthew. Instead, Mark simply tells us, using Verbiage rather than projected direct discourse, that they "asked him the parables." The distinction between the crowds and the disciples is not clear, either in the reference to the participants in Mark's text, or in their understanding of the parables.

Luke's telling of this story is all the way around much briefer than Matthew's and Mark's. In the narrative frame, it is clear that Luke has distilled the essence of what is in the other two gospels to its bare minimum. Table 3.3 shows that there are only four clauses in Luke's narrative frame, and that they are all verbal process clauses. Luke prefaces the parable itself with only one clause, albeit one with embedded clauses in it. These verbal process clauses contain within themselves the circumstantial elements that provide the setting for the discourse, a function carried by the material process clauses in Matthew and Mark. This reduction also means that the crowd plays a smaller role, never serving as the Actor of a material process, appearing only as the beneficiary of the verbal processes of which Jesus is the Sayer. As in Matthew, it is the disciples who ask the question of Jesus. They are clearly distinguished from the crowd, even though their question resembles the one in Mark.

Table 3.3: Processes (Verbal) in Luke 8:4, 8c, 9a, 10a (Narrative Frame)

SAYER	VERBAL PROCESS	RECIPIENT	CIRCUMSTANCE
[Jesus]	εἶπεν	[crowds]	συνιόντος ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευ- ομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ παραβολῆς
[Jesus] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ	ἐφώνει ἐπηρώτων	[crowds] αὐτὸν	ταῦτα λέγων
ὁ [Jesus]	εἶπεν	[disciples]	

3.2.2 Activity and Object Focus of the Parable

Two things stand out at a glance in Table 3.4. First is that the parable is made up entirely of material process clauses in Matthew's telling of it until the final exclamation by Jesus. As with the narrative frame, the process types used have a bearing on the question of genre. We might hypothesize that a typical generic structure of a narrative would consist largely of material process types. The text is describing happenings. We noted above that Mark used a relational process to convey circumstantial or setting information. We shall see in the direct discourse which follows the parable that a preponderance of other process types are used to accomplish tasks other than conveying a narrative. For example, the interpretation of the parable repeats many material processes as the narrative itself is repeated in order to interpret it. But there are a high percentage of relational processes used there, not to clarify the setting of the story, but to identify the processes and participants used in the story as a means of explaining the meaning of the narrative.

Table 3.4: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:3b–9 (Parable)

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν <i>ā</i>	ἐξῆλθεν ἔπασεν		ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐλθόντα
τὰ πετεινὰ <i>āλλα</i>	κατέφαγεν ἔπασεν	<i>αὐτά</i>	ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν εὐθέως
<i>[seeds]</i>	ἐξανέτειλεν		διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος
[sun] [sun] <i>āλλα</i>	ἐκαυματίσθη ἐξηράνθη ἔπασεν	<i>[seeds]</i> <i>[seeds]</i>	διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας
αἱ ἄκανθαί [thorns] <i>āλλα</i>	ἀνέβησαν ἐπνίζαν ἔπασεν	<i>αὐτά</i>	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν
<i>[seeds]</i> <i>δ</i> <i>δ</i> <i>δ</i>	ἐδίδου [yielded] [yielded] [yielded]	καρπὸν ἐκατόν ἐξήκοντα τριάκοντα	
SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	
ὁ ἔχων ὧτα	ἀκουέτω	[the meaning of the parable]	

The second observation that can be made readily about Table 3.4 is the

repeated occurrence of references to the seeds and what grows from the seeds as participants in the material processes of the narrative (such references are in italics in the table). Other participants include the sower who sows the seeds, the birds, the sun, and thorns, all of which are actors of processes of which the seeds are the goal; and fruit, which is “given” or produced in various proportions by the last seeds mentioned in the parable. Seeds are either goal or actor (of processes of falling, growing up, bearing fruit) in nearly every clause in the parable. The field of discourse of this parable can be described as things that happen to seeds after they are sown.

While the parable is referred to by Jesus as “the parable of the sower” (τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπειράντος) in Mt 13:18, the sower only appears as a participant in the opening clause, and is referred to again only in the circumstantial element of the next clause. Robert H. Gundry (1982, 258) states that Matthew created a parallel between Jesus and the sower,¹⁰ and that the meaning of this reference is as much to call the disciples to listen to the interpretation that comes from the sower himself as it is a title for the parable.¹¹ Only if one accepts Gundry’s view in identifying the sower with Jesus and acknowledges that the whole narrative of the gospel is about Jesus can one say that the parable is “about” the sower. Nor can it be said that the parable focuses on the four soil types (cf. Davies & Allison 1991, 374–376), which are only referred to in circumstantial elements related to the processes in the parable. The object focus of the parable is clearly the seeds.¹²

This analysis demonstrates the importance of examining experiential meanings at the clause rank and not simply examining the meanings of lexical items in the text. The summary statement of the field of discourse given above — things that happen to seeds after they are sown — clearly depends on the various lexical items used in the text. However, the object focus — the seeds — turns out to be something that is referred to only by pronouns, whether demonstrative, personal or relative, and implied subjects of both active and passive verbs. Never does a lexical item refer to seeds present in the text. Furthermore, it is not the specific lexical items in isolation, but as configured by the grammar (largely at the clause rank), that communicate a field, that is, organized knowledge. Charting occurrences of various lexical items is useful for studying the cohesiveness of a text, but the grammatical relationships that hold between them is necessary in order to understand how knowledge is organized in the text.

In the parable in Matthew, there are several taxonomies related to one another through the object focus of the text (i.e., the seeds) that together summarize what is known in the narrative world of the text about seeds that are sown.

¹⁰E.g., both Jesus and the sower “go out” (Jesus in v. 1, the sower in v. 3). We are to infer, according to Gundry, that Jesus was doing what he attributes to the sower in the interpretation when he went out, namely spreading the word.

¹¹One must wonder in what sense “The Parable of the Sower” is a title at all (Harrington 1991, 196). It is not a title in the sense of being the opening word or words of a text, since the sower is the last element of the opening clause of the parable and is in a different case than in v. 18. On the extent to which the parable is “about” the sower, see below.

¹²So also Guelich (1998, 196–197) with regard to the parable in Mark.

For example, a taxonomy of normal stages of a plant's development from a seed is implicit in the text: it falls (πίπτει) to the ground; it springs up (ἐξανατέλλει) from the ground; it develops a root (ρίζαν); it grows up (ἀναβαίνει); it bears fruit (δίδωσιν καρπόν). There is also a taxonomy of places where the seed can fall that will have a bearing on the success of the development: it can fall on a path (ὁδόν); rocky ground (πετρῶδῃ); upon thorns (ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας); or in good soil (καλὴν γῆν), which is plentiful (πολλὴν γῆν) and has depth (βάθος γῆς). Any but the good soil leaves it vulnerable to things that will prevent its full development: on a path the birds eat it (πετεινὰ καταφάγει αὐτό); on rocky ground the sun scorches it (ἥλιος καυματίζει αὐτό) so that it withers (ξηραίνεται); if it falls upon thorns, they choke it (αἱ ἀκάνθαι πνίγουσιν αὐτό). Without being referred to lexically, the seeds are nevertheless the focal object with reference to which the various objects and activities represented in the text are mentioned.

The experiential meanings in Mark (Table 3.5) are similar to those in Matthew, with some minor, but intriguing differences. The parable in Mark is immediately preceded by a behavioral process (the command to listen) that parallels the mental process (the warning to hear what has been said) that concludes the parable in all three synoptic accounts. The parable then begins with an existential clause (using ἐγένετο, an apparent Semitism of which Mark is fond). These differences have little, if any effect on the field of discourse of the parable as a whole. Their effect is more on the mode of the text, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 3.5: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:3–8, 9b (Parable)

BEHAVER	BEHAVIORAL PROCESS		
[crowd]	Ἀκούετε		
EXISTENT	EXISTENTIAL PROCESS	CIRCUMSTANCE	
[following events]	ἐγένετο	ἐν τῷ σπείρειν	
ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
ὁ σπείρων	ἐξῆλθεν		σπεῖραι
ὁ	ἔπασεν		παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν
τὰ πετεινὰ	ἦλθεν		
[the birds]	κατέφαγεν	αὐτό	
ἄλλο	ἔπασεν		ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες ὅπου εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν
[seed]	ἐξανέτειλεν		εὐθύς διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς
[sun]	ἐκαυματίσθη	[seed]	ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος
[sun]	ἐξηράνθη	[seed]	διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν
ἄλλο	ἔπασεν		εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας
αἱ ἀκάνθαι	ἀνέβησαν		

[thorns]	συνέπνιξαν	αὐτό	
[seed]	οὐκ ἔδωκεν	καρπὸν	
ἀλλὰ	ἔπεσεν		εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν
[seeds]	ἐδίδου	καρπὸν	ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξανόμενα
ἐν	ἔφερεν	τριάκοντα	
ἐν	[yielded]	ἑξήκοντα	
ἐν	[yielded]	ἑκατόν	
SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	
ὃς ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν	ἀκουέτω	[the meaning of the parable]	

Perhaps the most significant difference in the experiential meanings of the parable in Mark compared to Matthew, however, is the use of the singular in referring to “seed” rather than “seeds.” It seems that the fate of one particular seed is described in each of three environments prior to describing the plural seeds that have fallen on good soil. When it comes to these, again one seed each (ἐν) produces the various yields. This difference changes the nature of the participants, and therefore the object focus of the text, from seeds that are sown and fall in various places to each of several specific seeds that suffer various fates.

Luke also uses singular references for the seeds (see Table 3.6). His telling of the parable is much briefer than Matthew’s or Mark’s, leaving out any explicit reference to the sun and reducing the report of the yield to a single seed that yielded a hundred-fold. The “depth” of the field of discourse is thus reduced. Since there are fewer participants and processes, the taxonomies evident in the text are simpler than those in Matthew.

Table 3.6: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Lk 8:5–8b, 8d (Parable)

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
ὁ σπείρων	ἐξῆλθεν		τοῦ σπείραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ
ὁ	ἔπεσεν		ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν
[someone] τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	κατεπατήθη	[seed]	
ἔτερον	κατέφαγεν	αὐτό	
[sun?]	κατέπεσεν		ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν φυεὶν
ἔτερον	ἐξηράνθη	[seed]	διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἱμάδα
αἱ ἀκανθαί	ἔπεσεν		ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν
	ἀπέπνιξαν	αὐτό	συμψυεῖσαι

<i>ἐτερον</i> [seed]	ἔπεσεν ἐποίησεν	καρπὸν ἑκατον- ταπλασίονα	εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν φυεῖν
SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	
ὁ ἔχων ὧτα ἀκούειν	ἀκουέτω	[the meaning of the parable]	

3.2.3 Activity and Object Focus of the Parable Rationale

This section begins a marked difference between Matthew and the parallel accounts. This difference is seen immediately in the size of Matthew's text — 35 clauses¹³ to Mark's eight and Luke's five. In Luke's case, one of these clauses is the question asked by the disciples. This question is a relational clause¹⁴ seeking an explanation of the nature of the parable itself, i.e., it seeks an answer of the form, "the parable is *x*," where *x* is a meaning or explanation attributed to the parable. This fact explains in large measure why this "rationale" section in Luke is so brief: it appears to be gratuitous information that is completely unnecessary in order to answer the question that seeks information about the parable. The question in Mark, which is indirect discourse in the narrative frame, is unclear, but is perhaps best understood in the sense in which Luke has it, since the interpretation of the parable, rather than this excursus (i.e., the rationale), seems to be the real answer to the question. As in Luke, Matthew's text also includes the question asked of him. In Matthew's case, however, rather than a relational question about the nature of the parable, the question is a verbal process clause¹⁵ asking why he is speaking in parables; i.e., it seeks an answer of the form, "I speak in parables because *x*," where *x* is the reason that is the circumstance of the verbal process. In Matthew, this large section is in direct answer to the question that Jesus is asked,¹⁶ and the interpretation that follows

¹³Even if we were to accept the view of Davies and Allison (1991, 394) that 13:14–15 are a very early post-Matthean interpolation, we are still left with 22 clauses in Matthew's version. The most persuasive of their arguments is that only here is a formula quotation placed on Jesus' lips, and it differs in other significant ways from other formula quotations in Matthew. Also in their favor is that these verses agree almost exactly with Acts 28:26–27, although the influence could have gone either way. In any case, my concern is with the text as it stands; "Matthew" in this study is shorthand for the producer of the text as it stands. Nevertheless it should be noted that these two verses do not substantially change the overall makeup of the text since the quotation is highly repetitious of the material and mental process clauses that are otherwise present.

¹⁴See the only relational process clause in Table 3.9.

¹⁵See the verbal processes in Table 3.7.

¹⁶Contra Hagner (1993): "An initial problem concerning the structure of the discourse — the apparent digression in the passage on the purpose of the parables (13:10–17) — is explained as something the evangelist decided to accept from his source." As Sellin noted (see chapter two), the purposes of a text are not necessarily those of the source from which it is derived. If we accept that Matthew has used Mark as a source, we must recognize that he has expanded the source considerably at this point. My argument here is that whereas the text in Mark is a digression, the expansion of it in Matthew is precisely because the purpose of the text in

is superfluous to the question, though not to the point of Jesus' answer, as we shall see.

Table 3.7: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:10b, 11b–17 (Rationale)

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	BENEFICIARY
[God]	δέδοται	γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν	ὑμῶν
[God]	οὐ δέδοται		ἐκεῖνοις
[God]	δοθήσεται		αὐτῷ
[God]	ἀρθήσεται	ὁ ἔχει	ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
[God]	ἀναπληροῦται	ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα	αὐτοῖς
[God]	ἐπαχύνθη	ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου	
[the crowds]	ἐκάμυσαν	τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν	
[the crowds]	ἐπιστρέψωσιν		[to God?]
[God]	ιάσομαι	αὐτούς	
CARRIER	RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE	
ὅστις	ἔχει	[knowledge of the mysteries]	
[God]	περισευθρήσεται	[knowledge of the mysteries]	
ὅστις	οὐκ ἔχει	[knowledge of the mysteries]	
ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ	[are]	μακάριοι	
τὰ ὅσα ὑμῶν	[are]	[blessed]	
SENDER	MENTAL	PHENOMENON PROCESS	CIRCUMSTANCE
[the crowds]	οὐ βλέπουν	[mysteries of kingdom]	βλέποντες
[the crowds]	οὐκ ἀκούουσιν	[mysteries of kingdom]	ἀκούοντες
[the crowds]	οὐδὲ συνίουσιν	[mysteries of kingdom]	
[the crowds]	ἀκούετε	[mysteries of kingdom]	ἀκοῇ
[the crowds]	οὐ μὴ συνῆτε	[mysteries of kingdom]	
[the crowds]	βλέψετε	[mysteries of kingdom]	βλέποντες
[the crowds]	οὐ μὴ ἴδητε	[mysteries of kingdom]	
[the crowds]	ἤκουσαν	[mysteries of kingdom]	τοῖς ὡσὶν βαρέως
[the crowds]	ἴδωσιν	[mysteries of kingdom]	τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
[the crowds]	ἀκούσωσιν	[mysteries of kingdom]	τοῖς ὡσὶν

Matthew is such that vv. 10–17 are not a digression but the main point.

[the crowds] [disciples] [disciples] πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι	συνῶσιν βλέπουσιν ἀκούουσιν ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν	[mysteries of kingdom] [mysteries of kingdom] [mysteries of kingdom] ἀ βλέπετε	τῇ καρδίᾳ	
[many prophets & righteous] [prophets & righteous] [prophets & righteous] ὑμεῖς (disc.)	οὐκ εἶδαν ἀκοῦσαι οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἀκούσατε	[mysteries of kingdom] ἀ ἀκούετε [mysteries of kingdom] τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπεύραντος		
SAYER	VERBAL PROCESS	RECIPIENT	VBGE	CIRCUMSTANCE
[Jesus]	λαλεῖς	<u>αὐτοῖς</u>		διὰ τί ἐν παραβολαῖς
[Jesus]	λαλῶ	<u>αὐτοῖς</u>		διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς
[Jesus]	λέγω	ὑμῖν		

Table 3.8: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:11b–12 (Rationale)

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	BENEFICIARY	GOAL
[God]	δέδοται	<u>ὑμῖν</u>	τὸ μυστήριον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ
[outsiders] [God]	μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν ἀφεθῇ	[God?] <u>αὐτοῖς</u>	
CARRIER	RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE	CIRCUMSTANCE
<u>ἐκεῖνοις</u> <u>τοῖς ἔξω</u>	γίνεται	τὰ πάντα	ἐν παραβολαῖς
SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	CIRCUMSTANCE
[outsiders] [outsiders] [outsiders]	βλέπωσιν μὴ ἴδωσιν ἀκούωσιν	[the mystery] [the mystery] [the mystery]	βλέποντες ἀκούοντες

[outsiders] μὴ συνιῶσιν [the mystery]

Table 3.9: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Lk 8:9b, 10b (Rationale)

CARRIER		RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE	
αὕτη ἡ παραβολή		εἶη	τίς	
ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	BENEFICIARY	GOAL	CIRCUM.
[God]	δέδοται	<i>ὑμῖν</i>	γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ	
[God]	[giving]	<u>τοῖς λοιποῖς</u>	[the mysteries]	ἐν παραβολαῖς
SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	CIRCUM.	
<u>[the rest]</u>	μὴ βλέπωσιν	[the mysteries]	βλέποντες	
<u>[the rest]</u>	μὴ συνιῶσιν	[the mysteries]	ἀκούοντες	

In all three accounts, Jesus' speech prior to the interpretation of the parable consists of material and mental process clauses.¹⁷ Both of these are multiplied in Matthew, but the focus is on the mental processes. These are processes of seeing, hearing, knowing, and understanding — all processes of perception. Most of these mental process clauses do not have explicit Sender and Phenomenon participants; the “activity” seems to be more in focus than the “objects.” However, the identity of the participants is not difficult to discern from the context. Most of the text is focussed on those to whom the parables are spoken, i.e., the crowd, and on that which is given to the disciples but not to those to whom the parables are spoken, i.e., the mysteries of the kingdom. The addressees of this speech, i.e., the disciples, like the crowd, appear as Senders, as do ‘many prophets and righteous ones.’ While the latter are made explicit in the clauses in which they appear as participants, the mysteries of the kingdom as Phenomenon must be inferred from the material process clauses that occur early in the discourse (v. 11): ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκεῖνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται ‘to you has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens, but to those it has not been given.’ Those to whom Jesus speaks parables and the disciples to whom he is speaking in this section are referenced here as Beneficiaries of the material process of giving. The Goal of the process

¹⁷See Tables 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9. The crowd, to whom the parable is spoken, is identified in the tables with underlining, the disciples with italic script, and Jesus with boldface, as in the narrative frame tables above.

is another process, a mental one: to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens. We can infer from this that the Phenomena of the mental processes later in the discourse are also the mysteries of the kingdom.

God is a major participant in this section of text, especially as Actor to the material processes. Explicit reference is avoided by use of the “divine passive” (Harrington 1991, 195). For example, in v. 11, cited above, God is the Actor of the giving process, the Goal of which is to know the mysteries of the kingdom and of which the disciples are the Beneficiary. God is Actor of seven of the nine material process clauses in this text part — God gives, takes, fulfills the words of the prophets, hardens hearts, and heals. Those to whom the parables are addressed are the Actors of the remaining material processes.

The action focus of this section of discourse, then, is on various forms of perception and on happenings that enable or disable that perception. The object focus of the section is God, the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens, those to whom the parable was spoken, the disciples, and many prophets and righteous ones. God alone is Actor of material processes that result in people perceiving the mysteries of the kingdom. Those who perceive them do not act to enable their perception. But those who do not perceive do act to prevent their own perception. Those who perceive are not only enabled by God, but are also hearers of Jesus’ word — the many prophets and righteous ones did not disable themselves from perceiving, but lacked the opportunity to hear Jesus. The field of discourse, then, can be described as those who hear Jesus either perceiving the mysteries of the kingdom as enabled by actions of God or failing to perceive the mysteries as disabled by their own actions.

I have so far ignored the relational process clauses, five of which occur in this section of Matthew’s text and none in the parallels. These clauses, all attributive processes, may help signal the genre of the text. The information conveyed through these attributive structures could have been included in circumstantial elements of other clauses, as, for example, the information in Mark’s attributive clause in the narrative frame about the crowds standing on the shore is contained in a circumstantial element in Matthew. Information that might be setting or background to a narrative is elevated to relational clauses when the (generic) purpose of the text is to explain rather than to tell a sequence of happenings. In this text, the attributive clauses give information about important participants in the material and mental process clauses, namely the mysteries of the kingdom, God who gives them, and those to whom they are given or not given.

3.2.4 Activity and Object Focus of the Parable Interpretation

If relational process clauses show something about the generic structure of the discourse on the reason for speaking in parables in Matthew, they are focal in the interpretation of the parable in all three synoptic texts. They account for seven of 16 clauses in Matthew (see Table 3.10 on page 93) eight of 22 clauses in Mark (see Table 3.11 on page 97), and seven of 15 clauses in Luke (see Table 3.12 on page 99). The relational process clauses in the text to this point have been

attributive clauses, conveying information about participants of other process types. In the interpretation of the parable there are a series of identifying as well as attributing relational process clauses.¹⁸ The material process clauses in the interpretation run parallel to those of the parable that is being interpreted. But the relational processes, and especially the identifying ones, help to mark this part of the discourse as an explanatory text, as the interpretation that it is.

Table 3.10: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mt 13:18–23 (Parable Interpretation)

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
ὁ πονηρὸς	ἔρχεται		παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος
[the evil one]	ἀρπάζει	τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ	
[“thorns”]	σκανδαλίζεται	[hearer? the word?]	γενομένης θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς
ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου	συμπνίγει	τὸν λόγον	
ὁς	καρποφορεῖ		
[word on “good soil”]	ποιεῖ		
ὁ	[yields]	ἐκατόν	
ὁ	[yields]	ἐξήκοντα	
ὁ	[yields]	τριάκοντα	
TOKEN	RELATIONAL PROCESS	VALUE	
οὗτός	ἐστιν	ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς	
ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός	ἐστιν	ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν	
ὁ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρεῖς, οὗτός	ἐστιν	ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων	
ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν			

¹⁸Identifying relational process clauses are characterized by having Token/Value participants whereas attributive relational process clauses are characterized by Carrier/Attribute participants; see section 1.3.2 (Relational Processes) beginning on page 20 and Figure 1.4 (System of Process Types) on page 24.

σπαρείς, οὗτός	ἐστίν	ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς	
CARRIER	RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE	CIRCUMSTANCE
[word on rocky soil]	οὐκ ἔχει	ρίζαν	ἐν ἑαυτῷ
[word on rocky soil]	ἐστίν	πρόσκαιρός	
[word among thorns]	γίνεται	ἄκαρπος	

Matthew gives structure to the whole interpretation with the identifying process clauses. After the opening interpretation of the seed falling upon the path, the first of Matthew's identifying process clauses appears: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρείς 'this is what was sown beside the path.' The Token in this identifying process, οὗτός 'this,' has an anaphoric whole text reference, that is, it does not refer simply to a participant earlier in the text, but to the whole text that immediately precedes it, and thus to the process/participant configurations that are represented there. The Value in the identifying process, ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρείς 'what was sown beside the path,' refers back to the original telling of the parable, and in this way the identification is made between the interpretive retelling and the event of the seed being sown on the side of the road in the parable. The remaining identifying process clauses follow this pattern in making whole text reference links between the parable and the interpretation. But they reverse the direction of the identification by first repeating a phrase that recalls events from the parable, that is, processes and participants (ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρείς 'that which is sown on rocky [ground]' (v. 20); ὁ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρείς 'the one [that was] sown in the thorns' (v. 22); ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρείς 'the one [that was] sown on the good soil' (v. 23)) and then identifying those events with the interpretation that follows. In each of these last three cases, the events in the parable are identified with those who hear the word (ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων) under various circumstances and with varying results.

The attributive process clauses draw attention to information that describes the circumstances in which the material processes in the parable occur. In the case of the first attributive process in Table 3.10, the attribution of possession (οὐκ ἔχει ρίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ 'it has no root in itself') refers directly back to a circumstantial element in the parable (διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν 'because it had no root'). To this is added a second attribution — not only does the seed sown on rocky soil not take root; it is temporary. A similar attribution of fruitlessness is made in the interpretation of the seed sown among the thorns. In all of these attribution clauses, the Carrier participant is implicit and the referent of the Carrier must be determined from the surrounding clauses. In each case, the Carrier corresponds to the seeds from the parable. The precise interpretation of seeds, however, is not straightforward. In Mark's text, as we shall see, the seeds are interpreted sometimes as the word and sometimes as the hearers of the word. In Matthew, the two are not always easy to distinguish from one another.

After always referring to the seeds in the plural in the parable, in the in-

interpretation Matthew, unlike Mark, consistently refers to both the word and the hearer of the word in the singular. The first two of the three attributive relational process clauses immediately follow the identifying process clause in which the events surrounding the sowing of seeds on rocky soil is identified with someone who hears the word and immediately receives it with joy. The attributive clauses then provide further information. The three relational clauses read: *ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ῥίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν* ‘But that which is sown on rocky ground, this is the one who hears the word and immediately receives it with joy, but he/it has no root in himself/itself but is temporary.’ It is usually assumed that the implied subjects of the verbs *ἔχει* ‘has’ and *ἐστιν* ‘is’ refer to *ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων* ‘the one who hears the word.’ However, since all participants are realized by singular forms in these clauses, it is grammatically possible that the implied subjects refer to *τὸν λόγον* ‘the word.’ If this is indeed the case, it is the word, as the seed, that does not have root in itself but is temporary. This reading is not possible in Mark, where the hearers and the attributive possessive process are both realized by plural forms, whereas the word is realized by a singular form. But in Matthew, this reading is possible. It seems plausible in light of the preceding verse (13:19), in which the evil one snatches what is sown (the word) from the heart of one who heard but did not understand, and the following verse (13:22), in which the cares of the age and the deceit of wealth choke the word and it (the word) becomes unfruitful. If the word can be snatched out of one’s heart, choked and made unfruitful, perhaps it can also be rootless and temporary.

The third attributive process clause is subject to the same interpretation. The interpretation of the sowing on good soil (13:23) reads as follows: *ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς, ὃς δὲ καρποφορεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ ὃ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὃ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὃ δὲ τριάκοντα* ‘Now the one that was sown on the good soil, this is the one who hears the word and understands it, who/which indeed is fruitful and produces, some a hundred-fold, some sixty-fold and some thirty-fold.’ Once again, the usual reading takes *ὃς* ‘which’ to refer to *ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς* ‘the one who hears the word and understands it,’ but it could refer to *τὸν λόγον* ‘the word’ instead. It makes good sense to say that the word that was heard and understood indeed bears fruit and produces various yields. Once again this interpretation is not an option in Mark, where the plural forms clearly identify those who hear with those who bear fruit. But it is a possible reading in Matthew.

If we are to read Matthew as consistently associating the word with the seed, then one material process clause must also be reckoned with. Each of the environments — the side of the path, the rocky soil, the thorns and the good soil — are interpreted by material process clauses that describe what happens to the seeds once sown. The birds that eat the seed sown on the side of the path in the parable are referred to in the interpretation as the evil one, who snatches away what is sown in the hearts of some of those who hear the word. The thorns that choke the sprouting seed in the parable are referred to in the interpretation as the cares of the age and the deceit of wealth that choke the

word that is heard before it bears fruit. If we are to read Matthew as consistently interpreting the seed as the word, then the word also bears fruit and produces various yields. When it comes to the rocky soil, we have already seen that there are two attributive process clauses that interpret it, and both are ambiguous, although the usual understanding of them follows the only possible reading in Mark. Following those relational clauses, there is also a material process clause that interprets the rocky soil: γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζεται ‘And when affliction or persecution comes because of the word, he/it is instantly tripped up.’ It is not clear what the subject/Goal of the passive verb σκανδαλίζεται ‘is tripped up,’ is. It is not the evil one or the cares of the age. The Goal is usually understood to be the one who hears and receives the word with joy. But once again, the singular form grammatically allows for the word to be the Goal of the offense, that which is presented with a barrier when afflictions and persecutions come on account of that word.

It is not entirely clear what this reading would mean. Yet it presents us with an interesting question. Since Matthew presented the seeds always in the plural in his version of the parable, why did he now put the seed, the word and the hearers all in the singular in the interpretation? There seems to be an ambiguity in which the possibility exists of clearing up the kind of inconsistency that Mark has in sometimes clearly identifying the seed with the word and sometimes clearly identifying it with the hearers. Did Matthew seek to elevate the word in his version of the interpretation at the expense of the hearers? Assuming that Matthew used Mark as a source, not only did he at least blur the inconsistency of the seed’s identity, but he also eliminated two material process clauses in which the hearers are Actor. The relative clauses in Mk 4:16 (οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν ‘the ones that, when they hear the word, immediately receive it with joy’) and Mk 4:20 (οἵτινες ἀκούουσιν τὸν λόγον καὶ παραδέχονται ‘who hear the word and receive it’) are reduced to the substantive participles in Matthew’s second and fourth identifying process clauses. Both clauses present the hearers as Actor of a process of receiving the word they have heard. Has Matthew consistently reduced the role of the hearers in his interpretation in favor of the word that they hear?

As in the parable, Matthew’s interpretation of the parable is not about the sower. It is at least arguable that his interpretation is not about the hearers of the word either. Perhaps it is better to say that the word and the hearers of the word are the major participants in the processes presented to us in the interpretation, and that Matthew has given prominence to the word. The seed was the focal participant in the parable, with the birds and thorns and fruit appearing also. In the interpretation, the word that is heard is dominant, both in the relational and material processes. The word that is heard is the Carrier of all three attributing processes. The word is the Goal of at least two of the material processes in which the word is acted upon by the evil one and the cares of the world, and possibly of the third process in which affliction and persecution cause stumbling. The Actor of material processes of bearing fruit and being productive is best understood as the word. Although the hearers of

the word appear as Value of the last three identifying processes, it is nevertheless hearers *of the word* in each case; the word is the Phenomenon of an embedded mental process in each case. This text is in a significant sense about the word. The field of the discourse of the parable interpretation may be described as the results of proclaiming the word, or what happens to the word when various people hear it.

As a cultural activity (i.e., on the level of genre) we might hypothesize that this text follows the pattern of an allegorical interpretation. References are made back to the parable, including a one-to-one identification between participants in the parable and in this text. These identifications are made both by overt identifying process clauses and by material process clauses in which interpretive substitutes are made for participants in similar material process clauses from the parable.

There are subtle but significant differences between Matthew and the parallel accounts regarding experiential meanings at the clause rank and the field of discourse that they realize. In Mark, for example, five identifying process clauses are used, but their structure is quite different than in Matthew (see Table 3.11). In each case the Token is realized grammatically by a demonstrative pronoun standing by itself and referring cataphorically. If these demonstrative pronouns were in the singular, we would perhaps read them as whole text references to the interpretation to follow. But since they are in the plural, their reference is unclear. By itself, the clause: οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ‘these are the ones beside the path’ seems to be referring to the seeds that are sown, since what is on the side of the path in the parable is seed. But in the parable the seed sown is in the singular. Furthermore, the very next clause seems to equate the (singular) seed from the parable with the word in saying that σπείρεται ὁ λόγος ‘the word is sown.’ The only referent to the plural demonstrative in the context is the implied subject of the verb ἀκούσωσιν ‘they may hear,’ i.e., those who hear. This information is clear in Matthew, but somewhat puzzling in Mark. The situation is equally confusing in each of the identifying processes except the fourth one, in which the Value is οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες, an explicit reference to those who hear the word, a reference that is repeated three times in Matthew. The overall focus in Mark is less clear, but seems to be more on the hearers than on the word that is heard.

Table 3.11: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Mk 4:13b–20 (Parable Interpretation)

SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	CIRCUM.
[disciples & others]	οὐκ οἶδατε	τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην	
[disciples & others]	γνώσεσθε	πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς	πῶς
οἵτινες	ἀκούουσιν	τὸν λόγον	
ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUM.
ὁ σπείρων	σπείρει	τὸν λόγον	

ὁ Σατανᾶς	ἔρχεται		ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν εὐθύς
[Satan]	αἶρει	τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρ- μένον εἰς αὐτοὺς	
οἱ	λαμβάνουσιν	αὐτόν	ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν τὸν λόγον εὐθύς μετὰ χαρᾶς εἶτα γενομένης θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθύς
αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυ- μῖαι εἰσπορευόμεναι [“good soil” hearers] [“good soil” hearers] ἐν ἐν ἐν	συμπνίγουσιν παραδέχονται καρποφοροῦσιν [yields] [yields] [yields]	τὸν λόγον τριᾶκοντα ἑξήκοντα ἑκατόν	
TOKEN	RELATIONAL PROCESS	VALUE	
οὗτοι	εἰσιν	οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν· ὅπου σπείρεται ὁ λόγος	
οὗτοί ἄλλοι	εἰσιν	οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπειρόμενοι	
οὗτοί	εἰσιν	οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι	
ἐκεῖνοί	εἰσιν	οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες	
CARRIER	RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE	CIRCUM.
[“rocky soil”] [“rocky soil”] [“in thorns”]	οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰσιν γίνεται	ρίζαν πρόσκαιροί ἄκαρπος	ἐν ἑαυτοῖς

Table 3.12: Processes & Participants by Process Type in Lk 8:11–15 (Parable Interpretation)

TOKEN	RELATIONAL PROCESS	VALUE	
αὕτη	ἔστιν	ἡ παραβολή	
ὁ σπόρος	ἔστιν	ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ	
οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν	εἰσιν	οἱ ἀκούσαντες	
οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας	[are]	οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς	
δέχονται τὸν λόγον			
τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας			
πεσόν, οὗτοί	εἰσιν	οἱ ἀκούσαντες	
τὸ ἐν τῇ καλῇ γῇ, οὗτοί	εἰσιν	οἵτινες ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ	
CARRIER	RELATIONAL PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE	
οὗτοι	οὐκ ἔχουσιν	ρίζαν	
ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
ὁ διάβολος [the devil]	ἔρχεται αἶρει	τὸν λόγον	εἴτα ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν
[word?] [hearers]	μὴ σωθῶσιν ἀφίστανται	[hearers] [word]	πιστεύσαντες ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ
ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου [hearers] [hearers]	συμπνίγονται οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν κατέχουσιν καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν	[hearers] [word]	πορευόμενοι ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον ἐν ὑπομονῇ
SENDER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON	CIRCUMSTANCE
οἱ	πιστεύουσιν	[word]	πρὸς καιρὸν

3.3 Summary and Conclusions

The nature of the textual divisions based on logical meanings resulted in an examination of experiential meanings of the narrative frame, the parable, the parable rationale and the parable interpretation. Because of these divisions in the text, the previous section included an analysis of the field of discourse for each of the three utterances by the character Jesus within the context of the

narrative world of the gospel. Before turning to conclusions about the field of discourse of the text as a whole, let us review what the analysis of this chapter has shown us about the field of discourse of the utterances of Jesus within the instantial situation provided by the narrative.

In his first utterance in this text — the parable — Jesus is engaged in telling a story about seeds that are sown. The terms in which Jesus tells the story are not highly technical or specialized. A taxonomy of things that happen to seeds when they are sown can be extracted from the text. We have no way of knowing whether this taxonomy reflects a description that speaker and hearer would recognize as being realistic or whether it would contrast with their expectations, thus drawing attention to odd, funny or even absurd descriptions of the commonplace. The taxonomy of stages of development of a seed is straightforward. It falls to the ground, springs up, develops roots, grows up and bears fruit, unless, of course, something interrupts this development. How far along these stages seed gets is dependent on the type of ground on which it falls in the first stage. The choices in the text include a path, rocky ground, thorns and good soil. The latter is characterized as plentiful and having depth. Development can be arrested by birds eating the seed before it springs up, the sun scorching it so it withers before it grows up, and thorns choking it before it bears fruit.

Jesus' second utterance — the explanation — is a response to a question by the disciples (and others, in Mark). This utterance takes the form of an exposition rather than a story. A taxonomy of perception can be derived from the text; words of seeing, hearing, understanding and perceiving are all used to describe the perception, or lack of perception, of the mysteries of God's reign. The utterance as a whole is about the role of the major participants, God and the receivers of the message, in perception of these mysteries. Those to whom the mysteries of God's reign are conveyed either perceive them, truly grasp the mysteries because of God's enabling actions, or they fail to perceive on account of their own disabling actions. This exposition is delivered to ones who are blessed because they are among those who have grasped the mysteries.

Jesus' third utterance — the interpretation — is an exposition in which the story of the first utterance is repeated in order to identify the participants and events of that story. The seed is identified as the word, and a taxonomy is developed for reception of the word that parallels the taxonomy of what happens to sown seed in the story. The word proclaimed comes to different kinds of hearts. When it is heard by one who does not perceive or understand it, the evil one snatches it away out of that one's heart. Others receive the word with joy, but their reception is only temporary and then the word is gone. Others receive the word only to have it choked out by affliction or persecution — the cares of this world — so that the word is unfruitful in them. Then there are those who hear the word and understand, and the word bears fruit in them.

While the field of discourse can be profitably analyzed for each of these utterances of Jesus, the utterances together contribute to the field of the larger text. The utterances together with their co-text can be analyzed for field, telling us something about the context of the gospel itself, specifically what is being talked about in that context and how knowledge is structured in that context.

In the same way the individual utterances contribute to the field of discourse of Mt 13:1–23 as a whole, Mt 13:1–23 in turn contributes to the field of discourse of the whole gospel. The field of discourse of Mt 13:1–23 can be described as an explanation of why the word proclaimed by Jesus is sometimes understood and accepted and sometimes not.¹⁹ Jesus is presented in an authoritative role in relationship both to the disciples and to the crowds. But he does not relate to these two groups in the same way. Jesus sat by the lake and taught the people, as he sat on the mountain and taught in the Sermon on the Mount, but he answered a question in private to explain what he was doing and why to the disciples. This is different from Mark in which the contrast between the disciples and others is not as clear. It is the disciples and others with them in Mark who ask Jesus about the parable and the disciples clearly do not understand any more than the crowds do; they must ask Jesus the meaning of the parable and receive an interpretation. There is a mystery about Jesus in Mark that is as difficult for the disciples to penetrate as for the crowds. In Matthew, as in Luke, there is a clear differentiation between the disciples and the crowds. Jesus does not simply reveal to the disciples what they did not understand; he offers an explanation why people have responded to him as they have.

The “explanation” that Jesus gives in response to the disciples’ question continues to distinguish between two groups of people, those who understand the mysteries of God’s kingdom and those who do not. The “explanation” is not irrelevant to the parable as it is interpreted in Matthew. The parable is about what happens to seed after it is sown in various environments. Some environments are resistant to the seed or too harsh for it to grow. There are a variety of things in a resistant environment that will prevent the seed from having the necessary time to thrive. In the same way, there is a variety of people who are exposed to the mysteries of the kingdom, but ultimately only two results: some perceive the mysteries and some fail to do so. The “explanation” does not address the factors in the hostile environment that limit the time that the mysteries of the kingdom have to take root and grow. But it does address the nature of the resistance with which the mysteries are met as well as the conditions under which perception and understanding are possible. The mysteries are of God’s kingdom and if anyone understands them, it is because God revealed them. God’s enabling is a necessary condition to understanding, but not a sufficient one. Many fail to understand, not because they have not heard, but because of their own resistance.

The interpretation of the parable continues the contrast between those who understand and those who don’t with special focus on the word, that is, the message that is given. The parable is interpreted in terms of the seed as the word of God that has been spoken to people whose hearts comprise a variety of environments for that word. But the word is not productive in every heart. Just as there are environments hostile to seed, so there are hearts that are unreceptive to God’s word. And just as there are creatures and forces of nature

¹⁹So also Daniel J. Harrington (1991, 199): “What especially concerned Matthew was Jesus’ reason for speaking in parables and the contrasting reactions to his parables.”

that will devour or otherwise prevent a seed from taking root and growing if it has not started to do so quickly, so there are spiritual beings and forces that will remove the opportunity for the word of God to be productive in a human heart if that heart provides a hostile environment. Kingsbury (1969, 51, 63) correctly saw that the context of Mt 13:1–23 includes a distinction between unbelieving Jews and the followers of Jesus. But he did not distinguish clearly between the activity of Jesus within the narrative of Matthew and Matthew's own activity in the text. He read the first part of the parable chapter (13:1–35) as having predominantly an apologetic function aimed at the unbelieving Jews. He also read the explanation and interpretation of the parable (vv. 10–23) as though they were addressed to the disciples of Matthew's day, not just to Jesus' disciples within the narrative. A secondary function of the interpretation in particular is the paraenetic function of urging sympathetic hearers to make sure that they hear the word aright and both know and do the will of God. This paraenetic function resembles the implied warning that du Plessis (1987, 53) saw "between the lines" of the text. A warning can be derived from this text, but we are perhaps safer to say with du Plessis that it is implied by the text rather than to say that warning is a function of the text in its own context, as the text of Mark is more likely to be. As for the dominant function of the text, du Plessis differs from Kingsbury in reading the text as a promise that even the lack of understanding is in accordance with God's plan and that the success of the word is assured in the end. On the basis of the field analysis alone, it is perhaps more precise simply to say that the text functions in its own context to explain why the word that Jesus proclaimed was fruitful in the lives of some people and not in others.

Whether this explanation functioned as an apologetic toward unbelieving Jews or as a promise for believers in a hostile environment the field analysis of this portion of text does not tell us. A field analysis of the entire gospel would tell us more about what Matthew was talking about and with regard to what. We can also expect to learn more about the function of the text with respect to addresser and addressee from an examination of the contextual variable tenor, an analysis of which I will take up in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Interpersonal Meanings and Tenor of Discourse

The context in which a text is produced includes more than “what is going on with regard to what.” It includes participants. A text may or may not explicitly identify the participants. However, something of the relationship between the participants is embedded in the text. This part of the context having to do with social relationships is the *tenor of discourse*. In the first chapter we defined tenor of discourse as the negotiation of social relationships among participants in social action (who are taking part in the exchange) and the interacting roles of those involved in the exchange of which the text is part. Tenor can be analyzed in terms of status, contact and affect (Poynton 1985).¹ Status relevant to tenor is the degree to which the participants in an exchange are equal or unequal in relation to one another. Contact between the participants is also measured on a cline between the extremes of frequent and occasional contact. Affect can be measured on two independent clines: high to low and positive to negative. Affect differs from status and contact in that it may be neutral, and thus not marked as either positive or negative (Martin 1992, 526, Figure 7.13). Status, contact and affect are each realized by interpersonal meanings in a text. In general, tenor can be identified as more formal — higher status or higher degree of status differential, lower degree of contact and/or lower degree of affect — or less formal — lower status or lower degree of status differential, higher degree of contact and/or higher degree of affect.

¹The specific definitions and descriptions of status, contact and affect used here are from Linda Gerot (1995, 66).

4.1 Interpersonal Meanings: Limitations on the Analysis of Written Texts

There are certain limitations in analyzing the tenor of an ancient text such as Matthew. It was noted in chapter one that information structure tends to be realized by patterns of tonic prominence. In the same way, interpersonal meanings that directly realize aspects of tenor (i.e., status, contact and affect) are themselves realized in part by intonation patterns, or “tone of voice.” As we have already noted, we do not have access to these intonation patterns. We are limited in the kinds of interpersonal meanings of which we can take account.

A further limitation is the relative nature of tenor. We have just noted that status, contact and affect are measured on clines. These aspects of tenor are relative to the particular participants and the particular situation. For example, the status of participants is higher or lower in relation to one another, not in relation to a fixed standard. Furthermore, just as intonation carries prosodically over multiple grammatical constituents, so tenor is not realized by any particular constituent but across whole texts. As J. R. Martin (1992, 528) puts it, “For the most part it is a pattern of interpersonal choices across a text which is meaningful, not the individual choices themselves. Indeed, the notion of reciprocity implies that a number of choices have to be examined from the perspective of different participants for tenor to be realised at all.” When analyzing an ancient written text, not only do we not have access to intonation, but we do not have access to responses and give-and-take as we do in conversational analysis. For example, “equal status among interlocutors is realised by them taking up the same kinds of choices whereas unequal status is realised by them taking up different ones” (Martin 1992, 527). While we can compare the interpersonal meanings across the text produced by interlocutors within the narrative of Matthew, Matthew’s Gospel does not include the responses of interlocutors.

Nevertheless, profitable analysis of tenor in our texts can be done. Suzanne Eggins (1994) applied her analysis of tenor to written as well as oral conversational texts, with a focus on interpersonal meanings at the clause level. She noted that imperative clauses functioned in a written text that was dominated by declarative clauses to signal that the declaratives were not just information but “advice,” i.e., goods and services. Thus the presence of the imperatives served as an indicator of the expert status of the writer. In the same text, ellipsis created a rhetorical interactive context, reducing the distance created by the status differential (Eggins 1994, 314). A text with a low level of modality indicates that the writer was not getting people to do things, but was rather offering information and/or goods and services (Eggins 1994, 315), also indicating a low degree of status and/or contact. Use of verbal modality rather than modal adjuncts indicates that the arguability of propositions centers on the degree of modality (Eggins 1994, 316), and thus also a high degree of status and/or contact. Furthermore, the higher the proportion of Adjuncts in a text, the higher the proportion of meanings made in the text are made as “non-core, non-arguable information” (Eggins 1994, 315). This has to do with strategies of

creating and protecting authority. It may be that the information was presented as non-arguable because it came from personal experience or that “the writer is making it more difficult for readers to dispute his claims” (Eggins 1994, 315). Conclusions such as these from written texts hold out promise that fruitful analysis of tenor in Matthew would be possible within the limitations that we have with ancient written texts. Our starting point is the recognition of interpersonal meanings realized in the grammar of clauses that tend to signal differences of status, degrees of contact and affect.

4.2 Status, Contact and Affect: Grammatical Realizations

Although his analysis of tenor focuses on conversation, in which the speech of participants can be compared, J. R. Martin offers a helpful list of grammatical signals of varying degrees of status, contact and affect. He distinguishes between dominance and deference as the extremes of the cline in exploring the realization of unequal status (Martin 1992, 528–529). A participant of dominant status tends not to use ellipsis, whereas a participant of deferential status tends to use ellipsis in answering to the dominant participant, thus not setting the agenda or terms of argumentation. Similarly, dominance is marked by polarity asserted versus the matched (agreeing) polarity of deference. From a position of dominance modalization tends to be high, but low from a deferential position. The dominant party tends to use modulation of obligation, the deferential party modulation of inclination. Another dominant characteristic is manifest expression of attitude, whereas concurring attitude is a characteristic of deference. Likewise, the dominant party presents comments whereas the deferential party invites comments. Use of familiar vocatives is dominant and use of respectful vocatives is deferential. Use of first person is characteristic of dominant, use of second person characteristic of deferential. The dominant initiates, challenges and controls turn-taking. The deferential responds, tracks and respects turn-taking. Eggins (1994, 193) expressed the idea of status as a question of who gets to do the talking both in terms of how often and for how long each time. Status is also reflected in the interpersonal functions at the level of the clause: what do speakers do when they get to talk? Do they give or demand? Typically, teachers demand information, students give it. Salespersons offer goods and services, clients demand them. Eggins (1994, 194) notes that modalization shows deference to a person of higher status as well as showing politeness in equal status situations or low contact situations.

The cline on which contact is measured ranges from involved to uninvolved. Patterns of involved contact vary by social activity — family, work and recreation — and by whether the contact is regular or occasional. Uninvolved contact includes phatic contact with neighbors and shopkeepers and one-time contact with strangers (Martin 1992, 530). Involved (informal) versus uninvolved (more formal) contact is realized in the grammar by use of minor versus major clauses,

Mood ellipsis² versus no ellipsis, Mood contraction versus no contraction, use of vocative versus no vocative, range of names versus single name, and nick-name versus full name. In the discourse semantics involved versus uninvolved contact is characterized by dialogue versus monologue, homophoric versus endophoric reference, and implicit versus explicit conjunction. Modalization can also signal interactants' recognition of infrequent contact between them as a politeness indicator rather than the speaker's judgments about probability (Egins 1994, 195).

Affect, unlike status and contact, is not always manifest in a text. It is more likely in equal status situations or at the discretion of the dominant party and in involved contact situations (Martin 1992, 533). Affect is realized in the grammar by iteration of exclamatives, comment adjuncts, minor expressive clauses, intensification repetition, prosodic nominal groups, diminutives, mental affection and manner degree. In discourse semantics, attitude is realized by lack of negotiation and challenging (Martin 1992, 535). Affect distinctions are made between satisfaction, security and fulfillment (positive) and discord, insecurity and frustration (negative). At the same time, affect can be distinguished as self-oriented or other-oriented and as predisposition or surge of affect.

In this chapter we will examine the grammatical devices that realize interpersonal meanings in our texts, focusing on meanings realized at the clause level. We will begin by examining the interpersonal meanings in the narrative frame and then in the direct discourse material — first the parable, then the rationale, then the interpretation — in the same way we examined experiential meanings in the previous chapter. We will draw conclusions about tenor both in the constructed context within the narrative involving Jesus, the disciples and the crowd as participants and the tenor of discourse that exists between Matthew and those to whom he was writing, seen primarily in the narrative frame. Unless we assume that Matthew was providing complete transcriptions of actual oral exchanges between Jesus, the disciples and the crowds, we must take into account the limited nature of the direct discourse material. We cannot expect it to provide the full range of interpersonal meanings as in a naturally occurring exchange, but a denser and more artificial set of meanings controlled by the narrator for his purposes. Nevertheless, the interpersonal meanings in the direct discourse material are a significant part of the overall meaning of the text. The tenor of the discourse between Jesus and other participants in the gospel is very much a part of the meaning of the overall narration. We will examine the implications of this for the tenor of the text as a whole in the conclusion to this chapter.

The interpersonal elements that realize tenor at the clause rank in the gospel texts will be displayed throughout this chapter in tables that are derived from interpersonal analyses of Matthew 13:1–23 and parallels, which are shown in

²By Mood is meant the elements of the clause that realize choices from the Mood system, namely the Subject and finite Predicate. These elements are frequently not repeated when a person of equal or lesser status in an exchange is responding and the Subject and finite Predicate are given in the utterance to which the person is responding.

the appendices.³ Only the structural elements that are directly relevant to the analysis of tenor will be displayed in the tables of interpersonal elements. Regardless of the order these elements actually occur in the texts, they will be displayed Adjuncts first, then Predicate, Subject and finally Complements. Adjuncts on the whole are not relevant to the analysis of interpersonal meanings at the clause rank.⁴ Interpersonal Adjuncts, however, have direct relevance and will be displayed, when they occur, in the first column of the tables. Interpersonal meanings are structured in clauses primarily in Predicates and Subjects. The Subject, as defined in chapter one, is the structural element in which is vested the success or failure of the assertion of a proposition. Complements are a part of the argument or assertion being made that could have been Subject but are not. The appendices from which these interpersonal elements are derived also provide lexical and grammatical glosses as well as free translations of each clause.

4.2.1 Status, Contact and Affect in the Narrative Frame

On the whole, the “tone” or tenor of the narrative frame, in which the exchange between Jesus, the crowd and the disciples takes place, is rather formal and lacking in interesting interpersonal features. We note first from Table 4.1 that there are no interpersonal Adjuncts, such as vocatives or indications of polarity, in Matthew’s narrative frame, nor are there any in Mark’s or Luke’s (see Table 4.2 and Table 4.3). Such a lack can be accounted for by distance between writer and reader, by higher status on the part of the writer, such as authority, or both. There is also a lack of affect, i.e., affect is not indicated.

Table 4.1: Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:1–3, 10, 11 (Narrative Frame)

PREDICATE ⁵	SUBJECT	COMPLEMENT
ἐκάθητο	ὁ Ἰησοῦς	
συνήχθησαν	ὄχλοι πολλοί	
εἰστήκει	παῖς ὁ ὄχλος	
ἐλάλησεν	[he] ⁶	αὐτοῖς πολλὰ
εἶπαν	οἱ μαθηταὶ	αὐτῷ
εἶπεν	ὁ ἀποκριθεὶς	αὐτοῖς

³Appendix A, beginning on p. 177, Appendix B, beginning on p. 197, and Appendix C, beginning on p. 215.

⁴The amount of information contained in Adjuncts is relevant to tenor indirectly insofar as information contained in Adjuncts is information that might have been put “at risk” in propositions or proposals but was not. The significance of this distribution of information will be discussed below.

⁵All Predicates in tables throughout this chapter are statements except where noted.

⁶Subjects implied by the verb morphology appear in brackets. Information in Predicate or Complements that has been ellipsed will also appear in brackets.

Table 4.2: Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:1–2, 9, 10–11, 13 (Narrative Frame)

PREDICATE	SUBJECT	COMPLEMENT(S)
ἤρξατο διδάσκειν	[he]	
συνάγεται	ὄχλος πλεῖστος	
ἦσαν	πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος	
ἐδίδασκεν	[he]	αὐτοὺς πολλά
ἔλεγεν	[he]	αὐτοῖς
ἔλεγεν	[he]	
ἡρώτων	οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα	αὐτὸν τὰσπαραβολὰς
[[ἐγένετο	[dummy subject]	κατὰ μόνας]]
ἔλεγεν	[he]	αὐτοῖς
λέγει	[he]	αὐτοῖς

Table 4.3: Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:4, 8, 9–10 (Narrative Frame)

PREDICATE	SUBJECT	COMPLEMENT
εἶπεν	[he]	
ἐφώνει	[he]	
ἐπηρώτων	οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ	αὐτὸν
εἶπεν	ὁ	

The Predicates are also lacking in interesting interpersonal features. All of the clauses in the narrative frames realize the exchange role of statement. There are no questions or imperatives. There are only straightforward assertions, offerings of information. There is no modality — no negation or denial, no implicit commands through modulation, and no softening of assertions through modalization, whether for reasons of uncertainty or of politeness. Again, these kinds of interpersonal meanings expressed through the Predicate are consistent with a formal tone. The exclusive use of statements indicates a giving of information in an authoritative way. The information is asserted in a manner in which it is expected to be readily accepted as authoritative and not to be negotiated.

The Subjects in the narrative frame also indicate a formal tenor. There are not any first or second person Subjects to indicate close interaction on a personal level. The Subjects are limited to the participants in the exchange to which the narrative frame gives context, namely Jesus, the crowd and the disciples. The only potential Subject aside from these three participants is a reference to the many things (πολλά) that Jesus is about to say to the crowd as reported in the narrative. Mark's narrative frame gives more prominence to the

⁷Double brackets surround embedded (non-ranking) clauses, the analyses of which follow the clauses in which they are embedded in the appendices.

crowd as Subject, i.e., makes more assertions the success or failure of which are vested in the crowd. In Luke's abbreviated narrative frame (only four major clauses), the crowd is not Subject at all. Assertions are only made concerning Jesus and the disciples.

Subjects, about which propositions are asserted, are also limited by placing information in Adjuncts.⁸ Table 4.4 shows the numbers of circumstantial and conjunctive Adjuncts, which account for all of the Adjuncts, in the narrative frames. Information in circumstantial Adjuncts is information that is potentially conveyed through propositions. Table 4.5 shows that a total of six infinitival and participial phrases are used as Adjuncts (circumstantial Adjuncts) in only six ranking clauses in the narrative frame of Matthew. These non-finite clauses communicate information without putting it "at risk." In other words, it is not the case that this information is asserted without expectation that it will be disputed, as it might have been using non-modalized propositions; rather, it is not asserted in a proposition that can be argued at all, but is "protected" information not open to dispute. This further enhances the authority with which the information of the narrative is conveyed. There is some contrast between Mark and the other gospels on this point. While the narrative is put forward by straightforward statements, much more of it is "put at risk" and much less conveyed through non-finite clauses in Mark. The effect of this is a less formal tone, less distance between writer and reader. Although the writer still projects a status of authority in delivering the narrative, perhaps the degree of dominant status is less than in Matthew and Luke. As we will see in the next chapter, the high proportion of circumstantial Adjuncts per ranking clause in Matthew and Luke also contributes to a higher density of information, a characteristic of a more "written" mode, also associated with a more formal tenor. The high proportion of Adjuncts in Mark, on the other hand, is accounted for by a high proportion of Conjunctive Adjuncts that do not increase the information density, but are associated with higher contact, less formal situations, and thus also with a more "oral" mode.

Table 4.4: Types of Adjuncts in the Narrative Frame

Type of Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Circumstantial	9	8	3
Conjunctive	5	9	3
total Adjuncts	14	17	6
total ranking clauses	6	9	4

⁸Adjuncts other than those that directly express interpersonal meanings (Mood, Polarity, Comment, etc.) do not appear in Tables displaying interpersonal structural elements of clauses in this chapter. See Appendices A, B and C for full analysis of Adjuncts.

Table 4.5: Types of Non-major Clauses in Adjuncts in the Narrative Frame

Type of Clause in an Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
infinitival phrase	2	1	0
participial phrase	4	0	2
embedded finite clause	0	1	1
total ranking clauses	6	9	4

4.2.2 Status, Contact and Affect in the Parable

As we have seen, the narrative frame is a rather small part of the text before us. Most of the text consists of direct discourse material. We saw in the previous chapter that the experiential meanings in the narrative frame indicate a teaching activity. This conclusion about the context of situation within the narrative is strengthened by the interpersonal meanings realized within the discourse material, but it is also modified. The teaching activity is understood as one in an expert role offering expert advice to non-experts (i.e., offering goods and services, not just information) rather than as one demanding information of another and then critiquing the information offered in return. Jesus' higher status as "expert" is realized in part by the fact that he "controls the floor" in the exchange that takes place in this text. He initiates the exchange and does not ask for information. Instead, he offers information, but the demands he makes on his hearers indicate that the information is in fact advice offered for their potential benefit.

The structural elements that realize interpersonal meanings at the clause rank in the parable in Matthew, Mark and Luke are displayed in Table 4.6, Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 respectively. These tables show structural elements for all finite clauses whether they are ranking clauses or embedded, in order to show all Subjects, Predicates and Interpersonal Adjuncts.⁹ From these Tables it becomes immediately obvious that there are more interpersonal elements in the parable than in the narrative framework in which it is set, although there are still not a large number of such elements. As in the narrative frame, most clauses are statements (the declarative ranking clauses in Table 4.9). The Subjects put at risk in these statements are predominantly seeds, but also the sower who sows them, birds that devour them and thorns that choke them. The critical difference is the third person imperative ἀκούετω 'one must hear!' with which the parable ends in all three gospels. The fact that this imperative is third person rather than second person indicates a greater distance and formality of the parable than it would have if the hearers were addressed directly rather than via the third person description ὁ ἔχων ὦτα 'the one having ears' (ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν 'the one having ears to hear' in Luke and ὃς ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν 'whoever has ears to hear' in Mark). Nevertheless, the force of the imperative at the end of the parable after all of the statements making up the parable turns the

⁹See note 16.

information into “advice” (Eggs 1994, 314), at the very least, and possibly also warning.

Table 4.6: Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:3–9 (Parable)

Adjunct	Predicate	Subject	Complement
ἰδοὺ	ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων	
	ἔπασεν	αὐτὸς	
	κατέφαγεν	τὰ πετεινὰ	αὐτά
	ἔπασεν	ἄλλα	
[[ὅπου οὐκ	εἶχεν	[it]	γῆν πολλήν]]
	ἐξάνειλεν	[it]	
	ἐκαυματίσθη	[it]	
	ἐξηράνθη	[it]	
	ἔπασεν	ἄλλα	
	ἀνέβησαν	αἱ ἄκανθαι	
	ἐπνιζαν	[they]	αὐτά
	ἔπασεν	ἄλλα	
	ἐδίδου	[it]	καρπὸν
	[was giving] ¹⁰	ὁ	ἐκατόν
	[was giving]	ὁ	ἐξήκοντα
	[was giving]	ὁ	τριάκοντα
	ἀκουέτω (command)	ὁ ἔχων ὦτα	

Table 4.7: Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:3–8 (Parable)

Adjunct	Predicate	Subject	Complement
	ἀκούετε (command)	[you all]	
ἰδοὺ	ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων	
	ἐγένετο ¹¹	[dummy subject]	
	ἔπασεν	ὁ	
	ἦλθεν	τὰ πετεινὰ	
	κατέφαγεν	[they]	αὐτό
	ἔπασεν	ἄλλο	
[[ὅπου οὐκ	εἶχεν	[it]	γῆν πολλήν]]
	ἐξάνειλεν	[it]	
	ἐκαυματίσθη	[it]	
[[	ἀνέτειλεν	ὁ ἥλιος]]
	ἐξηράνθη	[it]	
	ἔπασεν	ἄλλο	
	ἀνέβησαν	αἱ ἄκανθαι	
	συνέπνιζαν		αὐτό
οὐκ	ἔδωκεν	[it]	καρπὸν
	ἔπασεν	ἄλλα	

¹⁰Information that has been ellipsed from an elliptical clause appears in brackets.

ἐδίδου	[it]	καρπὸν
ἔφερεν	ἐν	τριάκοντα
[was bearing]	ἐν	ἐξήχοντα
[was bearing]	ἐν	ἐκατόν
ἀκουέτω (command)	ὅς ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν	

Table 4.8: Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:5–8 (Parable)

Predicate	Subject	Complement
ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖραι τὸν σὸρον αὐτοῦ	
ἔπεσεν	ὁ	
κατεπατήθη	[it]	
κατέφαγεν	τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	αὐτό
κατέπεσεν	ἕτερον	
ἐξηράνθη	[it]	
ἔπεσεν	ἕτερον	
ἀπέπνιξαν	αἱ ἄκανθαί	αὐτό
ἔπεσεν	ἕτερον	
ἐποίησεν	[it]	καρπὸν ἑκατονταπλασίονα
ἀκουέτω (command)	ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν	

This advice/warning tone of the parable is strengthened by the use of ἰδοὺ ‘look!’ at the beginning of the parable in Matthew and Mark, but not in Luke. Although I have analyzed its function as an interpersonal Adjunct, ἰδοὺ is second person imperative in form and carries this force whether understood as an interpersonal Adjunct or as an imperative (Geulich 1998, 192). Mark additionally has a prior second person imperative, ἀκούετε ‘hear!’ to open the parable. This does not have only the effect of enclosing the parable in a framework calling for attentive hearing (Geulich 1998, 195), which is also accomplished in Matthew and Luke without the opening imperative. Additionally, it raises the affect and contact level of the text by opening the parable not only with a command, but with a second person

Subject indicating that Jesus is demanding something directly from his hearers. The advice/warning tone of the parable is thus least subtle in Mark and most subtle in Luke. This lower level of affect and contact together with the lack of elliptical statements in Luke (see Table 4.9) indicate a more formal tenor in Luke than in Matthew or Mark.

¹¹There is a “Semitic idiom behind καὶ ἐγένετο with finite verb following temporal clause to express a past event” (Geulich 1998, 188). The idiom is a type of grammatical metaphor in which a circumstantial element describing the setting for the following text is realized as a separate clause with a dummy subject. The clause has been analyzed here literally rather than metaphorically.

Table 4.9: Mood in the Parable of the Sower (ranking clauses only)

Mood class	Matthew	Mark	Luke
full declarative	12	16	10
elliptical declarative	3	2	0
imperative	1	2	1
total ranking clauses	16	20	11

The Adjuncts in ranking clauses in the parable, shown in Table 4.10, are again revealing of the information that is conveyed in the parable but not made subject to argument by being expressed in propositions. There are a large number of circumstantial Adjuncts in the parable, indicating information that provides setting for the narrative of the parable but is not open to dispute. The circumstantials are in the highest proportion to the total number of ranking clauses in Luke, contributing to a higher lexical density, which is consistent with the generally more formal tone of Luke's parable. Luke keeps the parable from sounding completely written and formal through a high proportion of Conjunctive Adjuncts as well. While the proportion of Conjunctive Adjuncts are not as high in Matthew and Mark, the existence of negation, a Continuity Adjunct and the lower number of total Adjuncts (indicating lower lexical density) together indicate a less formal tenor.

Table 4.10: Types of Adjuncts in the Parable of the Sower

Type of Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Circumstantial	10	11	9
Polarity	1	1	0
Conjunctive	15	17	10
Continuity	1	1	0
total Adjuncts	27	30	19
total ranking clauses	16	21	11

Table 4.11 supports the conclusions reached on the basis of interpersonal elements that Luke is the most formal and Mark the least formal in the telling of the parable. A high proportion of infinitive and participial phrases as Adjuncts (one for every two ranking clauses) in Luke's version of the parable indicates a larger amount of information in each proposition. Less of the total information contained in Luke's parable is open to dispute than in Matthew (slightly less than one non-finite phrase for every three ranking clauses) and even less than in Mark (slightly more than one infinitival or participial phrase for every four ranking clauses). Once again the degree of contact and/or the higher status differential between participants in the context of situation is greatest in Luke's text and least in Mark's by comparison.

Table 4.11: Types of Non-major Clauses in Adjuncts in the Parable of the Sower

Type of Clause in an Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
infinitival phrase	3	4	2
participial phrase	2	2	3
embedded finite clause	1	2	0
total ranking clauses	16	20	11

4.2.3 Status, Contact and Affect in the Parable Rationale

The pattern of interpersonal meanings shifts somewhat in Matthew with the disciples' question to Jesus following the parable. The exchange is no longer between Jesus and the crowds, but between Jesus and his disciples. One aspect of tenor that does not change in this shift is that the status between Jesus and those with whom he is interacting is clearly unequal. We can note immediately the obvious interpersonal markers of status differential between the interactants in this part of Matthew's text. Most obvious is the sheer volume of direct discourse attributed to Jesus. This part of our text is an exchange between the disciples and Jesus in which their utterance totals one ranking clause and his totals 33 ranking clauses; to say that Jesus "controls the floor" in this conversation is an understatement. In addition, the meanings expressed in the discourse of both the disciples and Jesus show Jesus to have a higher status than the disciples, although the degree of contact is also high, reducing the overall level of formality of the text. We note first that the disciples' only speech is in the form of a question (the first line of Table 4.12), which Jesus answers at length. They use second person forms referring to him and he uses first person forms referring to himself, as well as second person forms referring to them. In this exchange, they are oriented toward him and their speech functions to demand information from him. In contrast, he is not oriented to them to the same extent, but is self-referential in his speech, and his speech functions to offer information. Apart from the control of the exchange Jesus exercises by holding the floor, then, the interpersonal meanings realized by speech function and person also establish status differential in favor of Jesus.

Table 4.12: Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:11–17 (Rationale)

Adj	Predicate	Subject	Compl.
Διὰ τί	λαλεῖς (question)	[you]	αὐτοῖς
	[λαλῶ] ¹²	[I]	[αὐτοῖς]
	δέδοται (answer)	γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν	ὑμῖν
οὐ	δέδοται (answer)	[it]	ἐχέειν

¹²In this case an entire ranking clause has been ellipsed. See the discussion of ellipsis in this text below.

	ἔχει	ὅστις	[it]
	δοθήσεται	[it]	αὐτῷ
	περισσευθήσεται	[it]	
οὐκ	ἔχει	ὅστις	[it]
	ἄρθήσεται	καὶ ὁ ἔχει	ἅπ' αὐτοῦ
[[	ἔχει	[he]	ὁ]]
	λαλῶ (answer)	[I]	αὐτοῖς
οὐ	βλέπουσιν	[they]	
οὐκ	ἀκούουσιν	[they]	
οὐδὲ	συνίουσιν	[they]	
	ἀναπληροῦται	ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου	
		ἡ λέγουσα	αὐτοῖς
οὐ μὴ	ἀκούσετε	[you all]	
	συνῆτε (modalized)	[you all]	
	βλέψετε	[you all]	
οὐ μὴ	ἴδητε (modalized)	[you all]	
	ἐπαχύνῃ	ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου	
	ἤκουσαν	[they]	
	ἐκάμυσαν	[they]	τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν
μήποτε	ἴδωσιν (modalized)	[they]	
[μήποτε]	ἀκούσωσιν (mod.)	[they]	
[μήποτε]	συνῶσιν (mod.)	[they]	
[μήποτε]	ἐπιστρέψωσιν (mod.)	[they]	
[μήποτε]	ἰάσομαι (mod.)	[I]	αὐτούς
	[are]	ὕμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ	μακάριοι
	βλέπουσιν	[they]	
	[are]	τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν	[μακάριοι]
	ἀκούουσιν	[they]	
ἀμὴν	λέγω	[I]	ὕμῖν
	ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν	πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι	ἃ βλέπετε
[[	βλέπετε	[you all]	ἃ]]
οὐκ	εἶδαν	[they]	
	[ἐπεθύμησαν] ἰδεῖν	[πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι]	ἃ ἀκούετε
[[	ἀκούετε	[you all]	ἃ]]
οὐκ	ἤκουσαν	[they]	

The presence of first and second person forms in the direct discourse indicates degree of contact as well as status differential. Jesus' initial answer to their question contains a second person reference and he refers to them with second person references several times in his reply to them, especially toward the end of the rationale when he pronounces them blessed. The fact that he does make statements about them using second person forms (especially since the nature of their question was not about themselves) softens the status gap that exists between them and indicates a degree of contact higher than is indicated in Jesus'

speech to the crowd in the parable.¹³

The situation is somewhat different in Mark (see Table 4.13 apart from the fact that Jesus' answer is considerably shorter than in Matthew. We have already seen in the previous chapter that the experiential meanings in the narrative frame do not as clearly distinguish between Jesus' disciples and the rest of the crowd as is done in Matthew. Furthermore, a conversation as such is not recorded, and the question put to Jesus (by "those around him with the twelve") as indicated in the narrative frame is not clear. What is clear is that they asked about the parable. What Jesus says in Mk 4:11–12, then, does not seem to be to the point of what is asked, but the interpretation following does seem to be to the point. Jesus does immediately address those around him in the second person and distinguishes them from "those on the outside" to whom the mysteries of God's kingdom will not come through this interpretation of the parable. On the whole the tenor of the situation is not very different in Mark than in Matthew. The major difference is that the addressees to whom Jesus relates in Mark seem to be a subset of those addressed by the parable rather than entirely distinct from them as in Matthew. As a result, the change or difference in tone from the parable to the rationale is less in Mark than in Matthew.

Table 4.13: Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:11–12 (Rationale)

Adjunct	Predicate	Subject	Complement
	δέδοται	τὸ μυστήριον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ	ὑμῖν
	γίνεται	τὰ πάντα	ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔξω
	βλέπωσιν (modalized)		
μὴ	ἴδωσιν (mod.)	[they]	
	ἀκούωσιν (mod.)	[they]	
μὴ	συνιῶσιν (mod.)	[they]	
μήποτε			
(possibility)	ἐπιστρέψωσιν (mod.)	[they]	
	ἄφελῃ (mod.)	[it]	αὐτοῖς

The distinction between the parable and the rationale section is strongest in Luke in terms of the relationship between the participants and their speech roles (see Table 4.14). Like Matthew, and unlike Mark, Luke clearly distinguishes the disciples from those to whom the parable was addressed. Luke also makes clear the nature of the question asked by the disciples. However, like Mark, and unlike Matthew, the rationale for speaking in parables does not answer the question and is even briefer in Luke than in Mark. Thus Jesus comes more quickly to the point of the question in Luke, which is the interpretation

¹³ "There is a clear line between the disciples of Jesus and the others" (Harrington 1991, 195). This line is indicated by the interpersonal meanings in the text.

of the parable. The speech functions of Jesus' immediate response, prior to turning to the interpretation, heightens the difference in tone between the formal language of the parable addressed to the crowd and the informal language addressed to the disciples. Because it is clear that the question concerns the parable (not the reason for speaking in parables), the immediate reply is not an answer supporting the questioner but a disclaimer confronting the questioner. Confronting responses indicate a lower degree of formality — either more equal status between participants, higher degree of contact or higher degree of affect. In light of the unequal status indicated by the overall direct discourse text (as in the other gospels, the disciples demand and Jesus offers information, and Jesus controls the floor) it is likely that this disclaimer indicates a high degree of affect and/or a degree of contact between Jesus and the disciples that is not evident between Jesus and the crowd.

Table 4.14: Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:10 (Rationale)

pol	Predicate	Subject	Complement
	εἶη (question, modalized)	αὕτη ἡ παραβολή	τίς
	δέδοται (disclaimer)	γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ	ὑμῖν
	[has been given]	[this]	τοῖς λοιποῖς
μὴ	βλέπωσιν (modalized)	[they]	
μὴ	συνιῶσιν (modalized)	[they]	

The Subjects at risk in the propositions asserted by Jesus in Matthew refer predominantly to those to whom Jesus spoke the parable (see Table 4.12). The initial propositions in Jesus' answer assert that the Subject γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν 'to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens' is given to the disciples but not to those to whom the parable was spoken, setting up a contrast between those who possess knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom and those who do not. Most of the propositions that follow make assertions concerning those who are not given and thus do not possess it, including second person references in the citation from Isaiah, which also refer, indirectly, to those to whom Jesus addressed the parable. While Jesus speaks directly to and about his disciples, then, most of what he says is given to making assertions about those to whom the parable was spoken. This also indicates Jesus' control of the content of the conversation and thus also of his status relative to the disciples. The major difference between Matthew and the other accounts on this point is that Matthew's text greatly expands the number of propositions with Subjects referring to the addressees of the parable and these propositions are directly relevant to answering the question asked of Jesus by the disciples.

A further indication of a less formal status is ellipsis present in the text (see Table 4.15). In the beginning of Jesus' response to the disciples' question, an entire ranking clause has been ellipsed. In a very formal context (especially in a written mode), the question, "Why are you speaking to them in parables?"

might be answered: “I am speaking to them in parables because. . .” In normal, usually informal, conversation, the answer begins, as it does here, with “Because. . .” The Modal Adjunct *μήποτε* ‘lest’ is ellipsed after the first of five clauses with modalized verbs. The other ellipses are toward the end of Jesus’ reply when he is talking about the disciples in the second person once again: v. 16 καὶ [μακάριοι] τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν ‘and [blessed are] your ears,’ and v. 17 καὶ [ἐπεθύμησαν] ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε ‘and [they long] to hear what you hear.’ Each instance of ellipsis, with the exception of the string of subjunctive verbs negated by *μήποτε*, is also in proximity to second person forms (as is the single instance of ellipsis in Luke). In fact, the highest concentration of interpersonal meanings in the text is in vv. 16–17. The makarism is addressed to the hearers with second person reference¹⁴ and includes an ellipsed clause. It is immediately followed by the clause ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν ‘For truly I say to you.’ This clause includes both a first person and a second person reference and a Mood Adjunct of intensification (ἀμὴν ‘truly’) as well. This clause projects clauses, including another ellipsed one, which favorably compare those addressed with many prophets and righteous ones who preceded them.¹⁵ These verses contribute greatly to the lower degree of formality of the text as a whole.

Table 4.15: Mood in the Rationale for the Parables (ranking clauses only, not including initiating question)

Mood class	Matthew	Mark	Luke
full declarative	30	8	3
elliptical declarative	3 ¹⁶	0	1
total ranking clauses	33	8	4

Another major indication of the shift in interpersonal meanings from the parable to the rationale is modality. Table 4.16 shows a high proportion of modalization and negation in all three gospels. The modalized verbs (subjunctive mood forms in the finite verbs in this text) realize varying degrees of certainty about the possibility of what is asserted. The proportion of total modalization (verbal and in Adjuncts, shown in Table 4.17) is considerably higher in Mark and Luke than in Matthew because Matthew has considerably more propositions in addition to what appears in the others, most of which are not modalized. A large number of these additional propositions (compared to Mark) are marked for polarity, i.e., they assert what is not rather than what is. It is noteworthy that all of the modalized verbs are also marked for po-

¹⁴“Matthew’s ὑμῶν is emphatic” (Davies & Allison 1991, 395).

¹⁵Verse 16 contains a description of “the blessedness of those who have been granted the privilege of knowing the mysteries of God’s kingdom” (Harrington 1991, 196).

¹⁶This figure does not include the four clauses dominated by *μήποτε* ‘lest’ in v. 15 that do not themselves repeat the negative mood adjunct, nor does it include major clauses with implied participants, e.g. implicit subjects.

larity,¹⁷ indicating that impossibility rather than possibility is being asserted. The modalized negatives carry a change in tone from a non-modalized negative. The tone especially comes through in the use of οὐ μή in v. 14 (οὐ μή συνῆτε ‘you shall by no means perceive’ and οὐ μή ἴδῃτε ‘you shall by no means see’). It contrasts with a simple negated indicative (e.g., οὐ συνίσουσιν ‘you will not perceive’), realizing a high degree of affect. Use of such Modal Adjuncts as οὐ μή, μήποτε and ἄμην heightens the affect of the whole text greatly.

Table 4.16: Modality and Polarity in the Rationale for the Parables (expressed through Predicate constituents)

Type	Matthew	Mark	Luke
modalization	7	6	2
negation	9	2	2
total ranking clauses	33	8	4

Table 4.17: Expressions of Modality in the Rationale for the Parables

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
modalization (verbal)	7	6	2
Mood Adjunct: probability	1	1	0
Mood Adjunct: intensification	1	0	0
total expressions of modality	9	7	2
total ranking clauses	33	8	4

The amount of information distributed in Adjuncts, shown in Table 4.18, is of similar proportions to the information in the parable. The Mood and Polarity Adjuncts, discussed above, are present here, in contrast to the parable. Aside from this, the major difference in the distribution of information in Adjuncts from the parable is the lower proportion of circumstantial Adjuncts in the rationale compared to the parable. As noted above, the higher proportion corresponds to setting and background information in narrative which is intended to be information that is simply given and not subject to challenge. There is less of such information in the rationale, indicating that a higher proportion of information is asserted in propositions and therefore “at risk,” or subject to argumentation. The contrast is even more evident in regard to information in non-finite clauses. In 33 ranking clauses in Matthew’s version of the rationale for the parables, only two participial phrases appear as Adjuncts, as shown in Table 4.19.

¹⁷This includes considering the negating effect of μήποτε ‘lest’ in v. 15 over the string of five subjunctive verbs from ἴδωσιν ‘they should see’ to ἰάσομαι ‘I should heal.’

Table 4.18: Types of Adjuncts in the Rationale for the Parables

Type of Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Circumstantial	13	3	3
Mood	2	1	0
Polarity	9	2	2
Conjunctive	29	6	3
total Adjuncts	53	12	8
total ranking clauses	33	8	4

Table 4.19: Participial Phrases as Adjuncts in the Rationale for the Parables

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
participial phrase	2	2	3
total ranking clauses	33	8	4

4.2.4 Status, Contact and Affect in the Parable Interpretation

Having answered the question asked by the disciples in Matthew, Jesus turns to explaining the parable itself. As we noted in the previous chapter, the interpretation seems gratuitous in Matthew, arising more from the logic of his answer to the disciples' question than as an answer to the question itself. They asked why Jesus was speaking to the people in parables. His answer distinguished between those to whom it was given to know the mysteries of the kingdom and those to whom it was not given. Since the disciples who asked and to whom the answer was directed were identified as those to whom it was given, the interpretation itself, addressed also to the disciples, illustrates that knowledge and understanding is indeed given to them.¹⁸ As it turns out, the interpretation also illustrates the distinction between those who are given to understand — in them the word bears fruit — and those who are not given to understand — in them the word does not bear fruit, for a variety of reasons.

The nature of interpersonal meanings realizing tenor in the interpretation resembles the parable more than it does the rationale. The tone is less intense than in the rationale, but still somewhat less formal than in the parable itself. This can be accounted for by the fact that the interpretation is addressed to the disciples, whereas the parable was addressed to the crowd. The interpretation as a whole puts at risk Subjects that correspond to those of the parable itself, namely the word, which is what is sown, and various “enemies” of the word

¹⁸ “The initial ὑμεῖς, ‘you,’ [in v. 18] is emphatic and reinforces the privilege of the disciples alone to know ‘the mysteries of the kingdom’” (Hagner 1993, 379).

that keep it from bearing fruit. The disciples are only Subject in the opening imperative (see Table 4.20), in which the second person reference to them is not put at risk in an assertion but in a proposal, the success or failure of which rests with the acceptance or rejection of the proposed behavior. We will return to the significance of the imperative below. From the Subjects alone we note a return to a higher degree of formality in which assertions are being made about third person Subjects with a lower incidence of first and second person references.

Table 4.20: Interpersonal Elements in Mt 13:18–23 (Interpretation)

Adj	Predicate	Subject	Complement
	ἀκούσατε (offer)	ὑμεῖς	τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείραντος
	ἔρχεται ἀρπάζει	ὁ πονηρὸς [he]	τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ
	ἐστίν	οὗτός	ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς
	ἐστίν	ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός	ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθύς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν
οὐκ	ἔχει	[it]	ρίζαν
	ἐστίν	[it]	πρόσκαιρός
	σκανδαλίζεται	[it]	
	ἐστίν	ὁ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρεῖς, οὗτός	ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων
	συμπνίγει	ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶ- νος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου	τὸν λόγον
	γίνεται	[it]	ἄκαρπος
	ἐστίν	ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρεῖς, οὗτός	ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς
δὴ	καρποφορεῖ	ὁς	
	ποιεῖ	[it]	
	[makes]	ὁ	ἑκατόν
	[makes]	ὁ	ἑξήχοντα
	[makes]	ὁ	τριάχοντα

The use of first and second person references in Mark's version of the interpretation is similar to that in Matthew (see Table 4.21). The Subjects at risk in the interpretation correspond to the Subjects at risk in the parable, and a connection is made directly to "those around him with the Twelve" by second person forms only at the outset of the interpretation. In Mark there are two such clauses at the beginning, and a question is asked of the disciples instead of a command as in Matthew. We will take up the significance of the speech roles below.

Table 4.21: Interpersonal Elements in Mk 4:13–20 (Interpretation)

Adj	Predicate	Subject	Complement
οὐκ	οἶδατε	[you all]	τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην
πῶς	γνώσεσθε (quest.)	[you]	πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς
	σπείρει	ὁ σπείρων	τὸν λόγον
	εἰσιν	οὗτοι	οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν· ὅπου σπείρεται ὁ λόγος
[[	σπείρεται	ὁ λόγος]]
	ἔρχεται	ὁ Σατανᾶς	
[[ὅταν	ἀκούσωσιν (mod.)	[they]]]
	αἶρει	[he]	τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρ- μένον εἰς αὐτούς
	εἰσιν	οὗτοί	οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπειρόμενοι
	λαμβάνουσιν	οἱ	αὐτόν
[[ὅταν	ἀκούσωσιν (mod.)	[they]	τὸν λόγον]]
οὐκ	ἔχουσιν	[they]	ρίζαν
	εἰσιν	[they]	πρόσκαιροί
	σκανδαλίζονται	[they]	
	εἰσὶν	ἄλλοι	οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι·
	εἰσιν	οὗτοί	οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες
	συμπνίγουσιν	αἱ μέρμναι τοῦ αἰῶ- νος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυ- μίαι εἰσπορευόμεναι	τὸν λόγον
	γίνεται	[it]	ἄκαρπος
	εἰσιν	ἐκεῖνοί	οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες
	ἀκούουσιν	οἵτινες	τὸν λόγον
	παραδέχονται	[they]	
	καρποφοροῦσιν	[they]	
	[bears]	ἐν	τριακόντα
	[bears]	ἐν	ἑξήκοντα
	[bears]	ἐν	ἑκατόν

The more formal tone of the text in Luke continues in the interpretation. There are no first or second person forms, no direct references to speaker or addressees in Luke's version of the interpretation (see Table 4.22). As in the other gospels, the Subjects at risk correspond to those of the parable that is interpreted.

Table 4.22: Interpersonal Elements in Lk 8:11–15 (Interpretation)

pol	Predicate	Subject	Complement
	ἔστιν	αὕτη	ἡ παραβολή
	ἐστὶν	ὁ σπόρος	ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ
	εἰσιν	οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν	οἱ ἀκούσαντες
	ἔρχεται	ὁ διάβολος	
	αἶρει	[he]	τὸν λόγον
μὴ	σωθῶσιν (modalized) [are]	[they] οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας	οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον
οὐκ	ἔχουσιν	οὗτοι	ρίζαν
	πιστεύουσιν	οἱ	
	ἀφίστανται	[they]	
	εἰσιν	τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας πεσόν, οὗτοί	οἱ ἀκούσαντες
	συμπνίγονται	[they]	ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου
οὐ	τελεσφοροῦσιν	[they]	
	εἰσιν	τὸ ἐν τῇ καλῇ γῇ, οὗτοί	οἵτινες ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ
	κατέχουσιν καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν	[they]	

With the imperative in v. 18, the text of Matthew appears to return to interpersonal meanings consistent with the expert/teaching role that Jesus has in relation to the crowd in the parable. My analysis suggests, however, that the imperative is not a demand for goods and services (i.e., a demand that the disciples hear what follows), but an offer of information metaphorically expressed as a command. Expressing the offer with an imperative instead of with future tense in this case realizes a higher degree of speaker's status and degree of contact between Jesus and the disciples.¹⁹ The whole interpretation offers information, namely line by line interpretation of the parable. It is not as clear in the interpretation as in the parable that advice (goods and services) is being offered. The offering of information is just that — information. Status is also indicated in that Jesus offers but does not request information of the disciples.

Note the speech roles in Table 4.23, where it appears that the situation is

¹⁹In English, an offer is congruently expressed as a modalized question (e.g., “Would you like some cake?”) and is more often made by someone of inferior status to someone of higher status. In a situation in which the party of equal or higher status is making an offer to someone with whom there is a high degree of contact, the offer is also expressed by an imperative (e.g., “Have some cake!”).

different in Mark. In Mark Jesus begins the interpretation with a question instead of a command. However, the literal question in this case is perhaps best understood as a grammatical metaphor. The question does not demand information so much as it chastises the addressees.²⁰ The question (καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε; ‘and how will you know all the parables?’) following the negative assertion (οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην ‘you do not know this parable’) might be more congruently expressed as a modalized inferential statement (negated possibility — “Therefore you cannot know any of the parables,” — or negated probability — “Therefore, you likely will not know any of the parables.”). The “question” is actually an assertion of a lack of understanding of parables on the part of the disciples. The expression of this assertion metaphorically as a question gives it the tone of chastisement. A true question from Jesus would indicate a closing of the status gap between him and his addressees. This chastisement does decrease the degree of formality, but in the direction of higher affect and/or higher degree of contact rather than more equal status. Perhaps in this rhetorical question Mark comes closest of the gospels to making Jesus the expert more truly Jesus the teacher.

Table 4.23: Mood in the Interpretation of the Parable (ranking clauses only)

Mood class	Matthew	Mark	Luke
full declarative	13	18	15
elliptical declarative	3	3	0
full interrogative	0	1	0
imperative	1	0	0
total ranking clauses	17	22	15

Luke’s version of the interpretation is also less formal than his version of the parable notwithstanding the lack of elliptical declaratives (see Table 4.23) and the lack of the second person Subjects that Matthew has in the opening imperative and Mark has in the opening rhetorical question. Verbal modalization and negation, though sparse, is nevertheless present, in contrast to the parable, and indicates a higher degree of contact. In addition to the modalization indicated in Table 4.24, Luke also has a modalized verb in a non-ranking (embedded) clause, and Mark has two such embedded modalized clauses. The modality and polarity softens the formality of unequal status between master and disciple with higher contact than exists between teacher and crowds in the parable, although not to the same degree as when combined with the more “oral” features of ellipsis and second person Subjects as in Mark.

²⁰The demand that the disciples listen realized by the imperative in Matthew is “softer” than the “question” posed in Mark. “Matthew has toned down the passage; it is no longer so harsh on the disciples” (Davies & Allison 1991, 399).

Table 4.24: Modality and Polarity in the Interpretation (expressed through Predicator constituents)

Type	Matthew	Mark	Luke
modalization (verbal)	0	0	1
negation	1	2	3
total ranking clauses	17	22	15

Adjuncts (Table 4.25) also reflect the similarity between the parable and the interpretation with regard to interpersonal meanings. Circumstantial Adjuncts reflect the narrative structure of the text being interpreted, often giving the “setting” of the allegorically interpreted events. For example, the Adjunct γενομένης θλίψεως ἧ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον ‘when affliction or persecution comes because of the word’ provides the setting in time for the event σκανδαλίζεται ‘it is tripped up’ (Mt 13:21). This maintains the narrative structure of what is being interpreted: ἡλίου ἀνατείναντος ‘when the sun came up’ (setting in time) ἐκαυματίσθη ‘it was burned up’ (narrative event) (Mt 13:6). The lower number of circumstantial Adjuncts in ranking clauses of Matthew is due to the fact that many of the elements of setting are interpreted in embedded clauses within the ranking relational clauses. We should also note that in addition to the Mood and Polarity Adjuncts that have already been mentioned in relation to modality, the Comment Adjunct in Matthew also realizes an interpersonal meaning. The particle δὲ (Mt 13:23) expresses the attitude of the speaker inserted into the assertion: it (the word heard and understood) *indeed* bears fruit.²¹

Table 4.25: Types of Adjuncts in the Interpretation of the Parable

Type of Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Circumstantial	4	10	10
Mood	0	1 ²²	0
Comment	1	0	0
Polarity	1	2	3
Conjunctive	13	15	11
total Adjuncts	18	27	24
total ranking clauses	17	22	15

Although the circumstantial elements, which describe settings for processes, are about the same in the interpretation as in the parable, fewer of those circum-

²¹Cf. Davies & Allison, who understand the referent of the Subject to be the one who hears and understands rather than the word that is heard and understood: “Matthew has inserted δὲ... The usage is classical: ‘he is just the man who’” (Davies & Allison 1991, 402).

²²The Mood Adjunct in a ranking clause in this text part is at the same time a circumstantial Adjunct. Πῶς ‘how’ is both an interrogative word (and thus a Mood Adjunct) and an adverb of manner (and thus a circumstantial Adjunct). For this reason the Adjunct total is 27 and not 28. Note in Table 4.2 that there are two additional Mood Adjuncts that are at the same time circumstantial Adjuncts corresponding to the two modalized verbs in embedded clauses.

stantial elements are expressed in non-finite clauses (compare Table 4.26 with Table 4.11). No infinitival phrases are used in the interpretation and about the same number of participial phrases. Overall, less information is included without being put at risk in the form of propositions. This is consistent with the somewhat less formal tenor of the interpretation compared to the parable that is indicated by other interpersonal meanings.

Table 4.26: Types of Non-major Clauses as Adjuncts in the Parable Interpretation

Type of Clause in an Adjunct	Matthew	Mark	Luke
participial phrase	3	1	3
embedded finite clause	0	2	1
total ranking clauses	17	22	15

4.3 Summary and Conclusions

The analysis of tenor in this chapter has followed divisions of the text according to logical meanings established in the previous chapter. In so doing, it has followed a pattern of interpersonal meanings as well. We began with the narrative frame, which provides the context within which the exchange internal to the narrative takes place. Next, we examined the actual discourse, beginning with what Jesus addressed to the crowds and proceeding to the exchange between Jesus and his disciples.

The narrative frame is quite formal in its tenor. The relationship between writer and reader is characterized by the distance between one authorized to tell a story and a potentially broad audience for the story — high status differential, low degree of contact and low affect. The information is asserted about third person subjects in declarative clauses and the information density reflects the authoritative conveying of information which is expected to be accepted as authoritative and is not subject to challenge. This is not all there is to be said about the relationship between the author and readers, however. We will consider below how the tenor of the discourse within the narrative relates to the tenor of the instantial situation in which the gospel was produced.

The parable itself can be characterized as teaching, but not the sort of interactive teaching in which the nature of the exchange is for the teacher to demand information and the students to give it in response. Rather it is a sort of teaching in which expert advice (goods and services, not simply information) is offered. The text is a narrative very much like the narrative frame itself, but the predominantly third person declarative clauses are supplemented by the closing imperative, resulting in the advice-giving tenor. Thus the goods and services offered in the form of the parable comes to the hearers from a position of higher status. This formal tenor is tempered somewhat in Mark by the use of second person imperative forms. The overall effect is more demanding of the hearers, realizing a higher degree of contact and/or affect. By way of contrast,

Luke's shorter version of the parable realizes the lowest degree of contact, and generally most formal tenor.

The rationale for the parables comes in response to a question by the disciples. Beginning with the question, then, there is a shift from the crowd to the disciples as participant in the exchange with Jesus. There is still a status differential, with Jesus holding the higher status. The distinction between the crowd and the disciples is not as strong in Mark, where perhaps the disciples are a subset of the crowd to which the parable was addressed. Although there is a difference in tenor between the parable and the rationale in all three gospels, the difference is less pronounced in Mark, but more pronounced in Luke. In Matthew the disciples use second person forms and Jesus uses both first and second person forms — they are talking about each other as well as to each other. This indicates a higher degree of contact, closer interaction than in the parable. Jesus' higher status is indicated in part by the fact that he controls the floor in the exchange, even giving information that was not demanded. Matthew also indicates a higher degree of affect by the use of modality. Although Luke does not have vocatives or second person address, the initial disclaimer in response to the disciples' question indicates a closer degree of contact than is present in the parable.

The tenor of the interpretation of the parable is more formal than the rationale that precedes it, but less formal than the parable. A degree of authority, and therefore of higher status of the speaker, is evident in the narrative nature that the interpretation of the parable retains and in the fact that the interpretation is offered as expert information. The information is offered gratuitously in Matthew, more like the parable itself than like the rationale, which was in answer to a question. The interpretation illustrates the answer to the disciples' question in that it is given to the disciples to understand, but is not given to the others. The tenor of the interpretation is less formal than the parable because of the difference in audience. The information is conveyed without the slight negative affect (warning) conveyed by the final imperative attached to the parable. However, whereas the subtle negative affect in the parable heightens the status differential, the imperative expressing an offer of information and the second person references in the interpretation indicate a higher degree of contact and perhaps less status differential, but in any case less formal tenor in the interpretation than in the parable.

In conclusion, the tenor of the discourse within the narrative can be summed up as a master/disciple/audience interaction in Matthew. Du Plessis concluded that the pragmatical force of the discourse was to create a relationship between Jesus and the disciples in which he was dominant and they were dependent on him (du Plessis 1987, 53). We have seen in this chapter that the interpersonal meanings in the text realize a status differential in which Jesus holds an authoritative position in relationship to both the crowd and the disciples. However, the degree of contact between Jesus and the disciples is much closer than it is between Jesus and the crowd and a degree of affect is present in Jesus' interaction with the disciples that is not present in his interaction with the crowd. The disciples are those who are not only dependent on Jesus for authoritative

information, but are in a position to request information from him with the expectation that he will indeed give them what he has to offer. The crowd is an audience that is not in a high-contact relation to the master so as to ask questions and receive explanations. The relationships between Jesus and the two groups (the disciples and the crowds) as reflected in the interpersonal meanings of the text are also reflective of the experiential meanings of the text. The degree of contact is reflected in the fact that the disciples ask Jesus for an explanation of why he is speaking in parables to the crowd rather than asking for an explanation of the parable. In Mark and Luke the disciples are in the same position as everyone else both in regard to their lack of understanding of the parable and in their need to ask in order to receive an explanation. The greater degree of contact between Jesus and the disciples in both Mark and Luke might be accounted for by the fact that they asked the question, whereas the question in Matthew and the extensive answer to it indicates a degree of contact that already existed between master and disciples that does not hold between the master and the assembled audience.

Matthew's interpersonal meanings within the narrative frame, as we have seen, indicate the tenor of a storyteller who has some authority to relate this particular story to an audience, in the same way, perhaps, that a preacher is authorized to proclaim the word to a congregation. The word that Matthew proclaims to his congregation takes the form of a story about Jesus and those with whom he interacted. An analysis of tenor cannot resolve the issue whether or not the disciples are "transparent" in Matthew, standing in for Matthew's own community (Luz 1995). Nor does Matthew address words of Jesus (or any other character in his story) directly to the reader, i.e., "Jesus says to you. . . ." ²³ We must determine the nature of the relationship that held between the evangelist and those for whom he wrote, as it is realized through interpersonal meanings, primarily from the narrative frame.

However, the tenor apparent in the narrative frame leaves us with the conclusion that the discourse of Jesus within the narrative is conveyed to the reader with the same degree of authority as the rest of the story, and therefore represents who Jesus is according to the evangelist. The tenor of Jesus' own discourse presents him as an authoritative master in relation to all, but having close contact with those who are his disciples. If those to whom Matthew told the story are to accept the ending to his story, that Jesus was raised from the dead and told his disciples that he was with them always, then the tenor of Jesus' discourse leaves them either in relation to a living Jesus as the crowds were or as the disciples to the Master. In other words, the tenor of Jesus' discourse defines his relationship to those to whom Matthew is writing. It is not so much a matter of the disciples being transparent. Rather, Jesus' relates to all his disciples in the same way, whether they are the ones about whom Matthew is telling his story or the ones to whom Matthew is telling it. Daniel J. Harrington (1991, 201) wrote that, "the 'insider' status of the Matthean community is strengthened by the sayings about Jesus' use of parables (13:10–17)." What we can say on the

²³Matthew does not address the reader directly with second person forms at all.

basis of the tenor of the discourse is that the insider status of the disciples is strengthened by what Jesus says. To the extent that Matthew's readers (presumably what Harrington means by the "Matthean community") identify with the disciples, or identify themselves as Jesus' disciples, Harrington's statement holds true. The tenor of the discourse within the narrative becomes a part of the experiential meanings of the whole narrative.

Chapter 5

Textual Meanings and Mode of Discourse

Mode of discourse is related to field and tenor of discourse very much as textual meanings are related to experiential and interpersonal meanings. That is to say, mode enables field and tenor as textual meanings enable experiential and interpersonal meanings. We saw in chapter three how the kind of social activity in which language is playing some part (i.e., field of discourse) is realized in the text through experiential meanings. We saw in chapter four how the negotiation of social relationships among participants in the social activity in which language is playing some part (i.e., tenor of discourse) is realized in the text through interpersonal meanings. Mode relates to both of these (Martin 1992, 509–510). As we defined it in the first chapter, mode is the part played by language in realizing social activity. In relation to field, mode is the role played by language on a continuum from accompanying to constituting the social activity.¹ An example of language accompanying a social activity is bidding, talking about whose turn it is, etc. while playing cards. An example of language constituting a social activity is writing a work of fiction. A newspaper report about an event or a commentary during a sporting event would fall somewhere in the middle of this continuum. In relation to tenor, mode is the degree of interaction between participants in the use of language on a continuum from a high degree of aural and visual contact and immediate feedback to no aural and visual contact and no immediate feedback (Eggins 1994, 54).² For example, a casual conversation has a high degree of aural and visual contact and immediate feedback between

¹Martin (1992, 516) identifies the dimension of mode oriented toward field as the *action/reflection* dimension. Eggins (1994, 54) labels this dimension, which is represented by a cline from action to reflection, as *experiential distance*. Linda Gerot (1995, 74) refers to it as *role*, identifying the extremes of the cline as *ancillary* vs. *constitutive* role.

²Martin (1992, 510) identifies the dimension of mode oriented toward tenor as the *monologue/dialogue* dimension. Eggins (1994, 53) labels it as *spatial/interpersonal distance*. Linda Gerot (1995, 74) distinguishes between *channel* (*phonic* vs. *graphic*) and *medium* (*spoken* vs. *written*) in describing the dimension of mode related to degree of interaction.

participants, whereas writing a dissertation has a very low degree of aural and visual contact between writer and reader, and the feedback is not immediate.

“If we combine these two dimensions of mode [i.e., role and interaction], we can characterize the basic contrast between spoken and written situations of language use” (Eggin 1994, 55). As we noted in chapter one, spoken vs. written mode is not a simple binary contrast, but extremes on a cline. Some language that is used in a graphic channel (i.e., literally written language) is closer to the spoken end of the mode cline, e.g., informal letters or email notes. Some language that is used in a phonic channel (i.e., literally spoken language) is closer to the written end of the mode cline, e.g., formal or academic addresses. The New Testament texts with which we are concerned in this study come to us through a graphic channel, i.e., they are “written” texts. We do not have any spoken discourse in a phonic channel in Koine Greek with which to contrast them. We are therefore not concerned with channel (phonic vs. graphic) in this chapter as a contrastive category. We are, however, concerned with the degree of interaction between the participants as well as with the role language is playing in social activity as these may be realized in the New Testament texts. In combining these two dimensions, we will refer to a situation of language use as *spoken* mode where the role that language plays is an accompanying one and the degree of interaction is high, and a situation as *written* mode where the role that language plays is constituting of a social activity and the social interaction is low. In this chapter we will see how mode along both dimensions — role and interaction — is realized through textual meanings. Our focus will be on the analysis of Theme and thematic development and what they tell us about whether our texts have a more spoken or more written character.

5.1 Interaction and Role: Theme and Thematic Development

Just as experiential meanings predict field and interpersonal meanings predict tenor, so textual meanings predict mode because they realize mode. In order to understand the part language is playing in the context of situation of Mt 13:1–23 and parallels (i.e., the mode), we must analyze the textual meanings in the texts. As with experiential and interpersonal meanings in the preceding chapters, the analysis of textual meanings in this chapter will focus on the clause rank. In other words, the analysis of textual meanings in this chapter will focus on Theme. In analyzing Theme, however, it will be necessary to examine extended text above the clause rank, not simply isolated clauses, both to the extent that dependent clauses can be Theme of a clause complex (an independent clause and all of its dependent clauses),³ and to the extent that the significance of choices of Themes in individual clauses are better understood in the context of thematic development of the whole text. The ways in which Theme at the

³I.e., a dependent clause preceding the independent clause upon which it is dependent can act as Theme for the complex of clauses as a message unit, as described in chapter one.

clause rank and thematic development throughout a text realize mode can be viewed from the standpoint of the interpersonal interaction dimension of mode or from the standpoint of the role dimension of mode (Martin 1992, 434–448). Choices of Theme in clauses and clause complexes throughout a text, however, frequently realize both dimensions of mode simultaneously.

Mode is realized in part by what gets to be Theme, or, more specifically, whether there are interpersonal and textual Themes (Eggins 1994, 300). While every major (non-ellipsed) clause has a topical Theme (i.e., an experiential element of the clause that is Theme), not every clause has an interpersonal or a textual

Theme (i.e., interpersonal or textual elements of the clause that precede the topical Theme). More frequent use of interpersonal Themes indicates a higher degree of interaction, and thus a more spoken mode. In a situation characterized by a higher degree of interpersonal interaction, more message units are likely to take interpersonal meanings as the point of departure. Thematisation of modality (modulation, expressing degree of obligation, or modalization, expressing degree of probability or possibility) invites interaction. Likewise, textual Themes occur more frequently in texts with a more spoken character. Textual adjuncts as Theme indicating hypotaxis (dependent relationships between clauses) are especially common in spoken discourse. When textual adjuncts occur as Theme in written text, they are more likely to indicate paratactic logical relations between clauses (i.e., relations between clauses that are not dependent upon one another) than hypotactic relations.

The choice between paratactic and hypotactic textual Themes frequently indicates a choice between greater lexical complexity and greater grammatical complexity, as we saw in the Section 1.3.2 in the first chapter. This choice realizes both the interaction and role dimensions of mode. A higher degree of interaction demands greater ease of processibility. Information organized in linear strings of hypotactically related messages that are lexically more sparse is more grammatically complex but easier to follow in a situation of close spatial contact and immediate feedback than the same information given in a lexically dense but grammatically simple message.⁴ That is, brief, lexically sparse messages strung together are relatively easy to process as one hears them, and the relationships between them indicated by textual Themes give instructions as to how to relate each message to the accumulation of information that has preceded it. An equivalent amount of information from such a string of messages packed into a single message unit is more difficult to process, but a reader has the luxury of dwelling on such a message unit. However, lexically dense but grammatically simple messages (i.e., a large amount of information in a single message unit) make possible the choice of particular kinds of topical Themes (namely, lexically dense ones) that realize a constituting role of language use. Thus mode is not realized only by choices regarding interpersonal and textual Themes, but by the nature of topical Themes, in particular, how lexically dense

⁴For example, the sentence to which this footnote is attached is a simple relational clause with considerable embedded information, thus a high degree of lexical complexity.

topical Themes are.

Mode is thus realized by what gets to be a topical Theme. When language is used to constitute a social activity, there is not an immediate context in which there are concrete persons and objects and events to which the text can refer in an immediate way. The context for experiential meanings must be included in the text. This is true whether the language is being used to create a work of fiction or an exposition. A narrative with a more written character will have more Themes that are circumstantial elements, which may be nominalized processes (including, but not limited to participial and infinitival phrases) or prepositional phrases that contribute higher lexical density to a clause without increasing its grammatical complexity. Such circumstantial elements often depict setting in time or place, providing the point of departure for an event or series of events that take place in that setting and thus also contributing to the method of development of the narrative. A narrative of more spoken character will tend to develop through thematic references to its characters. Written exposition also tends to use topical Themes which are elements realized either by nominalized processes, abstract nominals, or circumstantial elements. Such lexically dense elements of a clause allow the development of the text to be in terms of whole processes and abstract and/or complex concepts. Dependent clauses as Theme demonstrate abstraction and a level of planning typical of written language, but, unlike nominalization, with hypotaxis and lexical density more typical of spoken discourse (Eggins 1994, 301). The use of dependent clauses as Themes, then, is a strategy for using language in a graphic channel without “sounding too written,” helping to realize a mode somewhere in the middle of the cline between spoken and written.

There is a similarity between role on the one hand and interaction and channel (graphic vs. phonic) on the other with regard to what kinds of things get to be referred to by topical Themes. For example, *exophoric* references (referring to participants in the extra-textual situational context) as Theme are more likely in a phonic channel in which the participants in the exchange have a high degree of interaction and are in the presence of the referent. *Endophoric* references (referring to participants internal to the text) as Theme are more likely in a graphic channel in which participants in the exchange are separated by spatial distance (Eggins 1994, 301). Likewise, a situation in which language is playing an accompanying role is more likely to use as Themes references to concrete persons or objects in a shared context, whereas a constituting role for language is more likely to use as point of departure for messages abstract references or circumstantial elements that depend less on the world external to the text than on the world constituted by the text.

Mode — specifically the interaction dimension of mode — is also realized through the grammatical category of person assigned to topical Themes that are participants (Martin 1992, 447–448). More frequent use of first and second person referents as Themes indicates a higher degree of interaction, a more spoken mode, whereas more frequent use of third person referents as Theme indicates a lower degree of interaction. First and second person Themes used consistently as the method of developing the text indicate an effort by those us-

ing the language to actively engage those with whom they are interacting. This strategy is not limited to texts in which language is used in an accompanying role. Martin gives the example of a form letter sent out by a political figure trying to actively engage his constituents with first and second person Themes while informing them of particular issues before the government.

In addition to what gets to be Theme, mode is realized by thematic progression or the lack thereof (Egins 1994, 302–305). Reiteration of Themes chosen from a limited pool and sudden shifts in Theme characterize spoken discourse. Just as the use of dependent clauses as Themes demonstrates a level of planning not easily achieved in an oral situation, as noted above, so a clear or complex pattern of thematic development demonstrates a level of planning and often of editing. Zig-zag patterns and multiple Theme patterns, as described in Section 1.3.2 in chapter one, are characteristic of planning and editing of written texts. Such patterning is often evident in coherent written texts in hierarchical structures. The topical Themes in each stage of a sequence may be predicted by *hyper-Themes* ('topic sentences' of paragraphs), which may in turn be predicted by *macro-Themes* ('introductory paragraphs' of texts) (Martin 1992, 437).

Because thematic development, and not just Theme at the level of the message unit, plays an important role in realizing mode, the structure of this chapter will vary from those of preceding chapters. The analysis of the direct discourse material — the parable, the rationale and the interpretation — will be presented first. The narrative frame material will then be presented together with a discussion of the pattern of Themes over the narrative of the whole passage under consideration, not just of the narrative frame by itself. As in preceding chapters, the text will be displayed in tables according to the analysis contained in the appendices. The tables display the Theme and Rheme of each ranking clause in the portion of text presented. In all the displays of Theme throughout the chapter, textual Themes are marked with italics, interpersonal Themes with sans serif and topical Themes with boldface.⁵ In addition, participants which are marked topical Themes are underlined and circumstances which are marked topical Themes are wavy-underlined. Participants that are "displaced" marked Themes (i.e., participants or circumstances that occur after the initial element but before the verb and thus would have been marked topical Theme had another element not been thematized) are double underlined.

5.1.1 Interaction and Role in the Parable

Since the narrative explicitly states that Jesus spoke the parable to the crowds, it is reasonable to expect that some degree of interaction will be evident in the text. Interaction is in fact realized in the interpersonal Theme ἰδοὺ 'behold' in v. 3b (see Table 5.1), but there are no other interpersonal Themes in the parable.⁶

⁵In some cases, a single word or phrase will realize more than one kind of Theme; e.g., the relative pronoun *ὃς* in Table 5.1 is marked both bold and italic as both textual and topical Theme.

⁶In a comment on Mt 3:16, Donald Hagner (1993) notes that Matthew frequently uses the word ἰδοὺ as a device to capture the reader's attention, but the word εὐθὺς (or εὐθύς)

Of the 17 message units that comprise the parable, seven have participants as topical Theme (vv. 5a, 7a, 8a, 8c, 8d, 8e and 9a), but none are second person, making direct contact with the addressees.⁷ Eleven of the 17 message units have textual Themes (vv. 4a, 4b, 5b, 5c, 6b, 7b, 7c, 8b, 8c, 8d and 8e). While this is a large number, it is not extraordinary by comparison with other Greek texts.⁸ Furthermore, only four of the 11 textual Themes are hypotactic (vv. 5b, 8c, 8d and 8e). While these interpersonal and textual Themes do realize a degree of interaction and characterize the text as spoken, it is not a high degree.⁹

Table 5.1: Theme in the Parable (Mt 13:3–9)

Vs.	<i>text.</i>	interspers.	topic.	Theme	Rheme
3b	Ἰδοὺ	ἐξηλθεν			ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.
4a	καὶ ἐν τῷ	σπείρειν	αὐτόν		ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
4b	καὶ ἐλθόντα	τὰ πετεινά			κατέφαγεν αὐτά.
5a	ἄλλα				δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη
5b	ὅπου				οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν,
5c	καὶ εὐθέως				ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς·
6a	ἡλίου	δὲ ἀνατείλαντος			ἐκαυματίσθη
6b	καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν	ρίζαν			ἐξηράνθη.
7a	ἄλλα				δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας,
7b	καὶ ἀνέβησαν				αἱ ἀκανθαι
7c	καὶ ἔπνιξαν				αὐτά.
8a	ἄλλα				δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν
8b	καὶ ἐδίδου				καρπὸν,
8c	ὁ				μὲν ἑκατόν,
8d	ὁ				δὲ ἐξήκοντα,
8e	ὁ				δὲ τριάκοντα.
9a	ὁ ἔχων ὦτα				ἀκουέτω.

In addition to the lack of second person references in Themes, there are no exophoric references in Themes at all between the opening interpersonal Theme and the closing subject of the third person imperative, which is an apparent reference to some of the hearers. The remaining participant references

‘immediately,’ which Matthew often ignores in the Markan source, can also function in this way. Robert Guelich (1998, note on the translation of Mark 1:9) also notes that εὐθύς is sometimes not strictly temporal, but “a stylistic function merely to focus one’s attention.” It is possible, therefore, to view εὐθέως in v. 5c as an interpersonal Theme as well as topical.

⁷As noted in the previous chapter, the third person imperative verb ἀκουέτω ‘he must hear!’ could have been second person and the subject ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ‘the one having ears’ could also have been second person, but they are not.

⁸E.g., the parable in Mark, as displayed in Table 5.3, has 19 textual Themes in 21 message units. Philemon 10–14, displayed in Table 1.5, has 6 textual Themes in 8 message units, all of them realizing hypotactic relations.

⁹Cf. Philemon 10–14, displayed in Table 1.5, with 6 textual Themes in 8 message units, all of them realizing hypotactic relations, a first person finite verb as topical Theme and two second person references as parts of topical Themes.

as Themes (vv. 5a, 7a, 8a, 8c, 8d, 8e) as well as the Subjects of the four finite verb Themes (vv. 3b, 7b, 7c and 8b) are all endophoric references, indicative of a constituting role played by the language of the parable. While the third-person, endophoric references as Theme indicate a more written mode (lower degree of interaction and more of a constituting role), the references are nevertheless references to very concrete beings and objects (the sower, seed, birds, thorns), a characteristic of a more spoken mode that lends itself to easier processability.

A further characteristic of the parable indicating that it is not at either extreme of the spoken to written cline is the use of circumstances as Themes. Six circumstantial elements as Theme (vv. 4a, 4b, 5b, 5c, 6a and 6b) in 17 message units indicates a more written mode. It is notable, however, that there are no finite clauses as Theme but two one-word adverbial circumstances (vv. 5b and 5c), two participial phrases (vv. 4a and 6a) and two infinitival phrases, none of which dramatically increase the lexical density of the text. The participles and infinitives do reduce the number of message units by reducing the processes that they realize to elements of setting rather than realizing them as separate events in independent clauses. They demonstrate a degree of planning without greatly increasing the difficulty of processing on the part of the hearer.

Planning and editing is also evident in the method of development of the parable. The basic method of development for the whole parable is a multiple Theme pattern. Verse 3b provides a macro-Theme for the parable (Ἴδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν. 'Look, a sower went out to sow.'). The Rheme of v. 3b (ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν 'the-NOM one sowing the-GEN to-sow') is then repeated as the Theme of v. 4a (ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν 'in the-DAT to-sow him-ACC'). This macro-Theme then predicts four Themes: ἃ 'some' (displaced Theme of v. 4a), ἄλλα 'others' (v. 5a), ἄλλα 'others' (v. 7a), and ἄλλα 'others' (v. 8a). Each of these is Theme of a clause that in turn functions as a hyper-Theme for what follows it, yielding a clear outline structure of the whole parable (macro-Theme double-underlined, hyper-Themes underlined, Themes in boldface):

I. Ἴδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.
καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν

- A. ἃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
 - 1. **καὶ ἐλθόντα τὰ πετεινὰ κατέφαγεν αὐτά.**
- B. ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη
 - 1. **ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν,**
 - 2. **καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς.**
 - 3. **ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη**
 - 4. **καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.**
- C. ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας,
 - 1. **καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ἐπνιξαν αὐτά.**

D. ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν

1. καὶ ἐδίδου καρπόν,
 - a. ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν,
 - b. ὁ δὲ ἐξήκοντα,
 - c. ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα.

II. ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω.

Each hyper-Theme is of the form ὁ μὲν/ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν *x*, where *x* is filled in by a prepositional phrase realizing a circumstance of location. In each case, the Rheme of the hyper-Theme (ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν ‘fell beside the path,’ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη ‘fell upon the rocky place,’ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας ‘fell upon the thorns,’ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν ‘fell upon the good earth’) provides the setting and impetus for the events that follow. The internal development of these events is only evident following the second hyper-Theme, in which the seeds were sown upon the rocky place. Following the fourth hyper-Theme (others sown on good soil), the structure of the whole parable is mimicked in the multiple-Theme pattern of ὁ μὲν, ὁ δὲ, ὁ δὲ, describing the yields of various seeds that fell on good soil and therefore bore fruit.

As the Themes themselves show characteristics of both spoken and written language, so does the pattern of Themes that contributes to the method of development. The repetition is characteristic of spoken language, especially language with a higher degree of interaction, since it is easier to follow a text with repetition in an interactive situation. The careful structure, however, is characteristic of written language, especially when the language plays a constitutive role and a structure with depth must be created using linear text.

The choice of Themes in Mark’s version of the parable is significantly different from Matthew with respect to the choices of textual and topical Themes (compare Table 5.2 [= Table 5.1 above] with Table 5.3). There are some relatively insignificant differences between Matthew and Mark as well, such as the occurrence of two interpersonal Themes to begin the parable in Mark, including the initial second-person imperative ἀκούετε ‘hear!’ that is lacking in Matthew. This points perhaps to a slightly higher degree in interactivity in Mark’s parable. Much more significant, however, are the differences in choices of textual and topical Themes. Between the second person imperative with which the parable begins and the third person imperative clause with which the parable is concluded, only the first clause of the parable proper (v. 3b) is without a textual Theme. Eighteen consecutive clauses (out of 21 in the utterance) have textual Themes and 16 of them are the paratactic conjunction καὶ ‘and.’ This extraordinary number of textual Themes indicates a more spoken mode of discourse even though most realize paratactic relations rather than hypotactic ones. In this case, the paratactic relations are not an indication of higher lexical density since the same basic information that is conveyed in Matthew’s version of the parable is distributed across a larger number of clauses (21 vs. 17 in Matthew).

Table 5.2: Theme in the Parable (Mt 13:3–9)

Vs.	text. interspers. topic. Theme	Rheme
3b	Ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.
4a	καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν	ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
4b	καὶ ἐλθόντα τὰ πετεινὰ	κατέφαγεν αὐτά.
5a	ἄλλα	δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη
5b	ὅπου	οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν,
5c	καὶ εὐθέως	ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς·
6a	ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος	ἐκαυματίσθη
6b	καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν	ἐξηράνθη.
7a	ἄλλα	δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας,
7b	καὶ ἀνέβησαν	αἱ ἀκανθαί
7c	καὶ ἐπνιξαν	αὐτά.
8a	ἄλλα	δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν
8b	καὶ ἐδίδου	καρπὸν,
8c	ὅ	μὲν ἑκατόν,
8d	ὅ	δὲ ἐξήκοντα,
8e	ὅ	δὲ τριάκοντα.
9a	ὁ ἔχων ὦτα	ἀκουέτω.

Table 5.3: Theme in the Parable (Mk 4:3–9)

Vs.	text. interp. top. Theme	Rheme
3a	Ἀκούετε.	
3b	ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων σπείρειν.
4a	καὶ ἐγένετο	ἐν τῷ σπείρειν
4b	ὅ	μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
4c	καὶ ἦλθεν	τὰ πετεινὰ
4d	καὶ κατέφαγεν	αὐτό.
5a	καὶ ἄλλο	ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες
5b	ὅπου	οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν,
5c	καὶ εὐθὺς	ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς·
6a	καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος	ἐκαυματίσθη
6b	καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν	ἐξηράνθη.
7a	καὶ ἄλλο	ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας,
7b	καὶ ἀνέβησαν	αἱ ἀκανθαί
7c	καὶ συνέπνιξαν	αὐτό,
7d	καὶ καρπὸν	οὐκ ἔδωκεν.
8a	καὶ ἄλλα	ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν
8b	καὶ ἐδίδου	καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξανόμενα

8c	καὶ ἔφερεν	ἐν τριάκοντα
8d	καὶ [was bearing]	ἐν ἐξήκοντα
8e	καὶ [was bearing]	ἐν ἑκατόν.
9a	<u>Ὅς ἔχει ὧτα ἀκούειν</u>	ἀκουέτω.

The second significant difference between Mark's parable and Matthew's helps to explain the larger number of clauses: Two non-finite clauses as circumstantial topical Themes in Matthew's parable (vv. 4a and 4b) are independent clauses in Mark's parable (vv. 4a and 4c). The overall effect of this difference is that where Mark has four message units (vv. 4a–d), three of them with unmarked Themes (finite verb initial), Matthew has only two message units (vv. 4a–b), both with circumstances as marked topical Themes. In all, these minor variations add up to only four of 17 unmarked Themes (finite-verb initial clauses) in Matthew compared to 11 of 21 in Mark. Matthew's version is somewhat more compact than Mark's, but it has a larger number of complex, less concrete topical Themes, indicating perhaps a higher degree of editing and planning characteristic of a more written mode.

The overall difference of thematic development of the parable between Matthew and Mark is not significant. The basic development in Mark is the multiple Theme pattern of *ὁ* 'some' (v. 4b), *ἄλλο* 'another' (v. 5a), *ἄλλο* 'another' (v. 7a), *ἄλλα* 'others' (v. 8a) predicted by the macro-Theme *ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων σπείραι. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν* 'Look, the sower came to sow and this happened in the sowing' (vv. 3b–4a). This pattern of thematic development, however, is not strengthened by the pattern of textual Themes as it is in Matthew. The repetition of *καὶ* throughout the narrative flattens the effect of the development, in contrast to Matthew's use of *ἃ μὲν* 'some', *ἄλλα δὲ* 'others', *ἄλλα δὲ* 'others', *ἄλλα δὲ* 'others' that helps to set off the hyper-Themes within the narrative.

Luke's version of the parable is much more compact than Matthew's or Mark's, containing about half the number of message units (11) as Mark's (21). Luke has dispensed entirely with the opening clauses that realize interaction between Jesus and his audience with interpersonal Themes (see Table 5.4). The compacting is achieved by careful editing and planning characteristic of written mode. Of 11 clauses, four have circumstances as topical Theme (an infinitive clause and three participles). In addition, five of 11 clauses have participants as Theme, three of which carry the same structure of thematic development as in the other tellings — macro-Theme *Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν* 'The sower went out to sow his seed and in his sowing...' (vv. 5a–b) predicts the topical Themes *ὁ* 'some' (displaced Theme in v. 5b), *ἕτερον* 'other' (v. 6a), *ἕτερον* 'other' (v. 7a), *ἕτερον* 'other' (v. 8a). Like Mark, Luke uses *καὶ* 'and' as textual Theme in every clause between the first and last of the parable. The low lexical density of Luke's sparse telling and the pattern of textual Themes counter-balances the high proportion of marked Themes and multiple-Theme pattern in preserving some of the character of spoken mode in the parable.

Table 5.4: Theme in the Parable (Lk 8:5–8)

Vs.	<i>text.</i>	<i>inters.</i>	topic. Theme	Rheme
5a	<u>Ἐξῆλθεν</u>			ὁ σπεύρων τοῦ σπεῖραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ.
5b	<i>καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν</i>			<u>ὁ</u> μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν
5c	<i>καὶ κατεπατήθη,</i>			
5d	<i>καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ</i>			κατέφαγεν αὐτό.
6a	<i>καὶ ἕτερον</i>			κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν,
6b	<i>καὶ φυν</i>			ἐξηράνθη διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἱκμάδα.
7a	<i>καὶ ἕτερον</i>			ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν,
7b	<i>καὶ συμφύεῖσαι αἱ ἄκανθαι</i>			ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτό.
8a	<i>καὶ ἕτερον</i>			ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν
8b	<i>καὶ φυν</i>			ἐποίησεν καρπὸν
			ἐκατονταπλασίονα.	
8c	<u>Ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν</u>			ἀκουέτω.

In summary, the mode of the parable in all three gospels is characterized by a constituting role, the written-ness of which is softened in favor of a more spoken character by a relatively high degree of interaction. The constituting role is realized in the predominance of third person participant references in topical Theme position, by use of complex circumstantial elements as Theme, and by the planned character of marked Themes and of a clear and intentional method of development. The higher degree of interaction is realized by low lexical density even in circumstances as Theme, by references to concrete objects and people as the marked participant Themes, by patterns of textual Themes and by the use of interpersonal Themes to begin the parable in Matthew and Mark. Of the three accounts of the parable, Luke is most written in character and Mark is most spoken. But all three are in the middle of the cline.

5.1.2 Interaction and Role in the Parable Rationale

The rather one-sided conversation that ensues following the parable in Matthew demonstrates a shift in mode both in its interaction dimension and its role dimension. The degree of interaction is significantly increased, for example, by the use of interpersonal Themes. Eleven of 34 message units in the direct discourse of the rationale section have interpersonal Themes (see Table 5.5). The first of these is the interrogative word τί in the Theme of the question (διὰ τί ‘on account of what?’) that the disciples asked, inviting Jesus’ response (v. 10b). In Jesus’ response, both modalization (vv. 12a, 12d, 12e and 17a) and polarity (vv. 13d, 14c, 14e, 15d, 17c and 17e) are thematized. Two instances of modalization express strong attitude or emotion — καὶ ‘even’ (v. 12e) and ἀμὴν ‘truly’ (v. 17a) — and three instances of polarity are emphatic, accompanying subjunctive verbs and expressing strong attitude or emotion — οὐ μὴ συνῆτε ‘you shall by no means perceive’ (v. 14c), οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτε ‘you shall by no means see’ (v. 14e) and μήποτε ἴδωσιν ‘lest you should see’ (v. 15d). This high proportion of

interpersonal Themes, some of them very strong interpersonal elements, invites a response of some kind from whoever hears or reads the text.

Table 5.5: Theme in the Rationale (Mt 13:10–17)

Vs.	<i>text.</i>	<i>interspers.</i>	topic.	Theme	Rheme
10b	<u>Διὰ τί</u>				<u>ἐν παραβολαῖς</u> λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς;
11b	<u>Ὅτι ὑμῖν</u>				δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, δὲ οὐ δέδοται.
11c	<u>ἐκεῖνοις</u>				γὰρ ἔχει,
12a	<u>μαρκεδοτοπόστις</u>				αὐτῷ
12b	<u>δοθήσεται</u>				
12c	<u>καὶ περισσευθήσεται</u>				
12d	<u>ὅστις</u>				δὲ οὐκ ἔχει,
12e	<u>καὶ ὁ ἔχει</u>				ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
13a	<u>διὰ τοῦτο</u>				<u>ἐν παραβολαῖς</u> αὐτοῖς λαλῶ,
13b	<u>ὅτι βλέποντες</u>				οὐ βλέπουσιν
13c	<u>καὶ ἀκούοντες</u>				οὐκ ἀκούουσιν
13d	<u>οὐδὲ συνίουσιν,</u>				
14a	<u>καὶ ἀναπληροῦται</u>				αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα, ἀκούσετε
14b	<u>Ἀκοῇ</u>				
14c	<u>καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε,</u>				
14d	<u>καὶ βλέποντες</u>				βλέψετε
14e	<u>καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτε.</u>				
15a	<u>ἐπαχύνθη</u>				γὰρ ἡ καρδιά τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, βαρέως ἤκουσαν
15b	<u>καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν</u>				ἐκάμυσαν,
15c	<u>καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν</u>				τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
15d	<u>μήποτε ἴδωσιν</u>				ἀκούσωσιν
15e	<u>καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν</u>				συνώσιν
15f	<u>καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ</u>				
15g	<u>καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν</u>				
15h	<u>καὶ ἰάσομαι</u>				αὐτούς.
16a	<u>ὑμῶν</u>				δὲ [are] μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
16b	<u>ὅτι βλέπουσιν</u>				
16c	<u>καὶ [blessed]</u>				[are] τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν
16d	<u>ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.</u>				
17a	<u>ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω</u>				ὑμῖν
17b	<u>ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται</u>				
	<u>καὶ δίκαιοι</u>				ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε
17c	<u>καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,</u>				
17d	<u>καὶ [πολλοὶ προφῆται</u>				
	<u>καὶ δίκαιοι]</u>				[ἐπεθύμησαν] ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε
17e	<u>καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.</u>				

The pattern of textual Themes does not change from the parable to the

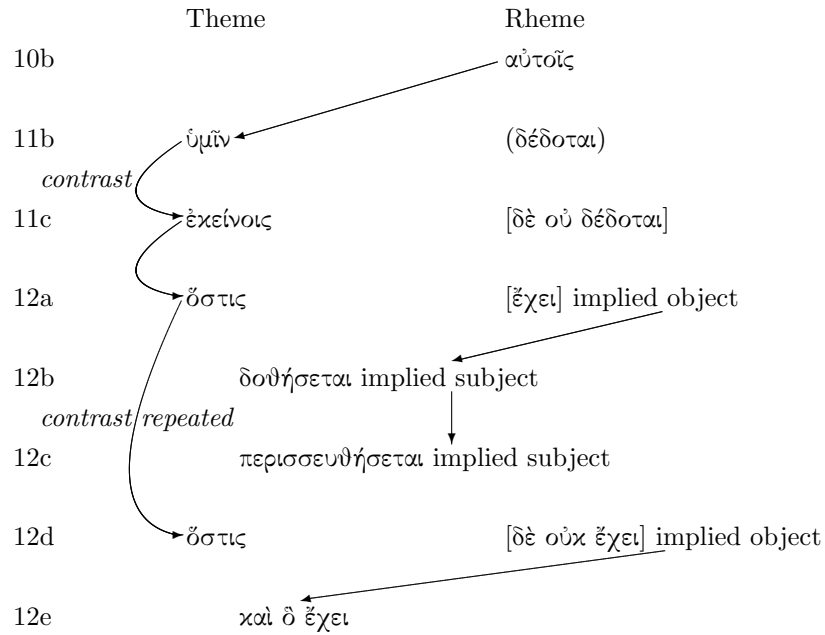
rationale. As in the parable, about two thirds of the message units (23 of 34) have textual Themes and about two thirds of the textual Themes (16 of 23) are occurrences of the conjunction καί ‘and,’ indicating paratactic relations between clauses. As in the parable, the relatively high proportion of clauses with paratactic relations is not accompanied by a high lexical density as might be the case in a more written mode. The generous use of the conjunction καί ‘and’ does not indicate the degree of grammatical complexity that is often characteristic of spoken language. Nevertheless, it does indicate language that is closer to the spoken end of the continuum than a text with paratactic relations that are not indicated by textual adjuncts.

The low degree of lexical density in the rationale section is evident in scanning the topical Themes in Table 5.5. In the 34 message units, 15 topical Themes are finite verbs. Another 12 topical Themes are participant references (indicated by underline in Table 5.5), 9 of which contain only one lexical item (i.e., one word, not including “function words” such as definite articles) and none more than three lexical items. Of the five circumstances as topical Theme (indicated by double angle brackets in Table 5.5), three are participles standing alone and two are two-word prepositional phrases. The remaining two clauses have ellipsed topical Themes (vv. 16c and 17d). Regardless of whether they are circumstances, participant references or finite verbs, the topical Themes throughout this section are lexically sparse.

What gets to be topical Theme also indicates mode apart from what it shows about lexical density. The high proportion of unmarked Themes (15 of 34 topical Themes are finite verbs) is characteristic of spoken mode. In addition, the implicit subjects of most of those verbs are concrete persons, such as the disciples, the crowds, and Jesus himself. Explicit participant references as topical Themes are also predominantly references to concrete persons, namely the disciples (vv. 11b, 16a and perhaps 12a), the crowds to whom Jesus spoke the parables (vv. 11c, perhaps 12d, and their ears, eyes and hearts in 15b, 15c, 15e and 15f) and all the prophets and righteous ones (v. 17b). These references are not only to concrete persons, but are additionally predominantly exophoric references. Two references implicit in the morphology of finite verbs as Themes are first person references (vv. 15h and 17a), two are second person references (vv. 14c and 14e) and two participant references as Themes are second person references (vv. 11b and 16a). Concrete references are characteristic of spoken mode, especially exophoric references to persons in the immediate environment and first and second person references to the participants in the exchange. In particular, exophoric references are characteristic of an accompanying role of language and first and second person references are characteristic of high interaction language.

The rationale section does not show a clear method of development throughout. It is characterized by local development of Themes predicted by the preceding Rheme, by repetition of Themes locally, and by shifts in Theme, but no overall pattern of thematic development. An example of local development is in the initial response to the question of v. 10b. The final word of the question Rheme, αὐτοῖς ‘to them,’ is picked up in contrastive Themes in the first two clauses of the answer — ὑμῖν ‘to you-PL’ (v. 11b) and ἐκείνοις ‘to those’ (v.

11c). The contrast is repeated in a less concrete way with the Themes ὅστις [ἔχει] ‘whoever [has]’ in v. 12a and ὅστις [δὲ οὐκ ἔχει] ‘[but] whoever [does not have]’ in v. 12d. The ὅστις clause in v. 12a is followed by two clauses with finite verb Themes (δοθήσεται in v. 12b and περισσευθήσεται in v. 12c) whose implied Subjects refer to the unstated object of the verb ἔχει in the Rheme of v. 12a. The ὅστις clause in v. 12d is followed by a clause the explicit Subject of which is Theme and refers to the unstated object of the verb ἔχει in the Rheme of v. 12d. The resulting local thematic development pattern is displayed below. The display shows only the items of Theme and Rheme from Table 5.5 that contribute to the thematic development.



The next cluster of clauses with local thematic development are in v. 13. The Theme of v. 13a is διὰ τοῦτο ‘on account of this,’ referring to the whole of vv. 11 and 12. The elements of the Rheme in the question of v. 10b are repeated in the Rheme of v. 13a (ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ ‘in parables to them I speak’). The Themes of the remaining three clauses in v. 13 are repetitious processes of perception with morphological ties to the “them” to whom the parables are spoken (βλέποντες (13b), ἀκούοντες (13c), and συνίουσιν (13d)). The Theme in v. 14 shifts to ἀναπληροῦται ‘is fulfilled’ as the prophecy of Isaiah is introduced, in which a repetition of lexical items related to perception as Themes occurs similar to v. 13 (ἀκοῇ (14b), συνῆτε (14c), βλέποντες (14d), and ἴδητε (14e)). A shift occurs again in the middle of the quotation from Isaiah in v. 15 with the Theme ἐπαχύνθη ‘was made thick.’ This shift is followed by a string of repetitious Themes once again, most of which this time are organs of

perception rather than processes (τοῖς ὤσιν (15b), τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν (15c), ἴδωσιν (15d, the sole process as Theme in the string), τοῖς ὤσιν (15e), and τῇ καρδίᾳ (15f)). The same pattern of frequent shifts in Theme and repetitions of Themes related to perception (βλέπουσιν (16b), ἀκούουσιν (16d), εἶδαν (17c), and ἤκουσαν (17e)) extends to the end of the rationale section.

Although the rationale section in Mark is much smaller than in Matthew (eight clauses compared to 34), the pattern of Theme is not significantly different. In eight clauses, there are two interpersonal Themes and six textual Themes (see Table 5.6). Two of the textual Themes indicate hypotactic relations between clauses (vv. 12a and 12e) and the other four are occurrences of the conjunction καί ‘and.’ Four topical Themes are finite verbs (unmarked Themes), two are participants, and two are circumstances, but only one topical Theme (v. 11c) has as many as two lexical items. One participant reference as Theme is a second person form (ὤμῖν ‘to you PL’ (11b)).

Table 5.6: Theme in the Rationale (Mk 4:11–12)

Vs.	text. interp. topic.	Theme	Rheme
11b	<u>Ὑμῖν</u>		<u>τὸ μυστήριον</u> δέδοται τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.
11c	<u>ἐκείνοις</u> δὲ <u>τοῖς ἔξω</u>		<u>ἐν παραβολαῖς</u> τὰ πάντα γίνεται,
12a	<i>ἵνα</i> <u>βλέποντες</u>		<u>βλέπωσιν</u>
12b	<i>καὶ</i> μὴ <u>ἴδωσιν</u> ,		
12c	<i>καὶ</i> <u>ἀκούοντες</u>		<u>ἀκούωσιν</u>
12d	<i>καὶ</i> μὴ <u>συνιῶσιν</u> ,		
12e	<u>μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν</u>		
12f	<i>καὶ</i> <u>ἀφεθῇ</u>		<u>αὐτοῖς</u> .

As in Mark, the rationale for speaking in parables in Luke can scarcely be called a “section” as it can in Matthew. There is no thematic connection between the question in v. 9b and the rationale in v. 10 (see Table 5.7). The rationale is limited to four clauses, none of which have finite verbs as Theme. The first two have contrastive participant references as Themes, one of which is a second person form. The last two clauses have textual Themes (one paratactic, one hypotactic) and isolated, unmodified participles (circumstances) as topical Themes.

Table 5.7: Theme in the Rationale (Lk 8:9–10)

Vs.	text. interp. top.	Theme	Rheme
9b	<u>τίς</u>		<u>αὕτη</u> εἶη ἡ παραβολή.
10a	<u>Ὑμῖν</u>		δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ,
10b	<u>τοῖς</u> δὲ <u>λοιποῖς</u>		[it is given] ἐν παραβολαῖς,

10c	<i>ἵνα</i> βλέποντες	μὴ βλέπωσιν
10d	<i>καὶ</i> ἀκούοντες	μὴ συνιῶσιν.

Since patterns of Themes realize mode, it is difficult to draw significant conclusions from such short text portions as the rationale sections of Mark and Luke. The rationale section of Matthew, however, has been very profitably analyzed for mode. This text has many characteristics of a spoken text, both in the degree of interactivity and in playing an accompanying role. The high proportions of interpersonal Themes and of first and second person references in topical Themes are characteristic of a high degree of interaction. In addition, the text contains mostly lexically simple Themes, and a high proportion of finite verbs as topical Themes (i.e., unmarked Themes). Topical Themes are lexically simple both in the sense of lexical density and in the sense of referring to concrete persons and objects. A high proportion of references in topical Themes that are not only concrete, but refer exophorically to persons and objects in the immediate environment are characteristic of an accompanying role of the language of the text as well as a higher degree of interaction. Both the pattern of textual Themes, especially the large number of occurrences of καί, and the thematic development, or lack of it, also give the text the character of a more spoken mode, with frequent shifts in Theme and repetition of Themes throughout.

5.1.3 Interaction and Role in the Parable Interpretation

The pattern of Themes changes toward a less spoken mode in the parable interpretation. This is apparent first in the near absence of interpersonal Themes; the only one is the ordinary polarity adjunct, οὐκ ‘not’ in v. 21a (see Table 5.8). The proportion of textual Themes also drops slightly to nine of 17 message units. Although five of these textual Themes realize hypotactic relationships, three are the relative pronouns occurring at the very end of the parable interpretation (vv. 23d–f), repeating the relative pronouns at the end of the parable itself. The four textual Themes indicating paratactic relations in the interpretation (all of them the conjunction καί ‘and’) is slightly more than half the seven used in the parable. Furthermore, the only reference in a topical Theme (either implied subject of a finite verb or participant reference as Theme) that is either first or second person or exophoric is the pronoun ὑμεῖς ‘you-PL-NOM’ in the transitional first clause (v. 18a) in which the disciples are offered the interpretation immediately before it is given.

Table 5.8: Theme in the Interpretation (Mt 13:18–23)

Vs.	<i>text.</i> interp. top. Theme	Rheme
18a	<u>Ἑμεῖς</u>	οὖν ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπεύραντος.
19a	<u>παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος</u>	ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς

19b	<u>καὶ ἀρπάζει</u>	τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,
19c	<u>οὗτός</u>	ἐστὶν ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς.
20a	<u>ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη</u> <u>σπαρεῖς, οὗτός</u>	ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθύς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν, δὲ ῥίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐστὶν,
21a	οὐκ ἔχει	
21b	<u>ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός</u>	
21c	<u>γενομένης</u> δὲ <u>θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ</u> <u>διὰ τὸν λόγον</u>	<u>εὐθύς</u> σκανδαλίζεται.
22a	<u>ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας</u> <u>σπαρεῖς, οὗτός</u>	ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων,
22b	<u>καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος</u> <u>καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου</u>	συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον
22c	<u>καὶ ἄκαρπος</u>	γίνεται.
23a	<u>ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν</u> <u>σπαρεῖς, οὗτός</u> συνιείς,	ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ
23b	<u>ὅς</u>	δὴ καρποφορεῖ
23c	<u>καὶ ποιεῖ</u>	
23d	<u>ὅ</u>	μὲν ἑκατόν,
23e	<u>ὅ</u>	δὲ ἐξήκοντα,
23f	<u>ὅ</u>	δὲ τριάκοντα.

The change in the nature of the topical Themes that is immediately apparent in scanning Table 5.8 is the lexical density. The amount of information in the Rhemes of the interpretation does not appear diminished compared to the parable in a visual comparison of Table 5.8 to Table 5.1, yet the amount of information in the Themes is clearly greater. There are only two circumstantial elements thematized in the interpretation (vv. 19a and 21c), but they are both genitive absolute constructions, one having five lexical items (not counting “function words”) and the other having four lexical items. Of the 12 participants as Theme, three contain embedded participial clauses, two having four lexical items each (vv. 20a and 22a) and the other having five lexical items (v. 23a). An additional lexically dense participant reference as topical Theme is the compound nominal group *ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου* ‘the care of the age and the deceit of wealth’ (v. 22b), which has four lexical items. What is visually apparent in the tables is borne out in an actual count of lexical items. The lexical density of the parable is 3.5 (60 lexical items in 17 ranking clauses) compared to 4.7 in the interpretation (80 lexical items in 17 ranking clauses).¹⁰ Not only lexical density of the interpretation as a whole, but especially lexically dense Themes indicate a more written mode.

The reason so many Themes are lexically dense is that whole processes,

¹⁰Cf. the rationale in Matthew, with a lexical density of 2.5 (84 lexical items in 34 ranking clauses).

rather than concrete persons and objects, are chosen as Themes in the interpretation. In the case of the substantive participles in vv. 20a, 22a and 23a, it is not merely the seeds from the parable that are being referred to, but the entire event of the sowing of particular seed in a particular environment, complete with process and circumstance. The two genitive absolute clauses in vv. 19a and 21c are also thematized events, including processes, participants and circumstances. Unlike the substantive participles, the genitive absolute constructions depict events in the world of the hearers that interpret events in the parable allegorically rather than merely repeating them. The compound nominal group in v. 22b also depicts events that interpret the parable allegorically. The abstract nouns μέριμνα ‘care’ and ἀπάτη ‘deceit’ are nominalized processes of worrying/being concerned and deceiving, accompanied by genitive case nominal groups that indicate participants of those processes.¹¹

These lexically dense topical Themes play an important role in the thematic development of the interpretation text. In the case of the substantive participles (vv. 20a, 22a and 23a), there is a progression that parallels the structure of the parable being interpreted. Rather than simply orienting these messages to the various seeds that are sown, Matthew’s interpretation orients these key messages in the structure of the interpretation to the whole event of certain seed being sown in a particular environment. For example: the second section of the parable begins with the hyper-Theme ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρῶδη ‘but other [seed] fell on the rocky [place]’ (v. 5a). This message is oriented to the Theme ἄλλα, its point of departure. In contrast, the second section of the interpretation begins with a message in which the entire event of other seed falling on the rocky place is made Theme to orient a message which interprets that event: ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρῶδη σπαρείς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν ‘but that which is sown on rocky ground, this is the one who hears the word and immediately receives it with joy’ (v. 20a).

The thematic development is not as straightforward in the interpretation as in the parable, however. Following the offer to the disciples to hear the parable in v. 18a, Matthew’s interpretation does not begin as might be expected: It does not begin with an interpretation of what is sown as in Mark (ὁ σπείρων τὸν λόγον σπείρει ‘the sower sows the word’ (Mk 4:14)) or a more direct statement of interpretation of the seed as in Luke (ὁ σπόρος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ‘the seed is the word of God’ (Lk 8:11)). Nor does Matthew’s interpretation begin with the identification of the first event to be interpreted after the pattern demonstrated above from v. 20a. If the pattern followed in the remainder of the interpretation had been used, the parable would have begun: ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρείς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας ἀκούων καὶ μὴ συνιείς ‘that which is sown beside the path, this is the one who hears the word and does not understand.’ Instead, the choice is made to thematize the interpretation of the event rather than the event being interpreted: παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον

¹¹The genitive nominal group τοῦ αἰῶνος ‘age/world’ is either an objective genitive describing the Goal of the worrying or a subjective genitive describing the Actor who worries (i.e., the focus is on the things this age is concerned about). The subjective genitive τοῦ πλούτου ‘wealth’ is the Actor of the deceiving.

τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος, ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς ‘all who hear the word of the Kingdom and do not understand it, the evil one comes’ (v. 19a). In so doing, thematic continuity with the preceding rationale section is maintained. The lexical items ἀκούειν ‘to hear’ and συνιέναι ‘to understand’ are repeated from the rationale (ἀκούειν in vv. 13c, 14b, 15b, 15e, 16d, 17d and 17e, then in 18a to begin the interpretation; συνιέναι in vv. 13d, 14c and 15f), with the notion of hearing but not understanding repeated twice in that section (vv. 13c–d and vv. 14b–c). The phrase τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας ‘the word of the Kingdom’ brings to mind τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ‘the mysteries of the Kingdom of the heavens,’ knowledge of which Jesus said was given to the disciples but not to those who hear but do not understand (v. 11b).

The interpretation of the parable thus begins in an unusual way, but one which maintains thematic continuity with the preceding discourse. The identification of the event interpreted by this opening genitive absolute is not given until after the event is interpreted. When the pattern of identifying an event from the parable as the Theme for its interpretation is established, the result is a chiasmic structure formed by the Themes of the two opening sections (Themes are in boldface; parable elements being interpreted are wavy-underlined; genitive absolute constructions as Theme are in italics):

A	παντός ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος,	ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς
B	καὶ ἀρπάζει	τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
C	<u>οὗτός</u>	ἐστὶν ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς.
C'	<u>ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρῶδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός</u>	ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθύς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν.
B'	οὐκ ἔχει ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός	δὲ ῥίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐστὶν,
A'	γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἧ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον	εὐθύς σκανδαλίζεται.

The elements of the parable identified in this section as in need of interpretation constitute the topical Themes at the center of the chiasm (C and C'). B and B' are thematically unmarked messages (finite verb as Theme) having to do with the fate of the central participants, as they are interpreted. B' is a negative statement to which is added a positive statement of contrast that unbalances the chiasm. The chiasm is enclosed by the genitive absolute constructions as Themes (A and A').

The chiasmic structure, however, does not represent the flow of information. The whole message of C (Theme and Rheme together) is parallel in information to the Theme of C' alone. These two elements, placed together in the discourse, represent the first two events of the parable that are being interpreted. The interpretation of the first proceeds from the Theme of A through the Rheme of

B before the element that has been interpreted is named in C. The interpretation of the second event follows the naming of that event in the Theme of C', but not in reverse order of how the interpretation of the first event is presented. The initial allegorical identification of the parable event is presented in the Rheme of C', parallel to the Theme of A in its interpretive function. The interpretation then proceeds to consequences of the event in B' (including both contrastive messages) and C', which are parallel in interpretive function to the consequences presented in the Rheme of A and all of B (both Theme and Rheme) in the interpretation of the first event.

In terms of interpretive information, then, the chiasm should be represented as follows:

- A1 **παντός ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος,**
 A2 ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς
 A3 **καὶ ἀρπάζει** τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
 B οὗτός ἐστὶν ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς.
 B' ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρῶδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός
 A1' ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν.
 A2' οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ῥίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός ἐστίν,
 A3' **γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἡ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον** εὐθὺς
 σκανδαλίζεται.

The progression of the Themes in the text begins with something of a zig-zag pattern in the first section of the interpretation, but the pattern breaks down in the three remaining sections. The dominant pattern in the interpretation as a whole is the parallel thematic presentation of parable events that are being interpreted. The following display of the interpretation text from Matthew shows the patterns with arrows (and lack of patterns where arrows are absent) in the progression of Themes. Themes are in boldface, the macro-Theme double-underlined, and hyper-Themes underlined.

- I. παντός ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας
καὶ μὴ συνιέντος, ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς
καὶ ἀρπάζει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρεῖς.
- II. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον
ἀκούων καὶ εὐθύς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν.
οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ῥίζαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ
ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν,
γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθύς
σκανδαλίζεται.
- III. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον
ἀκούων
καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου
συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον,
καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται.
- IV. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον
ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς,
ὅς δὲ καρποφορεῖ
καὶ ποιεῖ
ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν,
ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα,
ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα.

The macro-Theme, which ties the interpretation to the preceding discourse, orients the whole interpretation. “All those hearing the word of the Kingdom” summarizes the allegorical assignment of identity to all seeds sown in the parable. These are referred to in the hyper-Themes (underlined in the display above) with the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος. This provides the basic structure of the interpretation parallel to the overall structure of the parable. Within section I,

there is a zig-zag progression, which is as much a progression of reference as of Theme. The evil one (ὁ πονηρός) is referred to in the Rheme of the first message in section I, and then is the referent of the implied Subject of the finite verb in the Theme of the second message. The Rheme of that message contains a reference to the one who hears but does not understand (αὐτοῦ 'his' in τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ 'his heart'), and then οὗτος 'this one,' referring to the same person, is the Theme of the third message of the section. The pattern is thus a zig-zag pattern of movement from reference in the Rheme of one message to reference in the Theme of the next.

As noted above, the hyper-Theme of section I comes last in the section and is immediately contrasted with the hyper-Theme that begins section II. Within section II, the Rheme of the first message unit contains an interpretive reference to the one who hears the word and immediately receives it with joy. The ambiguity of the implied Subject referent in the second message was noted in chapter three. Whether, however, the referent is the one who hears and receives the word with joy or the word that is heard and received (τὸν λόγον, αὐτόν), the reference of the finite verb morphology in the Theme of the second message unit agrees with a reference in the Rheme of the previous message unit. The same referent is also implied subject of the finite verbs in the other two message units that follow in section II. The Themes, however, shift, first to πρόσκαιρος 'temporary' in the third message unit, then to the genitive absolute construction (γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον 'and when affliction or persecution comes on account of the word') in the fourth message unit.

The Themes shift similarly in section III. Following the hyper-Theme of the section (ὁ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρείς, οὗτος 'the one sown in the thorns, this one'), the Theme shifts to ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου 'the care of the age and the deceit of wealth' in the second message unit. The word (τὸν λόγον) referred to in the Rheme of the second message unit is then the implied Subject of the third message unit, but the Theme shifts once again to ἄκαρπος 'fruitless.'

The progression of Themes in section IV is similar to section II. Following the hyper-Theme (ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρείς, οὗτος 'the one sown on the good earth, this one'), the Theme of the second message unit is the relative pronoun ὃς, which refers either to the one who hears the word and understands, or to the word which is heard and understood. In either case, the same referent is the implied Subject of the third message unit. The section, and the interpretation, ends with the string of neuter relative pronouns that are Themes of the final three message units.

The pattern of thematic progression in Matthew's interpretation does not indicate written mode to the degree that the choice of Themes does. The seeming inconsistency is resolved in recognizing the different dimensions of mode. The lack of interpersonal Themes together with a lack of first and second person forms and exophoric references in topical Themes indicates a less spoken mode specifically along the dimension of interaction. Low interaction is indicated. At the same time, high lexical density, endophoric references and abstract references (especially references to entire events) are indicative of a more written

mode specifically along the dimension of role. The language of the interpretation plays a constituting role. The overall structure of thematic progression, in terms of the four sections corresponding to the sections of the parable, is attributable to the constituting role. The rearrangement of the opening of the interpretation to accommodate the thematic flow from the preceding discourse as well as the shifts in Theme without obvious development, however, are characteristic of language used in an oral channel, or written to “sound” that way.

Three differences in what is chosen to be Theme show the mode in Mark’s interpretation of the parable to be somewhat less written than in Matthew’s. First, although the proportion of interpersonal Themes is still low in Mark, there are nevertheless three of them (vv. 13b, 13c and 17a in Table 5.8), compared to one in Matthew. The additional interpersonal Themes come in Jesus’ transitional remarks to the disciples that introduce the interpretation. In addition to the second person reference of the understood subject in v. 13b (referring to the disciples, who are being addressed), there is also the polarity adjunct in that clause, followed by the question, with the interrogative word πῶς ‘how?’ as Theme in v. 13c. Second, there are a significantly higher number of textual Themes in Mark’s interpretation of the parable, especially a higher number of the paratactic conjunction καί ‘and.’ Both of these relatively minor differences reflect a somewhat more spoken mode of discourse.

Table 5.8: Theme in the Interpretation (Mk 4:13–20)

Vs.	text.	interp. topic.	Theme	Rheme
13b	Οὐκ οἶδατε			τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην,
13c	καὶ πῶς			πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γινώσcesθε;
14a	ὁ σπείρων			τὸν λόγον σπείρει.
15a	οὗτοι			δέ εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν·
15b	ὅπου			σπείρεται ὁ λόγος,
15c	καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν,			εὐθὺς ἔρχεται ὁ Σατανᾶς
15d	καὶ αἶρει			τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον εἰς αὐτούς.
16a	καὶ οὗτοι			εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπειρόμενοι,
16b	οἳ			ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν,
17a	καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν			ρίζαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
17b	ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιροί			εἰσιν,
17c	εἴτα γενομένης θλίψεως ἡ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον			εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζονται.
18a	καὶ ἄλλοι			εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι·
18b	οὗτοι			εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες,
19a	καὶ αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι			

	<u>εἰσπορευόμεναι</u>	συμπνίγουσιν τὸν λόγον
20a	<u>καὶ ἐκεῖνοί</u>	εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες,
20b	<u>οἵτινες</u>	ἀκούουσιν τὸν λόγον
20c	<u>καὶ παραδέχονται</u>	
20d	<u>καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν</u>	
20e	[bears fruit]	ἐν τριάκοντα
20f	<u>καὶ [bears fruit]</u>	ἐν ἑξήκοντα
20g	<u>καὶ [bears fruit]</u>	ἐν ἑκατόν.

The third difference in choice of Theme between Matthew and Mark is more significant. The lexical density of the topical Themes is considerably less in Mark than in Matthew. The overall lexical density of the interpretation text does not differ greatly between the two versions (4.0 [88 lexical items in 22 clauses] in Mark, 4.7 [80 lexical items in 17 clauses] in Matthew). The lexical complexity, however, is more in the Rhemes of the clauses in Mark than in the Themes compared to Matthew. The choice of topical Themes in Mark has tended much more toward concrete Themes that refer to participants from the parable to be interpreted (οὗτοι ‘these’ in vv. 15a, 16a and 18b; ἐκεῖνοι ‘those’ in 20a), rather than whole events as in Matthew. In order to make it clear which participants from the parable are being referred to, the information must be presented, but it is presented in separate messages rather than as the point of departure (Theme) of the message that interprets a particular participant. For example, Mark’s interpretation of the seed sown among thorns begins with two clauses, the first identifying the participant from the parable to be interpreted, the second beginning the interpretation:

18a καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι·
18b οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες

Matthew’s interpretation at the same point identifies the participant in terms of the event of seed sown among thorns within the Theme of the single ranking clause that begins the interpretation of that event:

22a ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρείς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων

Mark has the following three clauses interpreting the seed sown on good soil:

20a καὶ ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες,
20b οἵτινες ἀκούουσιν τὸν λόγον
20c καὶ παραδέχονται

Matthew has one clause carrying the same interpretive load:

23a ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρείς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον
ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς

In several places in the interpretation, Matthew has one clause where Mark has more than one,¹² accounting largely for the difference in overall lexical density (i.e., Mark presents the information with more clauses, not fewer lexical items).

In addition to reducing the lexical density of the Themes considerably (and the density of the whole text slightly), this choice of topical Themes also increases the number of times that topical Themes are repeated throughout the interpretation. Like Matthew, the interpretation in Mark is characterized by frequent shifts in topical Theme. The primary thematic structure of the interpretation is provided by the parable being interpreted, but that structure is not as clear as in Matthew. Added to the smaller differences in interpersonal and textual Themes, these characteristics demonstrate a higher degree of interaction and less planning and editing than is evident in Matthew.

Luke's considerably shorter and tighter text is not only shorter in terms of number of clauses, but in terms of lexical items as well. Thus Luke's smaller interpretation does not differ significantly from Matthew's in lexical density (4.5 in Luke compared to 4.7 in Matthew). The strategy for organizing the interpretation is similar to Matthew's. The topical Themes show a greater lexical density than Mark's, and the structure is given by Themes corresponding to the four parts of the parable that include not only reference to seed sown, but to the environments in which they are sown as part of the Themes (vv. 12a, 13a, 14a and 15a in Table 5.9). Two of Luke's 15 clauses have interpersonal Themes, but both are polarity adjuncts ($\mu\eta$ in v. 12d and $\text{o}\ddot{\upsilon}$ in v. 14c). There is no direct address to the disciples by way of transition, nor any other first or second person forms or exophoric references as Themes. In addition to these characteristics of a more written mode, Luke also has four circumstances as Theme in only 15 clauses. Luke exhibits the least interaction and the highest degree of planning and editing of the three versions of the interpretation.

Table 5.9: Theme in the Interpretation (Lk 8:11–15)

Vs.	<i>text.</i>	inters.	topic.	Theme	Rheme
11a	Ἔστιν				δὲ αὕτη ἡ παραβολή·
11b	Ὁ σπόρος				ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.
12a	οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν				εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες,
12b	εἴτα ἔρχεται				ὁ διάβολος
12c	καὶ αἶρει				τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν,
12d	ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες				σωθῶσιν.
13a	οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας				[are] οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον,
13b	καὶ οὕτοι				ρίζαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν,
13c	οἳ				πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν
13d	καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ				ἀφίστανται.

¹²In addition to the examples already given above, compare vv. 15b, c and d in Mark (Table 5.8) with vs. 19a and b in Matthew (Table 5.8), and vv. 16a and b in Mark with v. 20a in Matthew.

14a	<u>τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας</u> <u>πесόν, οὕτοί</u>	εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες,
14b	<u>καὶ ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ</u> <u>πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ</u> <u>βίου πορευόμενοι</u>	συμπνίγονται
14c	<u>καὶ οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν.</u>	
15a	<u>τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ καλῇ γῇ, οὕτοί</u>	εἰσιν οἵτινες ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ
15b	<u>ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον</u>	κατέχουσιν καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν ἐν ὑπομονῇ.

5.1.4 Interaction and Role in the Narrative

Matthew 13:1–23 and its parallels are predominantly discourse material. The narrative frame of this text is quite limited. What can be said about the mode of the narrative of Matthew is quite limited based on this material alone. Some limited observations, however, can be made based on the choice of Themes in the narrative frame and especially on the narrative introduction to the discourse. In addition, textual meanings in Matthew 13:1–23 as a whole, especially Theme and its interaction with reference, are significant to the analysis of the whole narrative, including the mode of the whole text.

In the limited number of clauses of the narrative frame (see Table 5.10), significant patterns in what is chosen as Theme emerge. There are, for example, no interpersonal Themes in the narrative frame and no first or second person references or other exophoric references in Themes (or in Rhemes, for that matter). There is an absence of features that would indicate a high degree of interaction within the text. Textual Themes are abundant, however, including a subordinating conjunction indicating a hypotactic relationship and multiple uses of the paratactic conjunction καί ‘and,’ which engage the reader with the story more than with its teller.

Table 5.10: Theme in the Narrative Frame of Matthew 13:1–23

Vs.	text. interp. topic. Theme	Rheme
1a	<u>Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ</u>	<u>ἔξεληθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῆς οἰκίας</u> ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν.
2a	καὶ <u>συνήχθησαν</u>	πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλοι πολλοί,
2b	ὥστε <u>αὐτόν</u>	<u>εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα</u> καθῆσθαι,
2c	καὶ <u>πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος</u>	<u>ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν</u> εἰστήκει.
3a	καὶ <u>ἐλάλησεν</u>	αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς λέγων,
10a	<u>Καὶ προσελθόντες</u>	<u>οἱ μαθηταὶ</u> εἶπαν αὐτῷ,
11a	<u>ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς</u>	εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,

The nature of the topical Themes chosen is even more telling than the ab-

sence of characteristics of interpersonal interaction in revealing the written character of the narrative. Circumstantial elements defining setting are prominent in thematic positions and contribute much to the overall high degree of lexical density of the text. Not only are circumstantial elements prominent as topical Theme in vv. 1a and 10a, they are also displaced Themes in vv. 2b and 2c, and a participle realizing a circumstantial element is embedded in the participant reference that is the topical Theme of v. 11a. In a more spoken mode (and especially when the channel is actually oral), such circumstantial elements that are necessary for the narrative are likely to become clauses (message units) by themselves, reducing the lexical density and increasing the ease of processing of the information. Apart from the circumstantial Themes, however, the topical Themes are concrete more than abstract. Together with the pattern of textual Themes, this increases the degree of interaction, not necessarily with the writer, but with the narrative. In these few clauses of the narrative frame, then, the constituting role of the language and a degree of interaction more written than spoken is revealed.

The role of Theme in the method of development of the narrative cannot be adequately seen apart from the discourse contained within the narrative. Table 5.11 displays the Theme analysis of the narrative frame with certain parts of the discourse inserted in order to illustrate the role that the discourse material plays in the development of the narrative itself. Thematic development within the parable, the rationale and the interpretation has been discussed in the previous sections, especially as it is relevant to understanding the mode of that discourse material relative to its context within the world of the narrative. In Table 5.11 the development within the discourse material is ignored, particularly within the parable and its interpretation. The focus is on the development of the narrative insofar as it can be determined within the limited text of Matthew 13:1–23. Themes and Rhemes are separated into different columns, but distinctions between interpersonal, textual and topical Themes are not marked, nor are participant references, circumstantial elements or displaced Themes. Instead, references to Jesus that are significant to the development of the text (whether nominal references or verb morphology) are in bold, references to the crowd are underlined and references to the disciples are in italics. Abstract participants and phrases that contribute to the method of development are marked like this.

Table 5.11: Theme and Method of Development in Matthew 13:1–23

Vs.	Theme	Rheme
1a	Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν·
2a	καὶ συνήχθησαν	πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλοι πολλοί,
2b	ὥστε αὐτὸν	εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι,
2c	καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος	ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰστήκει.
3a	καὶ ἐλάλησεν	<u>αὐτοῖς</u> πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς λέγων,
3b	Ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.

4a–8e ...	
9a ὁ ἔχων ὦτα	ἀκουέτω.
10a Καὶ προσελθόντες	οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ,
10b Διὰ τί	ἐν παραβολαῖς <u>λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς;</u>
11a ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς	εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,
11b Ὅτι ὑμῖν	δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν,
11c ἐκείνοις	δὲ οὐ δέδοται.
12 ...	
13a διὰ τοῦτο	ἐν παραβολαῖς <u>αὐτοῖς λαλῶ,</u>
13b ὅτι βλέποντες	οὐ βλέπουσιν
13c καὶ ἀκούοντες	οὐκ ἀκούουσιν
13d οὐδὲ συνίουσιν,	
14a καὶ ἀναπληροῦται	αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα,
14b Ἄκοῦ	ἀκούετε
14c καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε,	
14d–15d ...	
15e καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν	ἀκούσωσιν
15f καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ	συνῶσιν
15g–15h ...	
16a ὑμῶν	δὲ [are] μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
16b ὅτι βλέπουσιν	
16c καὶ [blessed]	[are] τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν
16d ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.	
17a ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω	ὑμῖν
17b ὅτι πολλοὶ προφητῆται καὶ δίκαιοι	ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε
17c καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,	
17d καὶ [πολλοὶ προφητῆται καὶ δίκαιοι]	[ἐπεθύμησαν] ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε
17e καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.	
18a Ὑμεῖς	οὖν ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείραντος.
19a παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος	ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς
19b–23f ...	

Reference is an important part of the development of the whole text. Within the beginning narrative frame, Jesus is referred to explicitly (ὁ Ἰησοῦς) in the opening message (v. 1a) in which the circumstantial Theme separates off the whole parable discourse from what preceded it. Jesus is again referred to in the Rheme of the second message (αὐτὸν ‘him,’ v. 2a) even as the crowd is introduced (ὄχλοι πολλοί ‘many crowds’). This Rheme provides the starting point for the next two messages as first αὐτὸν ‘him,’ referring to Jesus, is Theme of v. 2b and then πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ‘all the crowd’ is Theme of v. 2c. Jesus is then the referent of the implied Subject of the verb in thematic position of v. 3a as his speaking

becomes point of reference for a Rheme that sets the stage for the remainder of the discourse.

The Rheme of v. 3a (boxed in Table 5.11), αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς λέγων ‘to them many [things] in parables saying,’ does more than introduce the parables that follow, although it does do that too — it prepares the reader/hearer to understand the discourse immediately following as a parable and, with the plural forms πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς ‘many things in parables,’ to expect more parables. But it also becomes significant as the narrative develops by providing a point of reference for the question that follows the first parable in v. 10b. The Rheme of that question is repetitious of the one in v. 3a: ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ‘in parables you speak to them.’ The crowd, referred to by the pronoun αὐτοῖς ‘them’ in the Rheme of v. 10b, and the disciples, referred to by the pronoun αὐτοῖς ‘them’ in the Rheme of v. 11a, become the contrastive Themes of the first two ranking clauses of Jesus’ answer (ὕμῖν ‘to you-PL’ in v. 11b and ἐκείνοις ‘to those’ in v. 11c). This contrast carries forward throughout the rationale. In v. 13a, the content of the Rheme of v. 3a and 10b is again repeated (ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ ‘in parables to them I speak’) followed by a series of references to “those” (i.e., those to whom the parables are spoken) which dominate the central part of the rationale (vv. 13–15; see especially the underlined references in the boxed text portions in Table 5.11). The disciples then return by way of contrast in an especially marked Theme in v. 16a (the genitive ὑμῶν ‘your-PL’ separated from the nominal group it modifies). References to the disciples remain prominent through v. 18a, in which ὑμεῖς ‘you,’ referring to the disciples, is an emphatic marked Theme. The Rheme of this clause, which is the transition to the interpretation of the parable, contains a direct contrast to the Rhemes of vv. 3a, 10b and 13a. In those Rhemes, the crowds are identified as those to whom the parables are spoken, but throughout the rationale it is clear that they do not really hear. In v. 18a, the disciples are identified as those who actually hear the parable (ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν [τοῦ σπεύραντος] ‘you hear the parable [of the sower]’). Through repetition and contrast, then, there is a “rhematic development” throughout Matthew 13:1–23 that accompanies a thematic development of referential contrast between the crowds, to whom the parables are spoken, and the disciples, who hear the parable.

The contrast in this narrative helps to explain the unusual arrangement of the first part of the parable interpretation, in which the genitive absolute construction παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος ‘all who hear the word of the Kingdom and do not understand it’ (v. 19a) is Theme of the opening message unit, as noted in the previous section. Within the central part of the rationale in which references to the crowd dominate, the repetitions of the pairing of hearing (or not hearing) and not understanding are surrounded by boxes in Table 5.12. The sequence καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδὲ συνιούσιν ‘and hearing they do not hear nor perceive (vv. 13c–d) is followed by the two similar sequences from the Isaiah quotation: ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε ‘by what is heard you shall hear and by no means perceive’ (vv. 14b–c) and καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν ‘and with [their] ears they should hear and with their hearts they should perceive’ (vv. 15e–f, dominated

by the negative μήποτε ‘lest’ in v. 15d). The first of these sequences from the Isaiah quotation seems to be the pattern for the genitive absolute construction with which the parable interpretation begins. The perceiver is generalized from “those” in v. 11c to “all” (παντός) in v. 19a, but the contrast between people who hear and do not perceive and the disciples who are really hearing is clear. It is already clear that at the end of the parable discourse (v. 51) when Jesus asks the disciples, Συνήκατε ταῦτα πάντα; ‘Have you understood all these things?’ the answer must be, Ναί ‘Yes.’

As has been the pattern throughout, the analysis of Theme in Mark’s narrative frame shows a lower degree of written mode than Matthew’s text (see Table 5.12). Like Matthew, Mark has no interpersonal Themes in the narrative frame. Except for the ὥστε clause (v. 1c), however, every clause in Mark’s narrative frame begins with καί. More significantly, topical Themes are not lexically dense but are simple and predominantly unmarked finite verbs. In terms of thematic development, the whole discourse is not set off by a circumstantial Theme as Matthew’s discourse is. The opening clause gives the sense of a continuation more than a major transition. Instead, a greater shift is indicated following the parable with the circumstantial Theme in v. 10a. Otherwise, the opening narrative frames of the two accounts develop similarly. The thematic ties that begin in the narrative frame and are woven through the discourse material in Matthew, however, are missing from Mark. To the extent that there is a thematic tie that will continue throughout the parable discourse, it is the beginning of Jesus’ response to the disciples’ actual question: Οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην, καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε; ‘You do not know this parable, and how will you know all the parables?’ (vv. 13b–c). However, this statement and question have no particular thematic ties to the opening narrative frame, nor to the other discourse material, except to the degree that the discourse material consists largely of a parable and its interpretation. The narrative of Mark 4:1–20 as whole, then, shows evidence of being less organized or planned, less carefully edited, less a written mode. This evidence could be construed as favoring Markan priority.

Table 5.12: Theme in the Narrative Frame of Mark 4:1–20

Vs.	text. interp. topic.	Theme	Rheme
1a	Καὶ <u>πάλιν</u>		ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν·
1b	καὶ <u>συνάγεται</u>		πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πλεῖστος,
1c	ὥστε <u>αὐτὸν</u>		<u>εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα</u> καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ,
1d	καὶ <u>πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος</u>		<u>πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν</u> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν.
2a	καὶ <u>ἐδίδασκεν</u>		αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς πολλά
2b	καὶ <u>ἔλεγεν</u>		αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ,
9a	καὶ <u>ἔλεγεν</u> ,		

- 10a *Kai ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας,* ἡρώτων αὐτόν οἱ περὶ αὐτόν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς παραβολάς.
- 11a *kai ἔλεγεν* αὐτοῖς,
- 13a *Kai λέγει* αὐτοῖς,

Luke's narrative departs much more from Mark's than Matthew's does. Luke's compression of the narrative at this point is also an indication of a much higher degree of written-ness than the parallels. Not only are there no inter-personal Themes; neither are there any textual Themes in the narrative frame (see Table 5.13). The opening topical Theme is very dense lexically and indicates a transition of some kind, but the narrative setting is minimal and does not introduce an entire discourse of parables as Matthew's opening narrative frame clearly does. There is not a large thematic load to be carried in Luke's text, since Luke's parallel to the parable and its interpretation is simply that: a parable and its interpretation. It is the most highly structured and clearly edited, but not obviously edited for an overall narrative purpose as Matthew's text is. The only narrative purpose of editing that is apparent without looking beyond the text of Luke 8:4–15 (i.e., to the co-text) is to present the telling of a parable and its interpretation.

Table 5.13: Theme in the Narrative Frame of Luke 8:4–15

Vs.	<i>text.</i> interp. top. Theme	Rheme
4a	<u>Συνιόντος δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτόν</u>	εἶπεν διὰ παραβολῆς·
8c	<u>ταῦτα λέγων</u>	ἐφώνει,
9a	Ἐπηρώτων	δὲ αὐτόν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
10a	ὁ	δὲ εἶπεν,

5.2 Summary and Conclusions

In the same way that the register variables field and tenor are aspects of the evangelist's context that are realized in the semantic structure of the text, so also is the mode of the evangelist's text an aspect of context in text. At the same time, the evangelist shapes the discourse within the text to realize the context being created by the narrative. The context within the narrative includes the role of language and the degree of interaction, i.e., mode. The mode of the discourse within the text is somewhat artificial. It is artificial not only because the discourse is abbreviated compared to what a real situation might be (e.g., a

transcription of an actual situation in which a parable is told and interpreted). It is also somewhat artificial because the discourse, including the choice of Themes, is shaped by the evangelist's own context, including the mode of the gospel as a whole. In other words, the mode of the gospel text is realized in the way the discourse material is structured, not just in the narrative parts.

The mode of the discourse itself in Matthew shifts from parable to rationale to interpretation. There is a degree of interaction in the parable that reflects a situation of face-to-face delivery of the parable to the crowds. But the dominant characteristic of the parable's mode is its constitutive role.¹³ The dramatic increase in interaction in the rationale reflects not only the change of the teaching situation from a large crowd to the small group of disciples who followed Jesus. It also reflects the change in the role of language to an accompanying role. Jesus is interacting with his disciples about the activity of teaching that is going on in the situational context. The level of interaction is higher in the interpretation than in the parable as Jesus continues to interact with the disciples, but the role of language shifts once again. It is not purely constitutive or accompanying, but somewhere between as an interpretation of a constitutive use of language. In this way, it shares something in common with a commentary on a sporting event, or perhaps with an athlete's explanation of, or reflection or commentary on, her performance in an interview following the performance.

Although there are variations of degree of written-ness between the gospels throughout the discourse material, the major difference between Matthew and the others is the nature and role of the rationale section. This relates not only to the context of the discourse within the narrative world of the gospel, but also to the context of the gospel itself. The more spoken mode of the discourse material in Mark is perhaps indicative of a less carefully edited text, or perhaps simply of less literary skill. Mark's concern seems to be more simply to present the parable and its interpretation than to shape them for a broader narrative purpose; the content of the parable and interpretation may lend itself to a Markan notion of apocalyptic esoteric and messianic secret (Sellin 1983), but the textual meanings are not organized to communicate this notion in a coherent way in the same way that Matthew's text presses the contrast between the disciples and the uncomprehending crowd. In contrast to Mark, Luke's discourse material is carefully edited and is more written in character than either Mark or Matthew. Yet Luke's concern, like Mark's, seems to be more to present the parable and its interpretation than to shape them for a broader purpose. The mode is such that the parable and its interpretation are identifiable as spoken texts, but spoken

¹³Whatever its original nature and whether or not it can be traced back to Jesus in its present form, the parable of the sower in its canonical form is not an example of language in an accompanying role; i.e., it does not reflect an "original" situation, as Jeremias (1972) might say. It is more like a creative composition (Via 1967), a bearer of reality (Crossan 1973), an aesthetic object that resists contextualization (Scott 1989). In personal communication, Michael Gregory pointed out that parables should be expected to exhibit some of the organizational and textual features of written language because of their nature as frequently repeated stories. He identifies them as one kind of the frequently repeated spoken monologues without written origin found in many oral cultures, and labels them as *reciting* medium (Gregory 1967; Gregory & Carroll 1978).

texts that have been reduced to a minimalist written representation. Luke does not shape this material into a major speech with programmatic significance. Luke does not even include comparable material to Mark's introduction to the interpretation, which at least takes advantage of the opportunity to reiterate a broader theme of the narrative concerning the lack of understanding on the part of the disciples, even if the whole of Mark 4:1–20 is not shaped well to support that purpose. The mode as reflected in the thematic structure of the discourse material indicates that this particular text portion may be more significant within Matthew's larger gospel narrative than the parallel texts are in Mark and Luke.

The mode of the discourse material within the narrative adds to what the narrative frame itself tells us of the narrative world constructed by the evangelist. This is especially true in the case of Matthew, in which the rationale and interpretation are more clearly structured to advance broader narrative goals than the parallel discourse material does in Mark and Luke. We have seen in the final section of this chapter that particular choices of Theme and thematic structuring are in service to a larger development than is evident from within the discourse material itself. The narrative frame is structured to set forth a contrast between what Jesus says to the crowd and what he says to the disciples. This contrast is developed in the much expanded rationale in Matthew (compared to Mark and Luke). The whole interpretation then becomes a contrast to the parable in that Jesus spoke the parable to the crowd, but the disciples really hear the interpretation. It is given to them to know the mysteries of the kingdom. They hear and understand. The crowd, however, hears without really hearing or understanding. The interpretation is then structured to take as its starting point and orientation reference to all who hear the word of the kingdom and do not understand, in direct contrast to those who are hearing the interpretation. This thematic structuring is the realization of a written mode in which the language is playing a constituting role of constructing a narrative, including the embedded discourse, that develops particular notions about contrasts between those to whom the word is spoken and those who really hear and understand it.

Chapter 6

Conclusions: Context in the Text of Matthew 13:1–23 and Parallels

In the quest to understand biblical texts in context, a variety of methods have been used to determine, clarify or reconstruct context, including historical, theological and cultural context. The importance of context for interpreting texts raises the question of how text and context are related and whether some aspects of context are embedded in the text itself. Occasionally texts communicate explicit information about events and how they relate to one another or about the culture in which the text was produced. More often we are left to reconstruct, based on partial evidence, both socio-historical contexts and sequences of events that give plausible accounts of the context in which a text is produced. Introductions to New Testament commentaries are filled with such reconstructions, which vary from one commentator to another and also vary in their degree of plausibility. If some aspects of context are actually embedded in texts, whether aspects of the instantial situation in which the texts are produced or the broader cultural context, this would seem to be a very important starting point for understanding context and thus for interpreting the texts.

The contention of this study has been that certain limited aspects of context are indeed embedded in texts and that systemic functional grammar (SFG) provides a model for analyzing texts that makes clear those aspects of context. SFG recognizes both context of culture and context of situation as linguistically relevant. The focus of this study has been on the three linguistically relevant variables of context of situation, namely field, tenor and mode. The usefulness of SFG for analyzing context in text is not only the provision of these concepts for analyzing context but in the relationships that the model makes explicit between the contextual variables and semantic functions that realize them. Field is realized by experiential meanings, tenor by interpersonal meanings, and mode by textual meanings. These three kinds of meanings are in turn realized by

grammatical structures that are mapped onto one another and realized either graphically or phonically in linear text. By analyzing the structures that realize process types in a text, we are able to get at experiential meanings that realize the field of the text, or what is going on in relation to what in the context of situation. By analyzing the structures that realize Mood, including Subject and Predicator structures, we are able to get at those interpersonal meanings that realize the tenor of the text, or the negotiation of social relationships and the social roles of participants in social action in the context of situation. By analyzing the structures that realize Theme and flow of information, we are able to get at those textual meanings that realize the mode of the text, or the part played by language in the social activity in the context of situation. The first chapter of this study included a description of experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings and how these meanings are realized at the clause rank in the grammar of New Testament Greek. This description provided the basis for the analysis of specific texts to see what contextual features were realized in the semantic structures of those texts.

The textual focus of this study, i.e., the specific text examined in terms of its field, tenor and mode, has been Matthew 13:1–23 and its parallels. The third chapter contained a brief analysis of logical meanings of the text in order to define the text parts for analysis of experiential meanings. Experiential meanings were analyzed in detail in that chapter to show how they realize activity and object focus, the categories used to define the field variable of context of situation. Interpersonal meanings were analyzed in detail in the fourth chapter as realizations of the tenor variable of context. Tenor was analyzed generally as formal versus informal in terms of status, contact and affect. Textual meanings were analyzed in detail in the fifth chapter as realizations of the mode variable of context. Mode, which relates to field in terms of the role language plays in a social activity and to tenor in terms of the interaction between those engaged in the social activity, was characterized as spoken versus written. In this chapter, the results of these analyses of the three contextual variables will be summarized first in terms of the register of the discourse within the narrative context of the text and then in terms of the register of the text in relation to the evangelist's context.

6.1 The Context of Situation within Mt 13:1–23 and Parallels

The contextual features of the discourse spoken by characters within the narrative and revealed in the semantic structures of the text have been analyzed throughout this study by segments of the discourse, namely the parable, the rationale discourse and the interpretation of the parable. In this section, the register (i.e., field, tenor and mode) of the parable, rationale and interpretation will be summarized as well as the register of the discourse material as a whole.

The parable in Matthew is a story about what happens to seeds after they

are sown. The story is not a highly technical or specialized account of sowing or of seeds, though it does contain sufficient information from which one can derive a taxonomy. Nevertheless, the taxonomy is not very deep and is on an ordinary, commonsense level. The text does not give enough information to determine whether the taxonomy that is presented was intended to be contrary to expectation or straightforward. In either case, the tenor of the story is not one of simply passing the time with friends or of simple entertainment. The degree of contact between teller and addressees evident in the text is low. It has the tenor of an authoritative teacher telling a story as expert advice, perhaps even of warning, to a crowd with which the teacher is not in frequent contact. The story is in a spoken mode, exhibiting a relatively high degree of interactivity, but demonstrates features of a highly organized, perhaps often repeated story, that itself constitutes a social activity apart from what else is going on in the instantial situation in which it is told on one occasion. The differences in the register of the parable in the parallels are relatively few. Mark differs especially in the degree of formality and familiarity. The parable shows a higher degree of contact between the interactants and of interactivity in the mode of the text in Mark, reflecting that it is told as much to the disciples who routinely interact with the teacher as to strangers in the crowd.

The rationale in Matthew, in response to a question, is an exposition about those who hear Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom and either perceive the mysteries of the kingdom as they are enabled by the actions of God or fail to perceive the mysteries as they are disabled by their own actions. The tenor of this exposition retains the status differential of an authoritative teacher to those being taught that was evident in the parable, but the degree of contact increases, reflecting the shift in participants from the larger crowd to the smaller group of disciples. The use of first and second person pronouns and verb morphology textually establishes this part of the discourse as a face to face exchange in which Jesus is addressing his disciples. The tenor, or the role relationships between the speaker and addressees, is predicted by the interpersonal function of the text as part of an exchange in which the text is offering information in response to a request. The response asserts particular states of affairs in a clear, straightforward way which indicates the role of an "authority" who controls the floor and gives information to which the askers do not otherwise have access.

In all three gospels, the degree of interaction and intensity of affect rises from the parable to the rationale in proportion to the lessening of the constituting role played by the language; the rationale is more closely related to what else is going on in the context than the parable was. The contrast in degree of contact is even greater in Luke than in Matthew, indicating a greater contrast between the general crowds and the circle of disciples in Luke, but the contrast is much less in Mark in part because the degree of contact evident in the parable itself was already higher in Mark than in the parallels, and perhaps also because the disciples are not as clearly distinguished from the crowds (Mk 4:10). The lack of distinction, however, also gives the disciples the same lack of understanding that the crowds have until Jesus provided the interpretation for them. The rhetorical mode of the rationale, as a result, is more polemical than explanatory. Unlike

Matthew, the tenor of Mark's rationale discourse is not shaped by a positive response to a request for information, but is instead unsolicited information that explains why Jesus is about to answer their question.

The interpretation of the parable is allegorical. In Matthew, the various components of the story are interpreted so as to produce an exposition about what happens to Jesus' message when various people hear it, thus continuing the exposition of the rationale section in answer to the specific question asked in the instantial situation. By way of contrast, the interpretation in Mark is itself the answer to the question, following a brief unsolicited comment by Jesus, and the exposition given in the interpretation is about what happens to various people when they hear the word, rather than what happens to the word when it is heard, as it is in Matthew. Although the intensity of affect and degree of contact remains at the same level as the rationale, the interpretation, like the parable itself, exhibits a degree of formality, and thus an interactive distance between the participants that is not characteristic of the rationale. Although the tenor shows a high degree of contact, the mode is low interactivity between participants. The interaction of the interpretation is with the parable itself and the role language plays is constitutive of the interpretive activity. The authority of the interpretation is communicated through the register of the text.

The register of the discourse as a whole, which is overwhelmingly dominated by the words of Jesus, can be summarized as follows:

field enabling actions of God and self-disabling actions of some hearers that account for not all receiving Jesus' message with understanding and acceptance; low degree of specialization;

tenor master to an audience of close disciples who interact with him and a broader audience of those who have not responded to the invitation to discipleship and do not interact with him;

mode spoken discourse; mixture of recitation, highly interactive language focussed on the instantial situation, and an exposition of the recitative text.

The register is thus compatible with Kingsbury's conclusions that the parable of the sower and following discussion was a response by Jesus to escalating hostility within the context of Matthew's narrative (Kingsbury 1969). A message is being proclaimed with a claim to authority from one who is master. The message is identified as "the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens." Not everyone who has heard has accepted the message or even understood its claims. The text is implicitly a warning to those who have not accepted the message and is explicitly an explanation of why they have not for those who have accepted it.

6.2 The Context of Situation of Mt 13:1–23 and Parallels

The register of the discourse within the narrative is a part of the meaning of that narrative and thus affects the register of the whole narrative. In the narrative

frame itself, Jesus is portrayed as an authoritative teacher to the crowds and a source of information to his disciples, a portrayal that is solidified by the register of the discourse within the narrative as summarized in the previous section. The register of the discourse is thus a part of the field of the narrative of which it is a part. For example, the authoritative role of a teacher giving information to which the askers do not otherwise have access, a role that is apparent in the interpersonal meanings of the rationale discourse, characterizes not only the relationship between Jesus and the disciples in the narrative, but also between Matthew and the reader who are not engaged in face to face communication — Matthew answers a question for the reader which the reader is not in a position to ask directly, but in which the reader is nevertheless engaged. The field, insofar as it can be predicted from the ideational meanings, is an activity of explanation in which the speaker is accounting for differences in the ways two groups of people respond to the parables. The field of discourse of Mt 13:1–23 can be described as an explanation of why the word proclaimed by Jesus is sometimes understood and accepted and sometimes not.¹ The analysis of field as it is revealed in the experiential meanings of the text does not by itself tell us about transparency of the disciples or of the crowds or the purpose for giving the explanation about responses to Jesus. What it does reveal is an activity within the context of situation that can be described as an explanation in regard to Jesus' activity of proclamation of the word and the responses to it. The explanation that is given in Matthew clearly distinguishes Jesus' teaching of the crowds from the conversation with the disciples in which the purpose of teaching in parables is revealed. This contrasts with both Mark and Luke, in which the field is more specifically Jesus' teaching of the disciples and crowds together, with additional instruction given to the disciples as a smaller segment of the crowd. This need for further teaching to explain the parable itself in Mark points to a warning activity in the instantial situation of Mark's gospel that is at best only implicit in Matthew.

The tenor of Matthew 13:1–23 is shaped not only by the interpersonal meanings of the narrative frame but by the discourse material as well. The tenor of the narrative frame somewhat parallels the tenor of the discourse. There is a high degree of status differential consistent with an assertion of authority about the explanation being presented. There is no affect in the narrative frame. The formal tone indicates a low degree of contact, indicating that the authoritative explanation of response to Jesus' proclamation is given to an audience that goes beyond those well-known to the evangelist. The tenor is consistent with a situation in which the audience is being invited to respond either like the disciples in the narrative or like the crowd, but such an invitation is not explicitly given in this part of the gospel. In contrast to Matthew, the tenor of Luke's text is more formal, conveying a lower degree of contact, an even greater social distance between the evangelist and the intended audience. The tenor of Mark, on the other hand, indicates the least formality and greatest possibility

¹This is essentially how Daniel Harrington (1991, 199) described what this pericope is about.

of more frequent contact between the evangelist and those for whom the gospel is produced. Of the three accounts, Mark's is most consistent with an invitation to respond to Jesus, i.e., a situation to which the disciples and the crowd are transparent. Luke's account is least consistent with a situation to which this particular portion of text would be seen as an invitation to respond.

The mode of Matthew 13:1–23 is “written” as that term has been defined in this study. The role that language plays in the instantial situation is more constituting of social activity than accompanying it. The variations in mode between the parallel accounts is consistent with the variations in tenor. Luke's very compact account (compared to the parallels) tells us less about the role of language, but is clearly less interactive and thus more “written” than Matthew's text. Mark's text has a more spoken quality with even more features typical of interactivity. While the language of the text is still used to constitute the activity of telling a story, the story has a less programmatic or reflective nature and instead has features of a story that is reported in a more accompanying manner. The generally lower degree of formality in Mark and higher degree of formality in Luke may also indicate relative social status of the evangelists.

In summary, the context of situation of Matthew's text, insofar as it can be predicted from the semantic functions in the text, is one in which Matthew is addressing the reader in an authoritative role. Matthew conveys the narrative about Jesus as one who has the authority to do so. The real authority, however, belongs to Jesus; Matthew tells the story in such a way that Jesus also engages the reader as he answers the question from his disciples in which he explains why he addresses the people in parables, and why they fail to understand them. Those who understand (who are also being addressed) do so by the enabling actions of God and those who fail to understand fail because of their own self-disabling actions. The register is consistent with that of a written sermon in which the proclaimer addresses the reader with the intent that the reader hear Jesus' own explanation for responses to him and his word.

The analysis of the instantial situation of Matthew's text presented in this study is consistent with Kingsbury's conclusions that the text has a dominant apologetic function in a situation “characterized by the disappointing results of the Christian mission to the Jews and the attendant debate between the Church and Pharisaic Judaism over which of these two communities was the true people of God” (Kingsbury 1969, 51). As Daniel J. Harrington (1991, 197) puts it, “The major theme in Matthew's presentation of Jesus' parables is the mystery of the rejection and acceptance of Jesus' word of the kingdom. Thus he is confronting what was surely a reality both during Jesus' own public ministry and within Matthew's experience toward the end of the first century.” However, there is no warrant within this part of Matthew's gospel for Kingsbury's conclusion that this apology is aimed at the unbelieving Jews and that a secondary paraenetic function is aimed at disciples of Jesus who are Matthew's contemporaries. While the parable itself has an implicit tone of warning to the crowds within the narrative, and can thus be read in some sense as exhortation (Hagner 1993, 380–381; Luz 1990), the results of this study favor a reading of the primary function of the text within its instantial situation as explanatory (Davies &

Allison 1991, 402), an apology aimed at Jewish believers in Jesus as Romans 9–11 is an apology aimed at gentile believers. The goal of the apology is to offer to those who have responded to him in faith an explanation for why, if Jesus is what they confess him to be, so many people in Israel have failed to respond positively to him.

The analysis presented here offers an explanation for why Kingsbury (1969, 63) read the interpretation of the parable as an excursus since the rationale and not the interpretation provided an answer to the question posed to Jesus in Matthew. This analysis also suggests, however, that the interpretation is not an excursus with a predominantly paraenetic function, as Kingsbury suggested, but is used by Matthew to expand upon the explanation given in the rationale regarding negative responses to Jesus. The text only functions as exhortation or warning for the reader of the text insofar as the text implies such exhortation or warning to the reader (du Plessis 1987), but such implication does not seem to apply to the implied reader indicated by the tenor of the text. Warning or exhortation aimed at the reader is not explicit in the text and would seem to apply only to those readers for whom it was not directly intended who have happened upon Matthew's gospel and have not yet made a decision either to become a disciple of Jesus or to reject his word of the kingdom. The register of Matthew's text is more consistent with explanation to disciples than with warning to those who have already rejected Jesus.

6.3 Meanings and Issues of Interpretation in Mt 13:1–23 and Parallels

This study has focussed on semantic structures as described by systemic functional linguistics in order to get at the register variables realized by those structures. However, this approach to analyzing the meanings of a text also contributes more directly to the interpretation of the text. It does so in part by focussing attention on areas of meaning that are often neglected by interpreters, such as textual meanings. The analysis of textual meanings in Matthew 13:1–23 and parallels reveals meaningful choices regarding the way the texts are structured that have a bearing on the understanding of the text as purposeful behavior. There is, for example, a thematic progression throughout the whole section that indicates that the section has a programmatic significance within the gospel of Matthew that the parallel sections do not have in Mark or Luke, as demonstrated in the analysis of theme in chapter five. This approach to the analysis of meanings also contributes to interpretive issues that receive adequate attention by providing explanations of various interpretive possibilities. By systematically examining ideational, experiential and textual meanings realized at the various ranks of the grammar, we are able to provide linguistic explanations for why the text has been read in various ways and sometimes also to provide evidence in favor of one interpretation over another.

By examining experiential meanings at the clause rank, we were able to

determine that the parable of the sower in Matthew is about the seeds, not the sower or the soils, in spite of the fact that lexical items are never used to refer to seeds directly in the text. The parable can be said to be about the sower insofar as it is referred to as the “parable of the sower” in the mouth of Jesus in Matthew 13:18. The soil types become candidates for what the parable is about by virtue of their prominent role in the structure of the parable. However, the sower is little more than a prop in the parable story and the soil types are circumstances of location providing setting, but seeds are either Actor or Goal of nearly every material process in the parable. A semantic taxonomy about seeds and things that happen to them when they are sown can be constructed from the parable. Furthermore, when the parable is interpreted, the attributive process clauses are used to interpret the seeds, not the soils or the sower.

The exact interpretation of those seeds is also an interpretive issue that benefits from the analysis of experiential meanings in this study. Is the seed in each case in Matthew’s interpretation the word or the ones who hear it? There is inconsistency in the interpretation of the seed in Mark. The seed is explicitly interpreted as the word in Mark 4:14, but in the case of seed sown on rocky soil, among thorns and in good soil, the seed is referred to in the plural and equated with the hearers of the word while the word continues to be referred to in the singular. In Matthew, the inconsistency is replaced with ambiguity; the seed, the word and the hearers of the word are all referred to in Matthew’s version of the interpretation with singular forms. If Matthew used Mark as a source, this ambiguity was created by Matthew and resolves the inconsistency of the interpretation discourse in Mark. I argued in chapter three that this resolution is in favor of the seed being consistently interpreted as the word that is heard and not the hearers. The parable is thus interpreted in Matthew as being about the word as heard by various people and its often unfruitful reception.

Another interpretive issue addressed in this study that also has relevance to the synoptic problem and the question of the direction of dependence is the role of the rationale and the interpretation in the narrative. In Matthew the rationale represents the heart of what the whole passage is about and answers the question posed to Jesus. In Mark and Luke, the rationale is considerably shorter and is in each case a digression from the movement of the narrative, which is from the telling of the parable to its interpretation. The interpretation, then, does not answer the question posed to Jesus in Matthew, but expands on the major point raised by Jesus’ answer in the rationale section. I have argued above that the interpretation is not an excursus in Matthew even though it is unnecessary in order to provide a complete answer to the question asked of Jesus by the disciples. Nevertheless, Matthew’s inclusion of an interpretation to the parable at all is perhaps easier to understand on the basis of the Markan priority hypothesis.

The explanatory power of systemic functional description of a text is not limited to analysis of experiential meanings. The analysis of interpersonal meanings also explains the warning tone of the parable that is apparent to some commentators (e.g. du Plessis 1987; Luz 1990; Hagner 1993). There is an implicit warning in the third person imperative form that concludes the parable

in all three synoptic accounts. The warning tone is slightly more pronounced in Matthew than in Luke because the parable begins with the interpersonal adjunct ἰδοὺ ‘behold’ in Matthew. The tone of warning is most pronounced in Mark, in which the parable begins with a second person imperative in the first clause and ἰδοὺ ‘behold’ in the second. Again assuming Markan priority, the warning tone has been significantly reduced in Matthew and Luke.

Analysis of interpersonal meanings also helps to account for the clear line that is drawn between the crowd and the disciples in Matthew (Harrington 1991), but not in the parallel accounts. In addition to the fact that the narrative frame communicates that the disciples alone asked the question to which Jesus replied in Matthew, rather than the disciples and others with them, the interpersonal meanings of the question itself and Jesus’ answer also indicate a distinction between those to whom the parable was addressed and the disciples to whom the rationale discourse and interpretation are addressed. The expanded rationale section in Matthew begins with the question addressed by the disciples to Jesus. The demand for information using second person forms of address to Jesus and Jesus’ use of second person forms referring to the disciples in his response are among a number of grammatical devices realizing interpersonal meanings that explain the difference between how Jesus related to the disciples in the rationale and how he related to the crowd in the parable. The analysis of interpersonal meanings also explains the harsh, chastising tone of the interpretation in Mark, which is softened in Matthew. The interpretation is begun in Mark with a question that is a grammatical metaphor that chastises the disciples by asserting metaphorically their lack of understanding of the parables. Matthew’s account of the interpretation instead opens with an imperative form that was analyzed in chapter four as a familiar offer of information.

One advantage of using a functional linguistic theory account for the range of meanings that are simultaneously realized in language is that it provides a systematic way to bring to the interpreter’s attention and make explicit aspects of meaning that are known implicitly by everyday users of the language but might be overlooked by an interpreter at a distance or only intuitively grasped. In the process of examining experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings in the parable of the sower and following context in order to get at the register of the text, a variety of interpretive issues have been addressed. Most of them are not novel areas of meaning that have gone unnoticed. But in many cases evidence is provided for interpretive hypotheses or criteria for deciding between competing hypotheses. Experienced interpreters sometimes offer statements based on experience and scholarly intuition about how texts function, sometimes about the overall point of a text. For example Davies and Allison (1991, 389) wrote, “In their preoccupation with wondering how God can justly give knowledge to only a select group, some commentators have failed to see that the emphasis of the text lies not on privation but on God’s gift.” The current study has provided evidence from the semantic structure of the text by which such a statement can be evaluated. The emphasis of the text is indeed on the assertion that God enables understanding of the mysteries of the kingdom, and that failure to understand and respond can be explained by the disabling actions of human

beings who do not choose to embrace God's gracious gift present in Jesus. The explanation of this state of affairs was the burden of this portion of Matthew's gospel.

6.4 Areas for Further Research

The primary goal of this study has been to explore how features of the context of a particular text are embedded in a text and how analysis of the text can reveal those contextual features. To accomplish this goal, I adopted a linguistic theory that is particularly well-suited to analysis of various kinds of meanings and to making explicit the relationships between meanings and contextual features. The text chosen for analysis was from Matthew's gospel with parallels in Mark and Luke for purposes of comparison. To limit the scope of the project, I focussed on features of the context of situation and gave only passing attention to questions of context of culture and limited the analysis of meanings to the clause rank. These choices suggest several areas in which the research of this project could be fruitfully extended.

A comprehensive grammar of New Testament Greek using a functional model such as SFG has yet to be done. The first chapter of this study contained the outline of a partial grammar, limited by the goals of the present work to focus on analysis of meanings realized at the grammatical rank of the clause. Work could be fruitfully carried out at the level of the whole discourse — analysis commonly referred to as text linguistics or discourse analysis — focussing on cohesion in New Testament Greek. Work is also needed below the clause rank at the rank of word groups and phrases and in the morphology. An example of the latter is the experiential meanings related to aspect and time realized in the verb morphology. Such study integrated into a comprehensive grammar would contribute greatly to the study of the meanings of a text.

A comprehensive description of New Testament Greek using a semantically based model such as SFG would also have implications for translation, especially into languages such as English in which significant systemic functional grammars have been produced. SFG is a model that facilitates the analysis of the full range of meanings of a text, including ideational, experiential and textual, whether those meanings are realized lexically, morphologically, at the rank of the word group, phrase or clause, or above the clause. An analysis of the resources of both New Testament Greek and a target language to make meanings would facilitate a systematic approach both to translating texts and to evaluating translations.

A significant methodological limitation of the present study is its focus on a part of a larger text. As we saw in chapter two, Gerhard Sellin (1983) pointed out that the context for a text part is the whole text of which it is a part and the context for the whole text is external to the text. The kind of analysis that the present study represents would be profitably carried out on a whole text, showing the relationship of the whole text (e.g., the entire gospel of Matthew) to context, rather than the limited analysis of one part of the text. Clearly the length of texts such as the gospels would make such a study a major undertaking.

Not only the length of the text, however, but the type/genre of the text is significant. This approach not only to the analysis of meanings in a text but especially of contextual features realized by those meanings would be very profitably applied to texts in which the interaction is of a higher degree, such as letters. In the absence of actual New Testament era Greek texts in which the channel is phonic, letters provide possibly the highest degree of interaction available to us and the highest concentration of interpersonal meanings. The analysis of shorter texts, to make possible analysis of whole texts, which are also letters (e.g., Philemon), especially letters about which we might have some independent knowledge of context, would be very instructive to the development of the analysis of contextual features that are embedded in the texts themselves. In addition, such letters may also lend themselves to comparative analysis of texts, which would facilitate the study of genre in the SFG sense — staged, culturally recognized social behavior. By focussing on shorter texts with a wider range of texts to which they can be compared and in which are represented a wider range of interpersonal and textual meanings than are found in the gospel texts, the application of a model such as SFG to the analysis of context in text could be expected to yield very fruitful results.

Appendix A

Clause Level Analysis of Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual Meanings in Mt 13:1–23

The following is a clause-by-clause analysis of experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings at the clause level in Mt 13:1–23. Each clause is divided into its experiential meaning constituents with an English gloss for each constituent immediately below it. On the first line below the English gloss are tags identifying the experiential function of each constituent (Process, Participant and Circumstance), on the second line tags identifying the interpersonal constituents (Subject, Predicate, Complement and Adjunct), and on the third line tags identifying the textual constituents (Theme and Rheme) (see key to tags below). Clauses that are embedded in other clauses are also analyzed separately immediately following the clause in which they are embedded. The displays of embedded clauses are indented in relation to the other displays. The glosses and tags for constituents that are situated within another constituent are placed in brackets rather than given a box of their own in the display in order to maintain the constituent order of the text for ease of reading. Postpositive conjunctions are typical of these “infixes” constituents, although v. 1 contains an example of an Actor occurring in the midst of a circumstantial participial phrase. Verbs without an explicit subject, in which the participant of the process is inferred from the verb morphology, are labeled with both a process type and the participant label of the implicit subject, but the implicit subject of a verb is not so labeled when an explicit subject is present in the clause.

Key to Experiential Glosses

Processes	Participants
Pr:material = material	Actor, Goal, Range, Beneficiary
Pr:mental = mental	Senser, Phenomenon
Pr:verbal = verbal	Sayer, Receiver, Verbiage
Pr:behavioral = behavioral	Behavior, Phenomenon
Pr:existential = existential	Existent
Relational Processes & Participants	
Pr:identifying = intensive	Token, Value
Pr:attributive = intensive	Carrier, Attribute
Pr:attributive:circ = circumstantial	Attribute:circ = circumstance
Pr:attributive:poss = possessive	Attribute:poss = possessed

Adjuncts

Adj:accomp = Circumstance:Accompaniment
Adj:comp = Circumstance:Manner:comparison
Adj:conj = Conjunction Adjunct
Adj:distance = Circumstance:Extent:distance (spatial)
Adj:duration = Circumstance:Extent:duration (temporal)
Adj:manner = Circumstance:Manner
Adj:matter = Circumstance:Matter
Adj:means = Circumstance:Manner:means
Adj:place = Circumstance:Location:place (spatial)
Adj:purpose = Circumstance:Cause:purpose
Adj:quality = Circumstance:Manner:quality
Adj:reason = Circumstance:Cause:reason
Adj:role = Circumstance:Role
Adj:time = Circumstance:Location:time (temporal)

Key to Interpersonal Glosses

Predicates	Adjuncts
Pred:answ = answer	Adj:circ = experiential circumstance
Pred:comm = command	Adj:comment = interpersonal comment
Pred:poss = possibility	Adj:conj = textual conjunction
Pred:prob = probability	Adj:interr = interpersonal interrogative
Pred:ques = question	Adj:pol = modal polarity
Pred:stat = statement	Adj:poss = modal possibility
	Adj:prob = modal probability
Compl = Complement	Adj:textual = textual (non-conjunction)

Key to Textual Glosses

int = interpersonal Theme
text = textual Theme
top = topical Theme

13.1 Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	ἐξελθὼν {ὁ Ἰησοῦς} τῆς οἰκίας	ἐκάθητο
in the day that	coming-out Jesus of-the house	he-sat
ADJ:TIME	ADJ:TIME {ACTOR}	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:CIRC {SUBJECT}	PRED:STAT
TOP THEME	RHEME	

παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν·

beside the sea

ADJ:PLACE

ADJ:CIRC

That same day Jesus left the house and was sitting beside the sea. . .

ἐξελθὼν	ὁ Ἰησοῦς	τῆς οἰκίας
coming-out	Jesus	of-the house
PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR	ADJ:PLACE
PRED:STAT	SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC
THEME	RHEME	

. . . Jesus, leaving the house. . .

13.2 καὶ	συνήχθησαν	πρὸς αὐτὸν	ὄχλοι πολλοί,
and	were-gathered	to him	crowds many
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE	ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

. . . and large crowds were gathered around him. . .

ὥστε	αὐτὸν	εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα	καθῆσθαι,
so	he	in boat embarking	to-sit
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	ADJ:TIME	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CONJ	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

. . . so that he got into a boat and sat down. . .

αὐτὸν	εἰς πλοῖον	ἐμβάντα
he	in boat	embarking
ACTOR	ADJ:PLACE	PR:MATERIAL
COMPL	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TOP THEME	RHEME	

. . . he got into a boat. . .

καὶ	πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος	ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν	εἵστηκε.
and	all the crowd	on the shore	stood
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	ADJ:PLACE	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

. . . while the whole crowd stood on the shore.

13.3 καὶ	ἐλάλησεν	αὐτοῖς	πολλὰ	ἐν παραβολαῖς
<i>and</i>	<i>he-spoke</i>	<i>to-them</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>in parables</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:VERBAL/SAYER	RECIPIENT	VERBIAGE	ADJ:MEANS
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJ	COMPL	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME		

λέγων,
saying
 ADJ:MANNER
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)

He said many things to them in parables; he said,

Ἴδοὺ	ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.
<i>behold</i>	<i>went-out</i>	<i>the sower to sow</i>
	PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR
ADJ:TEXTUAL	PRED:STAT	SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

A sower went out to sow.

σπείρειν
to-sow
 PR:MATERIAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME
 ... to sow...

13.4 καὶ	ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν	ἃ	μὲν	ἔπεσεν
<i>and</i>	<i>in the to-sow him</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>on-the-one-hand</i>	<i>fell</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJ	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME		

παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
beside the path
 ADJ:PLACE
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)

As he sowed, some seed fell beside the path,

σπείρειν αὐτὸν
to-sow *him*
 PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 THEME RHEME
 ... he sowed...

καὶ	ἐλθόντα	τὰ πετεινά	κατέφαγεν	αὐτά.
<i>and</i>	<i>coming</i>	<i>the birds</i>	<i>devoured</i>	<i>it</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	ACTOR	PR:MATERIAL	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP	THEME	RHEME	

“... and the birds came and devoured it.

ἐλθόντα	τὰ πετεινά
<i>coming</i>	<i>the birds</i>
PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR
PRED:STAT	SUBJECT
THEME	RHEME

... the birds came...

13.5 ἄλλα	δὲ	ἔπεσεν	ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη
<i>others</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>upon the rocky</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TOP	THEME	RHEME	

But other seed fell on the rocky place...

ὅπου	οὐκ	εἶχεν	γῆν πολλήν,
<i>where</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>it-had</i>	<i>earth much</i>
ADJ:PLACE		PR:RELATIONAL/CARRIER	ATTRIBUTE
ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT/TOP	THEME	RHEME	

... where it didn't have much soil.

καὶ	εὐθέως	ἐξάνετειλεν
<i>and</i>	<i>immediately</i>	<i>it-sprang-up</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP	THEME
		RHEME

διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς·
on-account-of the not to-have depth of-earth

ADJ:REASON
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)

It sprang up quickly because the soil was shallow.

μὴ	ἔχειν	βάθος γῆς·
<i>not</i>	<i>to-have</i>	<i>depth of-earth</i>
	PR:RELATIONAL	ATTRIBUTE
ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT	COMPL
THEME		RHEME

... the soil was shallow.

13.6 ἡλίου {δὲ} ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη
sun {and} rising it-was-burned-up
 {ADJ:CONJ} ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
 {ADJ:CONJ} ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TOP THEME RHEME

But the sun came up and it burned up...

ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος
sun rising
 ACTOR PR:MATERIAL
 SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

... the sun came up...

καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.
and on-account-of the not to-have root it-dried-up
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:REASON PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

... and because it had no root it dried up.

μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν
not to-have root
 PR:ATTRIBUTIVE ATTRIBUTE
 ADJ:POL PRED:STAT COMPL
 THEME RHEME

... it had no root...

13.7 ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας,
others but fell upon the thorns
 ACTOR ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL ADJ:PLACE
 SUBJECT ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT ADJ:CIRC
 TOP THEME RHEME

Other seeds fell among the thorns,

καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἀκάνθαι
and went-up the thorns
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

... and the thorns came up...

καὶ	ἔπνιζαν	αὐτά.
<i>and</i>	<i>choked</i>	<i>them</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

... and choked them

13.8 ἄλλα	δὲ	ἔπεσεν	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν
<i>others</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>upon the earth the good</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TOP THEME	RHEME		

Others, however, fell on good soil. . .

καὶ	ἐδίδου	καρπὸν,
<i>and</i>	<i>it-was-giving</i>	<i>fruit,</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

... and produced fruit,

ὁ	μὲν	ἑκατόν,
<i>some</i>	<i>on-the-one-hand</i>	<i>a-hundred</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL
TEXT/TOP THEME	RHEME	

... some a hundred-fold,

ὁ	δὲ	ἑξήκοντα,
<i>some</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>sixty</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL
TEXT/TOP THEME	RHEME	

... some sixty-fold,

ὁ	δὲ	τριάκοντα.
<i>some</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>thirty</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL
TEXT/TOP THEME	RHEME	

... and some thirty-fold.

13.9 ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω.

the one-having ears must-hear!

SENDER	PR:MENTAL
SUBJECT	PRED:COMM
TOP THEME	RHEME

Whoever has ears must hear!

ἔχων	ὦτα
<i>having</i>	<i>ears</i>
PR:ATTRIBUTIVE	VALUE
PRED:STAT	COMPL
THEME	RHEME

Whoever has ears...

13.10 Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ,
and approaching the disciples said to-him

ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	SAYER	PR:VERBAL	RECEIVER
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME		

The disciples came and said to him,

προσελθόντες	οἱ μαθηταὶ
<i>approaching</i>	<i>the disciples</i>
PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR
PRED:STAT	SUBJECT
THEME	RHEME

The disciples came...

Διὰ τί ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς;
on-account-of what? in parables you-speak to them

ADJ:PURPOSE	ADJ:MEANS	PR:VERBAL/SAYER	RECEIVER
ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:MEANS	PRED:QUES/SUBJECT	COMPL
TOP/INT THEME	RHEME		

“Why do you speak to them in parables?”

13.11 ὁ {δὲ} ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,
the-one {and} answering said to them

{ADJ:CONJ}	SAYER	PR:VERBAL	RECEIVER
{ADJ:CONJ}	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME		

He answered them,

ἀποκριθεὶς

answering

PR:VERBAL

PRED:STAT

THEME

He answered. . .

Ὅτι	ὑμῖν	δέδοται
<i>because</i>	<i>to-you</i>	<i>has-been-given</i>
ADJ:CONJ	BENEFICIARY	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CONJ	COMPL	PRED:ANSW
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν,
to-know the mysteries of-the kingdom of-the heavens

GOAL

SUBJECT

(RHEME)

“Because to you has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. . .”

γινῶναι	τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν,
<i>to-know</i>	<i>the mysteries of-the kingdom of-the heavens</i>
PR:MENTAL	PHENOMENON
PRED:STAT	COMPL
THEME	RHEME

“... to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. . .”

ἐχείνοις	δὲ	οὐ	δέδοται.
<i>those</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>it-has-been-given</i>
BENEFICIARY	ADJ:CONJ		PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
COMPL	ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:ANSW/SUBJECT
TOP THEME	RHEME		

“... but to them it has not been given.”

13.12 ὅστις	γὰρ	ἔχει,
<i>whoever</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>has</i>
CARRIER	ADJ:CONJ	PR:RELATIONAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT
TOP/INT THEME	RHEME	

“For whoever has,”

δοθήσεται	αὐτῷ
<i>it-shall-be-give</i>	<i>to-him</i>
PR:MATERIAL/GOAL	BENEFICIARY
PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME

“... it shall be given to him...”

καὶ	περισσευθήσεται
<i>and</i>	<i>it-shall-abound</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME

“... and will be more than enough;”

ὅστις	δὲ	οὐκ	ἔχει,
<i>whoever</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>has</i>
CARRIER	ADJ:CONJ		PR:ATTRIBUTIVE
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT
TOP/INT THEME	RHEME		

“but whoever does not have,”

καὶ ὃ ἔχει	ἀρθήσεται	ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.
<i>even what he-has</i>	<i>shall-be-taken-up</i>	<i>from him</i>
GOAL	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... even what he has will be taken away from him.”

ὃ	ἔχει
<i>what</i>	<i>he-has</i>
ATTRIBUTE	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER
COMPL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT/TOP THEME	RHEME

“... what he has...”

13.13 διὰ τοῦτο	ἐν παραβολαῖς	αὐτοῖς	λαλῶ,
<i>on-account-of this</i>	<i>in parables</i>	<i>to-them</i>	<i>I speak</i>
ADJ:PURPOSE	ADJ:MANNER	RECIPIENT	PR:VERBAL/SAYER
ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:CIRC	COMPL	PRED:ANSW/SUBJECT
TOP THEME	RHEME		

“For this reason I speak to them in parables,”

ὅτι	βλέποντες	οὐ	βλέπουσιν
<i>because</i>	<i>seeing</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>they-see</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME		PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... because seeing they do not see...”

καὶ	ἀκούοντες	οὐκ	ἀκούουσιν
<i>and</i>	<i>hearing</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>they-hear</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME		PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... and hearing they do not hear...”

οὐδὲ	συνίουσιν,
<i>and-not</i>	<i>they-perceive</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ/POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT/INT	TOP THEME

“... nor do they perceive,”

13.14 καὶ	ἀναπληροῦται	αὐτοῖς
<i>and</i>	<i>is-fulfilled</i>	<i>to-them</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:MATTER
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

ἡ προφητεία Ἰσαίου ἡ λέγουσα,
the prophecy of-Isaiah the-one saying

ACTOR
 SUBJECT
 (RHEME)

“... and in them the prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled which says,”

Ἐκ οὗ	ἀκούσετε
<i>by-what-is-heard</i>	<i>you-shall-hear</i>
ADJ:MEANS	PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TOP/INT THEME	RHEME

“By what is heard you will hear...”

καὶ	οὐ μὴ	συνῆτε,
<i>and</i>	<i>not not</i>	<i>you-should-perceive</i>
ADJ:CONJ		PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	INT	TOP THEME

“... and shall by no means perceive,”

καὶ	βλέποντες	βλέψετε
<i>and</i>	<i>seeing</i>	<i>you-will-see</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... and seeing you will see...”

καὶ	οὐ μὴ	ἴδητε.
<i>and</i>	<i>not not</i>	<i>you-should-see</i>
ADJ:CONJ		PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	INT	TOP THEME

“... and you shall by no means see.”

13.15 ἐπαχύνθη	γὰρ	ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου,
<i>was-made-thick</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>the heart of-the people this</i>
PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
PRED:STAT	ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT
TOP	TEXT THEME	RHEME

“For this people’s heart has become dull,”

καὶ	τοῖς ὠσὶν	βαρέως	ἤκουσαν
<i>and</i>	<i>with-the ears</i>	<i>heavily</i>	<i>they-hear</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:MEANS	ADJ:QUALITY	PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... and they hardly hear with their ears...”

καὶ	τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν	ἐκάμυσαν,
<i>and</i>	<i>the eyes of-them</i>	<i>they-shut</i>
ADJ:CONJ	GOAL	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	COMPL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... and they have shut their eyes,”

μήποτε	ἴδωσιν	τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
<i>lest</i>	<i>they-should-see</i>	<i>with-the eyes</i>
	PR:MENTAL/SENSE	ADJ:MEANS
ADJ:MODAL:POSSIBILITY	PRED:STAT:POSS/SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT/INT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... lest they should see with their eyes...”

καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν
and with-the ears they-should-hear
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:MEANS PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT:POSS/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and hear with their ears...”

καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν
and with-the heart they-should-perceive
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:MEANS PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT:POSS/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and they should perceive with their heart...”

καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν
and they-should-turn
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT:POSS/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME

“... and they should turn...”

καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.
and I-should-heal them
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR GOAL
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT:POSS/SUBJECT COMPL
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and I should heal them.”

13.16 ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
your but blessed the eyes
 CARRIER... ADJ:CONJ ATTRIBUTE ... CARRIER
 SUBJECT... ADJ:CONJ COMPL ... SUBJECT
 TOP TEXT THEME RHEME

“But blessed are your eyes...”

ὅτι βλέπουσιν
because they-see
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME

“... because they see...”

καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν
and the ears of-you
 ADJ:CONJ CARRIER
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT
 TEXT THEME RHEME

“... and your ears...”

ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.
because they-hear
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME

“... because they hear.”

13.17 ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν
truly for I-say to-you
 ADJ:CONJ PR:VERBAL/SAYER RECIPIENT
 ADJ:INTENSIFICATION ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT COMPL
 INT TOP THEME RHEME

“For truly I say to you...”

ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε
that many prophets and just-ones have-desired to-see what you-see
 ADJ:CONJ SENSE PR:MENTAL PHENOMENON
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT PRED:STAT COMPL
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... that many prophets and righteous people have longed to see what you see...”

ἃ βλέπετε
what you-see
 PHENOMENON PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 COMPL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT/TOP THEME RHEME

“... what you see...”

καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,
and not they-saw
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT INT TOP THEME

“... and have not seen it,”

καὶ	(πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι)	(ἐπεθύμησαν)	ἀκοῦσαι
<i>and</i>			<i>to-hear</i>
ADJ:CONJ			PR:MENTAL
ADJ:CONJ			PRED:STAT
TEXT	(TOP) THEME	RHEME	

ὃ ἀκούετε
what you-hear
 PHENOMENON
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“... and to hear what you hear...”

ὃ	ἀκούετε
<i>what</i>	<i>you-hear</i>
PHENOMENON	PR:MENTAL SENSER
COMPL	PRED:STAT SUBJECT
TEXT/TOP THEME	RHEME

“... what you hear...”

καὶ	οὐκ	ἤκουσαν.
<i>and</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>they-heard</i>
ADJ:CONJ		PR:MENTAL/SENSER
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	INT	TOP THEME

“... and have not heard it.”

13.18	ὑμεῖς	οὖν	ἀκούσατε	τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείραντος.
	<i>you</i>	<i>therefore</i>	<i>hear!</i>	<i>the parable of-the sower.</i>
	SENSER	ADJ:CONJ	PR:MENTAL	PHENOMENON
	SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:OFFER	COMPL
	TOP THEME	RHEME		

“You, therefore, hear the parable of the sower!”

13.19 παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος
all ones-hearing the word of-the kingdom and not perceiving
 ADJ:MATTER
 ADJ:CIRC
 TOP THEME

ἔρχεται	ὁ πονηρὸς
<i>comes</i>	<i>the evil-one</i>
PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR
PRED:STAT	SUBJECT
RHEME	

“All who hear the word of the Kingdom and do not understand it, the evil one comes...”

παντός	ἀκούοντος	τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας
<i>all</i>	<i>hearing</i>	<i>the word of-the kingdom</i>
SENDER	PR:MENTAL	PHENOMENON
SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME	

“Everyone who hears the word of the Kingdom...”

καὶ	μὴ	συνιέντος
<i>and</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>perceiving</i>
ADJ:CONJ		PR:MENTAL
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT
TEXT	INT	TOP THEME

“... and does not understand it...”

καὶ	ἀρπάζει	τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,
<i>and</i>	<i>snatches</i>	<i>the (seed) sown in the heart of-him</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... and snatches what is sown in his heart.”

ἐσπαρμένον	ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,
<i>sown</i>	<i>in the heart of-him</i>
PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
THEME	RHEME

“... what is sown in his heart.”

οὗτός	ἐστίν	ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρείς.
<i>this</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>the beside the path sown</i>
TOKEN	PR:IDENTIFYING	VALUE
SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME	

“This is what was sown beside the path.”

παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν	σπαρείς.
<i>beside the path</i>	<i>sown</i>
ADJ:PLACE	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
THEME	RHEME

“what was sown beside the path.”

13.20 ὁ {δὲ} ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν
the {but} upon the rocky (soil) sown, this is
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME

ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν,
the-one the word hearing and immediately with joy receiving it
 VALUE
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“But that which is sown on rocky ground, this is the one who hears the word and immediately receives it with joy,”

ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρεῖς
upon the rocky (soil) sown
 ADJ:PLACE PR:MATERIAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME
 “... the (seed) sown on rocky ground...”

τὸν λόγον ἀκούων
the word hearing
 PHENOMENON PR:MENTAL
 COMPL PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME
 “... the one who hears the word...”

καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν,
and immediately with joy receiving it
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME ADJ:QUALITY PR:MATERIAL GOAL
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT COMPL
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME
 “... and immediately receives it with joy,”

13.21 οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ῥίζαν
not it-has but root
 PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER ADJ:CONJ ATTRIBUTE
 ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT ADJ:CONJ COMPL
 INT TOP THEME RHEME

ἐν ἑαυτῷ
in itself
 ADJ:PLACE
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)
 “... but it has no root in itself”

ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν,
but temporary is
 ADJ:CONJ ATTRIBUTE PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER
 ADJ:CONJ COMPL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... but is temporary;”

γενομένης {δὲ} θλίψεως ἧ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς
coming {and} affliction or persecution on-account-of the word immediately
 {ADJ:CONJ} ADJ:TIME ADJ:TIME
 {ADJ:CONJ} ADJ:CIRC ADJ:CIRC
 TOP THEME RHEME

σκανδαλίζεται.
it-is-made-to-stumble
 PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
 PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 (RHEME)

“and when affliction or persecution comes because of the word, it is instantly tripped up.”

13.22 ὁ {δὲ} εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρείς, οὗτός ἐστιν
the {and} in the thorns sown, this-one is
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME

ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων,
the-one the word hearing
 VALUE
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“Now the one that was sown in the thorns, this one is one who heard the word,”

εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρείς
in the thorns sown
 ADJ:PLACE PR:MATERIAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

“... (seed that) was sown in the thorns...”

τὸν λόγον ἀκούων,
the word hearing
 PHENOMENON PR:MENTAL
 COMPL PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

“... the one who heard the word,”

καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου
and the care of-the age and the deceit of-the wealth
 ADJ:CONJ ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME

συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον
chokes the word
 PR:MATERIAL GOAL
 PRED:STAT COMPL
 RHEME

“... and the cares of the age and the deceit of wealth chokes the word...”

καὶ ἄκαρος γίνεται.
and fruitless it-becomes
 ADJ:CONJ ATTRIBUTE PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER
 ADJ:CONJ COMPL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and it becomes barren.”

13.23 ὁ {δὲ} ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρεῖς, οὗτός ἐστιν
the {and} upon the good earth sown, this-one is
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME

ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς,
the-one the word hearing and perceiving
 VALUE
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“Now the one that was sown on the good soil is one who hears the word and understands it,”

ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρεῖς
upon the good earth sown
 ADJ:PLACE PR:MATERIAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

“... the one sown on the good soil...”

τὸν λόγον	ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς,
<i>the word</i>	<i>hearing and perceiving</i>
PHENOMENON	PR:MENTAL
COMPL	PRED:STAT
THEME	RHEME

“... one hearing the word and understanding it,”

ὅς	δὴ	καρποφορεῖ
<i>which</i>	<i>indeed</i>	<i>bears-fruit</i>
ACTOR		PR:MATERIAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:COMMENT	PRED:STAT
TEXT/TOP	THEME	RHEME

“... which word indeed is fruitful...”

καὶ	ποιεῖ
<i>and</i>	<i>makes</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME

“... and produces...”

ὁ	μὲν	ἑκατόν,
<i>some</i>	<i>on-the-one-hand</i>	<i>a-hundred</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL
TOP	THEME	RHEME

“... some a hundred-fold...”

ὁ	δὲ	ἑξήκοντα,
<i>some</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>sixty</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL
TOP	THEME	RHEME

“... some sixty-fold...”

ὁ	δὲ	τριάκοντα.
<i>some</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>thirty</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	GOAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL
TOP	THEME	RHEME

“... some thirty-fold.”

Appendix B

Clause Level Analysis of Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual Meanings in Mk 4:1–20

The following is a clause-by-clause analysis of experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings at the clause level in Mk 4:1–20. See the description at the beginning of Appendix A for a key to reading the displays in this appendix.

4.1 Καὶ	πάλιν	ἤρξατο διδάσκειν	παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν·
<i>and</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>he-began to-teach</i>	<i>beside the sea</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:DURATION	PR:MAT/ACTOR	ADJ:PLACE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJ	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

Again he began to teach by the lake.

καὶ	συνάγεται	πρὸς αὐτὸν	ὄχλος πλεῖστος,
<i>and</i>	<i>gathered</i>	<i>to him</i>	<i>crowd large</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE	ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

A large crowd gathered about him,

ὥστε	αὐτὸν	εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα	καθῆσθαι	ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ,
<i>so-that</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>into boat embarking</i>	<i>to-sit</i>	<i>in the sea</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	ADJ:TIME	PR:MATER.	ADJ:PLACE
ADJ:CONJ	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME		RHEME	

... so he got into a boat to sit on the lake.

αὐτὸν	εἰς πλοῖον	ἐμβάντα
<i>him</i>	<i>into boat</i>	<i>embarking</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:PLACE	PR:MATERIAL
COMPL	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TOP	THEME	RHEME

... he, getting into a boat,...

καὶ	πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος	πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	ἦσαν.
<i>and</i>	<i>all the crowd</i>	<i>by the sea upon the earth</i>	<i>were</i>
ADJ:CONJ	CARRIER	ATTRIBUTE:CIRC	PR:ATTR:CIRC
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP	THEME	RHEME

The whole crowd was on the shore by the lake.

4.2 καὶ	ἐδίδασκεν	αὐτοὺς	ἐν παραβολαῖς	πολλά
<i>and</i>	<i>he-was-teaching</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>in parables</i>	<i>many [things]</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MAT/ACTOR	BENEFIC.	ADJ:MEANS	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJ	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC	COMPL
TEXT	TOP	THEME	RHEME	

And he was teaching them many things with parables.

καὶ	ἔλεγεν	αὐτοῖς	ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ,
<i>and</i>	<i>he-was-saying</i>	<i>to-them</i>	<i>in the teaching of-him</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:VERBAL/SAYER	RECIPIENT	ADJ:MEANS
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP	THEME	RHEME

In his teaching, he was saying to them,

4.3 Ἀκούετε.

hear!

PR:BEHAVIOR/BEHAVER

PRED:COMM/SUBJECT

TOP/INT THEME

“Hear this!”

ἰδοὺ	ἐξῆλθεν	ὁ σπείρων	σπεῖραι.
<i>behold</i>	<i>went-out</i>	<i>the sower</i>	<i>to-sow</i>
	PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR	ADJ:PURPOSE
ADJ:TEXTUAL	PRED:STAT	SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC
INT	TOP	THEME	RHEME

“Look, the sower went out to sow.”

σπείρων
sowing
 PR:MATERIAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME
 "... [one] sowing..."

σπεῖραι.
to-sow
 PR:MATERIAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME
 "... to sow."

4.4 καὶ	ἐγένετο	ἐν τῷ σπεῖρειν
<i>and</i>	<i>it-happened</i>	<i>in the to-sow</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:EXISTENTIAL/EXISTENT	ADJ:TIME
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

"It happened when he was sowing..."

σπεῖρειν
to-sow
 PR:MATERIAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME
 "... to sow..."

ὁ	μὲν	ἔπεσεν	παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
<i>some</i>	<i>on-the-one-hand</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>beside-the-path</i>
ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TOP THEME	RHEME		

"... some fell beside the path,"

καὶ	ἦλθεν	τὰ πετεινὰ
<i>and</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>the birds</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

"... and the birds came..."

καὶ	κατέφαγεν	αὐτό.
<i>and</i>	<i>they-devoured</i>	<i>it</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... and devoured it.”

4.5 καὶ	ἄλλο	ἔπεσεν
<i>and</i>	<i>another</i>	<i>fell</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν,
on the rocky-place where not it-has earth much

ADJ:PLACE

ADJ:CIRC

(RHEME)

“Another fell on a rocky place where it did not have much soil.”

ὅπου	οὐκ	εἶχεν	γῆν πολλήν,
<i>where</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>it-has</i>	<i>earth much</i>
ADJ:CONJ		PR:ATTRIB/CARRIER	ATTRIBUTE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPLEMENT
TEXT/TOP	THEME	RHEME	

“... where it did not have much soil.”

καὶ	εὐθὺς	ἔξανέτειλεν
<i>and</i>	<i>immediately</i>	<i>it-sprang-up</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς·
on-account-of the not to-have depth of-earth

ADJ:REASON

ADJ:CIRC

(RHEME)

“It sprang up quickly because the soil was shallow.”

μὴ	ἔχειν	βάθος γῆς·
<i>not</i>	<i>to-have</i>	<i>depth of-earth</i>
	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE	ATTRIBUTE
ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT	COMPLEMENT
INT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... [the soil] was shallow.”

4.6 καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη
and when rose the sun it-was-burned-up
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“When the sun came up, it burned up.”

ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος
when rose the sun
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“When the sun came up...”

καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.
and on-account-of the not to-have root it-dried-up
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:REASON PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“Because it had no root, it dried up.”

μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν
not to-have root
 PR:ATTRIBUTIVE ATTRIBUTE
 ADJ:POL PRED:STAT COMPL
 THEME RHEME

“... [it] had no root...”

4.7 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας,
and another fell into the thorns
 ADJ:CONJ ACTOR PR:MATERIAL ADJ:PLACE
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT PRED:STAT ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“Another see fell into the thorns.”

καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι
and went-up the thorns
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“The thorns came up...”

καὶ	συνέπνιξαν	αὐτό,
<i>and</i>	<i>choked</i>	<i>it</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

“... and choked it...”

καὶ	καρπὸν	οὐκ	ἔδωκεν.
<i>and</i>	<i>fruit</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>it-gave</i>
ADJ:CONJ	GOAL		PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	COMPL	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... so it produced no fruit.”

4.8 καὶ	ἄλλα	ἔπεσεν	εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν
<i>and</i>	<i>others</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>upon the earth the good</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“Others fell on good soil...”

καὶ	ἐδίδου	καρπὸν	ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξανόμενα
<i>and</i>	<i>it-was-giving</i>	<i>fruit</i>	<i>rising and growing</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR	GOAL	ADJ:TIME
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... and produced fruit as it came up and grew.”

καὶ	ἔφερεν	ἐν	τριάκοντα
<i>and</i>	<i>it-was-bearing</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>thirty</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MATERIAL	ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“One yielded thirty-fold...”

καὶ	ἐν	ἑξήκοντα
<i>and</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>sixty</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	THEME	RHEME

“... one sixty-fold...”

καὶ	ἐν	ἑκατόν.
<i>and</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>a-hundred</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	THEME	RHEME

“... and one a hundred-fold.”

4.9 καὶ	ἔλεγεν,
<i>and</i>	<i>he-was saying</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:VERBAL/SAYER
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME

Then he said,

ὅς ἔχει	ὥτα ἀκούειν	ἀκουέτω.
<i>whoever has</i>	<i>ears to-hear</i>	<i>must-hear!</i>
SENDER		MENTAL
SUBJECT		PRED:COMM
TEXT/TOP	THEME	RHEME

“Whoever has ears to hear must hear!”

ὅς	ἔχει	ὥτα ἀκούειν
<i>whoever</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>ears to-hear</i>
CARRIER	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE	ATTRIBUTE
SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TEXT/TOP	THEME	RHEME

“Whoever has ears to hear...”

ἀκούειν
<i>to-hear</i>
PR:MATERIAL
PRED:STAT
THEME

“... to hear...”

4.10 Καὶ	ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας,	ἡρώτων
<i>and</i>	<i>when it-happened at-(the-time-when) alone</i>	
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	PR:VERBAL
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

αὐτὸν	οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα	τὰς παραβολάς.
<i>him</i>	<i>the-ones around him with the twelve</i>	<i>the parables</i>
RECIPIENT	SAYER	VERBIAGE
COMPL	SUBJECT	COMPL
(RHEME)		

And when they were alone, those around him with the twelve asked him about the parables.

ὅτε	ἐγένετο	κατὰ μόνας
<i>when</i>	<i>it-happened</i>	<i>at-(the-time-when) alone</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:EXISTENTIAL	EXISTENT
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

... when they were alone...

4.11 καὶ	ἔλεγεν	αὐτοῖς,
<i>and</i>	<i>he-was-saying</i>	<i>to-them</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:VERBAL/SAYER	RECIPIENT
ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

He said to them,

ὑμῖν	τὸ μυστήριον	δέδοται	τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ.
<i>to-you</i>	<i>the mystery</i>	<i>is-given</i>	<i>of-the kingdom of-the God</i>
BENEFICIARY	GOAL...	PR:MATERIAL	... GOAL
COMPL	SUBJECT...	PRED:STAT	... SUBJECT
TOP THEME	RHEME		

“To you has been given the mystery of the kingdom of God.”

ἐκεῖνοις {δὲ}	τοῖς ἔξω	ἐν παραβολαῖς	τὰ πάντα
<i>for-those {but}</i>	<i>the-ones outside</i>	<i>in parables</i>	<i>the all-things</i>
{ADJ:CONJ}	ATTRIBUTE:POSS	ADJ:MEANS	CARRIER
{ADJ:CONJ}	COMPL	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT
TOP THEME		RHEME	

γίνεται,

it-is

PR:ATTRIBUTIVE:POSS

PRED:STAT

(RHEME)

“But for those outside everything is in parables...”

4.12 ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν
in-order-that seeing they-may-see
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... so that while they see, they may see...”

βλέποντες
seeing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... while they see...”

καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν,
and not see
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT INT TOP THEME

“... yet not really see,”

καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν
and hearing they-may-hear
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and while they hear, they may hear...”

ἀκούοντες
hearing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... while they hear...”

καὶ μὴ συνῶσιν,
and not hear
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT INT TOP THEME

“... yet not really understand,”

μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν
lest they-should-turn
 PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:PROB PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT/INT TOP THEME
 "... lest they should turn..."

καὶ ἄφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.
and it-should-be-forgiven them
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/GOAL BENEFICIARY
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT COMPL
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME
 "... and it should be forgiven them."

4.13 Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς,
and he-says to-them
 ADJ:CONJ PR:VERBAL/SAYER RECEIVER
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT COMPLEMENT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME
 And he said to them,

Οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην,
not you-know the parable this
 PR:MENTAL/SENSE PHENOMENON
 ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT COMPL
 INT TOP THEME RHEME
 "You do not know this parable,"

καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε;
and how all the parables you-will-know
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:MEANS PHENOMENON PR:MENTAL/SNSR.
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC/INTERR COMPLEMENT PRED:QUES/SUBJ.
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME
 "... so how will you know all the parables?"

4.14 ὁ σπείρων τὸν λόγον σπείρει.
the sower the word sows
 ACTOR GOAL PR:MATERIAL
 SUBJECT COMPL PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME
 "The sower sows the word."

σπείρων

sowing

PR:MATERIAL

PRED:STAT

THEME

“... [one] sowing...”

καὶ

and

μὴ

not

συνιῶσιν,

hear

ADJ:CONJ

PR:MENTAL/SENSE

ADJ:CONJ

ADJ:POL

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TEXT

INT

TOP THEME

“... yet not really understand,”

μήποτε

lest

ἐπιστρέψωσιν

they-should-turn

PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR

ADJ:PROB

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TEXT/INT

TOP THEME

“... lest they should turn...”

καὶ

and

ἀφεθῇ

it-should-be-forgiven

αὐτοῖς.

them

ADJ:CONJ

PR:MATERIAL/GOAL

BENEFICIARY

ADJ:CONJ

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

COMPL

TEXT

TOP THEME

RHEME

“... and it should be forgiven them.”

4.13 Καὶ

and

λέγει

he-says

αὐτοῖς,

to-them

ADJ:CONJ

PR:VERBAL/SAYER

RECEIVER

ADJ:CONJ

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

COMPLEMENT

TEXT

TOP THEME

RHEME

And he said to them,

Οὐκ

not

οἶδατε

you-know

τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην,

the parable this

PR:MENTAL/SENSE

PHENOMENON

ADJ:POL

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

COMPL

INT

TOP THEME

RHEME

“You do not know this parable,”

καὶ	πῶς	πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς
<i>and</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>all the parables</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:MEANS	PHENOMENON
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC/INTERR	COMPLEMENT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

γνώσεσθε;
you-will-know
 PR:MENTAL/SENSE
 PRED:QUES/SUBJECT
 (RHEME)

“... so how will you know all the parables?”

4.14 ὁ σπείρων	τὸν λόγον	σπείρει.
<i>the sower</i>	<i>the word</i>	<i>sows</i>
ACTOR	GOAL	PR:MATERIAL
SUBJECT	COMPL	PRED:STAT
TOP THEME	RHEME	

“The sower sows the word.”

σπείρων
sowing
 PR:MATERIAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... [one] sowing...”

4.15 οὗτοι	δέ	εἰσιν	οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
<i>these</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>the-ones beside the path</i>
TOKEN	ADJ:CONJ	PR:IDENTIFYING	VALUE
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME		

“These are the ones beside the path...”

ὅπου	σπείρεται	ὁ λόγος,
<i>where</i>	<i>is-sown</i>	<i>the word</i>
ADJ:CONJ/CIRC	PR:MATERIAL	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ/CIRC	PRED:STAT	SUBJECT
TEXT/TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... where the word is sown.”

καὶ	ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν,	εὐθὺς	ἔρχεται
<i>and</i>	<i>whenever they-should-hear</i>	<i>immediately</i>	<i>comes</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	ADJ:TIME	PR:MATERIAL
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

ὁ Σατανᾶς

the Satan

ACTOR

SUBJECT

(RHEME)

“Whenever they hear, immediately Satan comes...”

ὅταν

whenever

ADJ:CONJ

ADJ:CONJ/MODAL

TEXT/INT THEME RHEME

ἀκούσωσιν,

they-should-hear

PR:MENTAL/SENSE

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

“Whenever they hear,...”

καὶ

and

ADJ:CONJ

ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TEXT

ἄρει

takes-up

PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR

PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TOP THEME

τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον εἰς αὐτούς.

the word the-one being-sown in them

GOAL

COMPL

RHEME

“... and snatches the word that is sown in them.”

ἐσπαρμένον

being-sown

PR:MATERIAL

PRED:STAT

TOP THEME

εἰς αὐτούς.

in them

ADJ:PLACE

ADJ:CIRC

RHEME

“... is sown in them.”

4.16 καὶ

and

ADJ:CONJ

ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT

TEXT

οὗτοι

these

TOKEN

SUBJECT

TOP THEME

εἰσιν

are

PR:IDENTIFYING

PRED:STAT

RHEME

ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπειρόμενοι,

the-ones upon the rocky-place being-sown

VALUE

COMPLEMENT

(RHEME)

“And these are the ones that are sown in a rocky place,”

ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπειρόμενοι,
upon the rocky-place being-sown
 ADJ:PLACE PR:MATERIAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

“... are sown in a rocky place,”

οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς
which whenever they-may-hear the word immediately
 ACTOR ADJ:TIME ADJ:TIME
 SUBJECT ADJ:CIRC ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT/TOP THEME RHEME

μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν,
with joy they-receive it
 ADJ:ACCOMP PR:MATERIAL GOAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT COMPL
 (RHEME)

“... the ones that, when they hear the word, immediately receive it with joy.”

ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν τὸν λόγον
whenever they-may-hear the word
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MENTAL/SENSER PHENOMENON
 ADJ:CONJ/PROB PRED:STAT:PROB/SUBJECT COMPL
 TEXT/INT TOP THEME RHEME

“... when they hear the word, ...”

4.17 καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ῥίζαν
and not they-have root
 ADJ:CONJ PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER ATTRIBUTE
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT COMPLEMENT
 TEXT INT TOP THEME RHEME

ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
in themselves
 ADJ:PLACE
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)

“They have no root...”

ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιροί εἰσιν,
but temporary they-are
 ADJ:CONJ ATTRIBUTE PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER
 ADJ:CONJ COMPL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... but are temporary.”

εἶτα γενομένης θλίψεως ἡ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον
then coming affliction or persecution on-account-of the word
 ADJ:TIME ADJ:TIME
 ADJ:CIRC ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT TOP THEME

εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζονται.
immediately they-are-made-to-stumble
 ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 RHEME

“Then when affliction or persecution comes because of the word, they are instantly tripped up.”

γενομένης θλίψεως ἡ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον
coming affliction or persecution on-account-of the word
 PR:EXISTENTIAL EXISTENT ADJ:REASON
 PRED:STAT COMPL ADJ:CIRC
 THEME RHEME

“... when affliction or persecution comes because of the word, ...”

4.18 καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσὶν οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι·
and others are the-ones into the thorns being-sown
 ADJ:CONJ CARRIER PR:ATTRIBUTIVE ATTRIBUTE
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT PRED:STAT COMPL
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“Other [seeds] are sown among the thorns.”

εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι·
into the thorns being-sown
 ADJ:PLACE PR:MATERIAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

“... are sown among the thorns.”

οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες,
these are the-ones the word hearing
 TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING VALUE
 SUBJECT PRED:STAT COMPL
 TOP THEME RHEME

“These are people who hear the word,”

τὸν λόγον	ἀκούσαντες,
<i>the-ones</i>	<i>the word hearing</i>
PHENOMENON	PR:MENTAL
COMPL	PRED:STAT
THEME	RHEME

“...[ones] hearing the word,”

4.19 καὶ αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου καὶ
and the cares of-the age and the deceit of-the wealth and
 ADJ:CONJ ACTOR/ADJ:TIME
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT/ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT TOP THEME

αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσπορευόμεναι	συμπνίγουσιν	τὸν λόγον
<i>the concerning the rest desires coming-in</i>	<i>choke</i>	<i>the word</i>
	PR:MATERIAL	GOAL
	PRED:STAT	COMPL
	RHEME	

“... and the cares of the world, the deceit of wealth and desires for other things comes in and chokes the word...”

αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου καὶ αἱ περὶ
the cares of-the age and the deceit of-the wealth and the concerning
 ACTOR
 SUBJECT
 THEME

τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι	εἰσπορευόμεναι
<i>the rest desires</i>	<i>coming-in</i>
	PR:MATERIAL
	PRED:STAT
	RHEME

“... comes in...”

καὶ ὄχαρπος	γίνεται.
<i>and fruitless</i>	<i>it-becomes</i>
ADJ:CONJ ATTRIBUTE	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE/CARRIER
ADJ:CONJ COMPL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT TOP THEME	RHEME

“... and it becomes barren.”

4.20 καὶ ἐκεῖνοί	εἰσιν
<i>and those</i>	<i>are</i>
ADJ:CONJ TOKEN	PR:IDENTIFYING
ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT	PRED:STAT
TEXT TOP THEME	RHEME

οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες,
the-ones upon the earth the good having-been-sown,

VALUE

COMPL

(RHEME)

“There are those who were sown in good soil.”

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες,
upon the earth the good having-been-sown,

ADJ:PLACE

PR:MATERIAL

ADJ:CIRC

PRED:STAT

THEME

RHEME

“... were sown in good soil.”

οἳτινες ἀκούουσιν τὸν λόγον

which hear the word

SENDER PR:MENTAL PHENOMENON

SUBJECT PRED:STAT COMPL

TEXT/TOP THEME RHEME

“They hear the word...”

καὶ παραδέχονται

and they-receive

ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR

ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TEXT TOP THEME

“... and receive it...”

καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν

and they-bear-fruit

ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR

ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TEXT TOP THEME

“... and bear fruit;”

ἐν τριάκοντα

one thirty

ACTOR GOAL

SUBJECT COMPL

RHEME

“... one thirty-fold,”

καὶ	ἐν	ἑξήκοντα
<i>and</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>sixty</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT THEME	RHEME	

“... one sixty-fold...”

καὶ	ἐν	ἑκατόν.
<i>and</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>a-hundred</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	COMPL
TEXT THEME	RHEME	

“... and one a hundred-fold.”

Appendix C

Clause Level Analysis of Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual Meanings in Lk 8:4–15

The following is a clause-by-clause analysis of experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings at the clause level in Lk 8:4–15. See the description at the beginning of Appendix A for a key to reading the displays in this appendix.

8.4 Συνιόντος {δὲ} ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων
gathering {and} crowd much and the according-to city coming-to
{ADJ:CONJ} ADJ:TIME
{ADJ:CONJ} ADJ:CIRC
TOP THEME

πρὸς αὐτὸν	εἶπεν	διὰ παραβολῆς·
to him	<i>he-said</i>	<i>through parable</i>
	PR:VERBAL/SAYER	ADJ:MEANS
	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC
	RHEME	

Now when a large crowd gathered and people were coming to him from their respective cities, he said to them through a parable,

Συνιόντος ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν
gathering crowd much and the according-to city coming-to to him

PR:MAT. ACTOR
 PRED:ST. SUBJECT
 THEME RHEME

Now when a large crowd gathered and people were coming to him from their respective cities...

κατὰ πόλιν	ἐπιπορευομένων	πρὸς αὐτὸν
<i>according-to city</i>	<i>coming-to</i>	<i>to him</i>
ADJ:COMP	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
THEME	RHEME	

... [people] were coming to him from their respective cities...

8.5 Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ.
went-out the sower of-the to-sow the seed of-him

PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 TOP THEME RHEME

“A sower went out to sow.”

σπεῖραι	τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ
<i>to-sow</i>	<i>the seed of-him</i>
PR:MATERIAL	GOAL
PRED:STAT	COMPL
THEME	RHEME

“... to sow his seed.”

καὶ	ἐν τῷ σπεῖρειν αὐτὸν	ὁ	μὲν
<i>and</i>	<i>in the to-sow him</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>on-the-one-hand</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	ACTOR	ADJ:CONJ
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

ἔπεσεν	παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν
<i>fell</i>	<i>along the path</i>
PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
(RHEME)	

“While he was sowing, some [seed] fell along the path...”

σπείρειν αὐτόν
to-sow him
 PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 THEME RHEME
 "... he was sowing..."

καὶ κατεπατήθη,
and was-trampled-on
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME
 "... and was trampled upon,"

καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.
and the birds of-the heaven devoured it
 ADJ:CONJ ACTOR PR:MATERIAL GOAL
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT PRED:STAT COMPL
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME
 "... and the birds from the sky devoured it."

8.6 καὶ ἕτερον κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν,
and other fell-down upon the rock
 ADJ:CONJ ACTOR PR:MATERIAL ADJ:PLACE
 ADJ:CONJ SUBJECT PRED:STAT ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME
 "Other [seed] fell down on rock."

καὶ φυὲν ἐξηράνθη
and growing-up it-withered
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἰκμάδα.
on-account-of the not to-have moisture
 ADJ:REASON
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)

"When it sprouted, it withered because it had no moisture."

φυὲν
growing-up
 PR:MATERIAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME
 "[When it] sprouted..."

μὴ	ἔχειν	ἰχμάδα
<i>not</i>	<i>to-have</i>	<i>moisture</i>
	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE	ATTRIBUTE
ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT	COMPL
THEME	RHEME	

“... [it] had no moisture.”

8.7 καὶ	ἕτερον	ἔπεσεν	ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἄκανθῶν,
<i>and</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>in midst of-the thorns</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“Yet other [seed] fell in the middle of the thorns,”

καὶ	συμφυεῖσαι	αἱ ἄκανθαι	ἀπέπνιξαν	αὐτό.
<i>and</i>	<i>growing-up-together</i>	<i>the thorns</i>	<i>choked</i>	<i>it</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	ACTOR	PR:MATERIAL	GOAL
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME		

“... and the thorns, growing up with the seed, choked it.”

συμφυεῖσαι	[αἱ ἄκανθαι]
<i>growing-up-together</i>	<i>[the thorns]</i>
PR:MATERIAL	[ACTOR]
PRED:STAT	[SUBJECT]
THEME	[RHEME]

“... the thorns, growing up [with the seed]...”

8.8 καὶ	ἕτερον	ἔπεσεν	εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν
<i>and</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>in the earth the good</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ACTOR	PR:MATERIAL	ADJ:PLACE
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	ADJ:CIRC
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“Yet other [seed] fell in the good soil.”

καὶ	φυεὶν	ἐποίησεν
<i>and</i>	<i>growing-up</i>	<i>it-made</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME	PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME

καρπὸν ἑκατονταπλασίονα.

fruit a-hundred-fold

GOAL

COMPL

(RHEME)

“When it grew up, it produced a hundred-fold yield.”

φυῆν

growing-up

PR:MATERIAL

PRED:STAT

THEME

“[When it] grew up. . .”

ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει,

these-things saying he-was-calling-out

ADJ:TIME PR:VERBAL/SAYER

ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT

TOP THEME RHEME

When he said these things, he was calling out,

ταῦτα λέγων

these-things saying

VERBIAGE PR:VERBAL

COMPL PRED:STAT

THEME RHEME

When he said these things,

ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.

the-one having ears to-hear must-hear!

SENDER PR:MENTAL

SUBJECT PRED:COMM

TOP THEME RHEME

“Whoever has ears to hear must hear!”

ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν

having ears to-hear

PR:ATTRIBUTIVE ATTRIBUTE

PRED:STAT COMPL

THEME RHEME

“[the one] having ears to hear. . .”

ἀκούειν

to-hear

PR:MENTAL

PRED:STAT

THEME

“... to hear. . .”

8.9 Ἐπηρώτων	δὲ	αὐτὸν	οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
<i>asked</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>the disciples of-him</i>
PR:VERBAL	ADJ:CONJ	RECIPIENT	SAYER
PRED:STAT	ADJ:CONJ	COMPL	SUBJECT
TOP THEME	RHEME		

Then his disciples asked him,

τίς	αὕτη	εἴη	ἡ παραβολή.
<i>what</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>might-be</i>	<i>the parable</i>
ATTRIBUTE	CARRIER. . .	PR:ATTRIBUTIVE	. . . CARRIER
COMPL/INTERR	SUBJECT. . .	PRED:QUES	. . . SUBJECT
TOP/INT THEME	RHEME		

“What might this parable mean?”

8.10 ὁ	δὲ	εἶπεν,
<i>he</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>said</i>
SAYER	ADJ:CONJ	PR:VERBAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CONJ	PRED:STAT
TOP THEME	RHEME	

And he said,

ὑμῖν	δέδοται
<i>to-you</i>	<i>has-been-given</i>
BENEFICIARY	PR:MATERIAL
COMPL	PRED:DISCL
TOP THEME	RHEME

γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ,
to-know the mysteries of-the kingdom of-the God

GOAL
 SUBJECT
 (RHEME)

“The mysteries of the kingdom of God have been given for you to know. . .”

γινῶναι	τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ
<i>to-know</i>	<i>the mysteries of-the kingdom of-the God</i>
PR:MENTAL	PHENOMENON
PRED:STAT	COMPL
THEME	RHEME

“... to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God. . .”

τοῖς {δὲ} λοιποῖς	ἐν παραβολαῖς,
<i>to-the {but} rest</i>	<i>in parables</i>
{ADJ:CONJ} BENEFICIARY	ADJ:MEANS
{ADJ:CONJ} COMPL	ADJ:CIRC
TOP THEME	RHEME

“... but to the rest [they are given] in parables,”

ἵνα	βλέποντες	μὴ	βλέπωσιν
<i>in-order-that</i>	<i>seeing</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>they-should-see</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME		PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... so that while they see, they may not see...”

βλέποντες
seeing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... [while they] see...”

καὶ	ἀκούοντες	μὴ	συνιῶσιν.
<i>and</i>	<i>hearing</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>they-may-perceive</i>
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:TIME		PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME	

“... and while they hear, they may not perceive.”

ἀκούοντες
hearing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... [while they] hear...”

8.11 Ἔστιν	δὲ	αὕτη	ἡ παραβολή·
<i>is</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>the parable</i>
PR:IDENTIFYING	ADJ:CONJ	TOKEN	VALUE
PRED:STAT	ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME		

“But this is the parable.”

Ὁ σπόρος	ἐστὶν	ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.
<i>the seed</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>the word of-the God</i>
TOKEN	PR:IDENTIFYING	VALUE
SUBJECT	PRED:STAT	COMPL
TOP THEME	RHEME	

“The seed is the word of God.”

8.12 οἱ {δὲ} παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες,
the-ones {and} along the path are the-ones hearing
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING VALUE
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT COMPL
 TOP THEME RHEME

“Now the ones along the path are those who hear,”

ἀκούσαντες
hearing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... [those who] hear...”

εἴτα ἔρχεται ὁ διάβολος
then comes the devil
 ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL ACTOR
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... then the devil comes...”

καὶ αἶρει τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν,
and takes-up the word from the heart of-them
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR GOAL ADJ:PLACE
 ADJ:CONJ PRED:STAT/SUBJECT COMPL ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and takes away the word from their heart,”

ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν.
Lest believing they should be saved
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
 ADJ:CONJ/ADJ:POL ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT/INT TOP THEME RHEME

“... so that they should not be saved when they believe.”

πιστεύσαντες
believing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... [when they] believe...”

8.13 οἱ {δὲ} ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας
the-ones {but} upon the rock (are)
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME

οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον,
which whenever they-should-hear with joy they-receive the word
 VALUE
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“But the ones on the rock are those which, whenever they hear it, receive the word with joy;”

οἱ	ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν	μετὰ χαρᾶς
<i>which</i>	<i>whenever they-should-hear</i>	<i>with joy</i>
CARRIER	ADJ:TIME	ADJ:QUALITY
SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC	ADJ:CIRC
TOP/TEXT THEME	RHEME	

δέχονται	τὸν λόγον,
<i>they-receive</i>	<i>the word</i>
PR:ATTRIBUTIVE	ATTRIBUTE:POSS
PRED:STAT	COMPL
(RHEME)	

“... which, whenever they hear it, receive the word with joy;”

ὅταν	ἀκούσωσιν
<i>whenever</i>	<i>they-should-hear</i>
ADJ:CONJ	PR:MENTAL/SENSE
ADJ:CONJ/PROB	PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
TOP/INT THEME	RHEME

“... whenever they hear it...”

καὶ	οὗτοι	ρίζαν	οὐκ	ἔχουσιν,
<i>and</i>	<i>these</i>	<i>root</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>they-have</i>
ADJ:CONJ	TOKEN	VALUE		PR:IDENTIFYING
ADJ:CONJ	SUBJECT	COMPL	ADJ:POL	PRED:STAT
TEXT	TOP THEME	RHEME		

“... these have no root,”

οἱ	πρὸς καιρὸν	πιστεύουσιν
<i>which</i>	<i>for time</i>	<i>they-believe</i>
SENSE	ADJ:TIME	PR:MENTAL
SUBJECT	ADJ:CIRC	PRED:STAT
TEXT/TOP	THEME	RHEME

“... who believe for a time...”

καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ ἀφίστανται.
and in time of-testing they-desert
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT TOP THEME RHEME

“... and fall away when trials come.”

8.14 τὸ {δὲ} εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας πεσόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν
the-ones {but} in the thorns falling these are
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME

οἱ ἀκούσαντες,
the-ones hearing
 VALUE
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“But the ones that fell in the thorns, these are people who hear,”

ἀκούσαντες
hearing
 PR:MENTAL
 PRED:STAT
 THEME

“... [people who] hear...”

καὶ ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου πορευόμενοι
and by cares and wealth and pleasures of-the life living
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:TIME
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:CIRC
 TEXT TOP THEME

συμπνίγονται
they-are-choked
 PR:MATERIAL/GOAL
 PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 RHEME

“... and as they live by cares and wealth and pleasures of life, they are choked...”

ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου πορευόμενοι
by cares and wealth and pleasures of-the life living
 ADJ:ACCOMP PR:MATERIAL
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT
 THEME RHEME

“... [as they] live by cares and wealth and pleasures of life...”

καὶ οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν.
and not they-produce-ripe-fruit
 ADJ:CONJ PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CONJ ADJ:POL PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TEXT INT TOP THEME

“... and they do not produce ripe fruit.”

8.15 τὸ {δὲ} ἐν τῇ καλῇ γῇ, οὗτοί εἰσιν
the-one {but} in the good earth these are
 {ADJ:CONJ} TOKEN PR:IDENTIFYING
 {ADJ:CONJ} SUBJECT PRED:STAT
 TOP THEME RHEME

οἵτινες ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ
which in heart good and fertile
 VALUE
 COMPL
 (RHEME)

“But the one in the good soil, these are people with a good and fertile heart...”

ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον κατέχουσιν καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν
hearing the word they-hold-fast and bear-fruit
 ADJ:TIME PR:MATERIAL/ACTOR
 ADJ:CIRC PRED:STAT/SUBJECT
 TOP THEME RHEME

ἐν ὑπομονῇ.
in patient-endurance
 ADJ:QUALITY
 ADJ:CIRC
 (RHEME)

“... who, when they hear the word, hold on to it and bear fruit in patient endurance.”

ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον
hearing the word
 PR:MENTAL PHENOMENON
 PRED:STAT COMPL
 THEME RHEME

“...[when they] hear the word...”

Bibliography

- Arens, Edmund. 1982. *Kommunikative Handlungen: Die paradigmatische Bedeutung der Gleichnisse Jesu für eine Handlungstheorie*. Düsseldorf: Patmos.
- Aune, David E. 1987. *The New Testament in its literary environment*. Library of Early Christianity, vol. 8. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Aurelio, Tullio. 1977. *Disclosures in den Gleichnissen Jesu: Eine Anwendung der disclosure-Theorie von I. T. Ramsey, der modernen Metaphorik und der Sprechakte auf die Gleichnisse Jesu*. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie, vol. 8. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Austin, John. 1962. *How to do things with words*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bacon, Benjamin W. 1930. *Studies in Matthew*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Balch, David L. 1991. *Social history of the Matthean community: Cross-disciplinary approaches*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Barthes, Roland. 1968. *Elements of semiology*. New York: Hill and Wang. Translated by Annett Lavers and Colin Smith.
- Bernstein, Basil (ed). 1973. *Class, codes and control 2: Applied studies towards a sociology of language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Blount, Brian K. 1995. *Cultural interpretation: Reorienting New Testament criticism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Boucher, Madeleine. 1977. *The mysterious parable: A literary study*. The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, vol. 6. Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Brooks, James A., & Winbery, Carlton L. 1979. *Syntax of New Testament Greek*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Brooks, Stephenson H. 1987. *Matthew's Community: The evidence of his special sayings material*. JSNT Supplement Series, vol. 41. Sheffield: JSOT Press. Edited by David Hill and David E. Orton.

- Buth, Randall. 1992. Οὐν, Δέ, Καί, and asyndeton in John's Gospel. *Pages 144–161 of*: Black, David Alan, Barnwell, Katharine, & Levinsohn, Stephen H. (eds), *Linguistics and New Testament interpretation: Essays on discourse analysis*. Nashville: Broadman Press.
- Butler, Christopher S. 1985. *Systemic linguistics: Theory and applications*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational.
- Chafe, Wallace, & Danielewicz, Jane. 1987. Properties of spoken and written language. *Pages 83–113 of*: Horowitz, Rosalind, & Samuels, S. Jay (eds), *Comprehending oral and written language*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Cook, John G. 1995. *The structure and persuasive power of Mark: A linguistic approach*. The Society of Biblical Literature Semeia Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press. edited by Vincent L. Wimbush.
- Crossan, John Dominic. 1973. *In parables: The challenge of the historical Jesus*. Eagle Books. New York and San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Crossan, John Dominic. 1988. *The dark interval: Towards a theology of story*. Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press.
- Culler, Jonathan. 1975. *Structuralist poetics: Structuralism, linguistics and the study of literature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Daneš, František. 1974. Functional sentence perspective and the organisation of the text. *Pages 106–128 of*: Daneš, František (ed), *Papers on functional sentence perspective*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Davies, Martin. 1994. 'i'm sorry, i'll read that again': Information structure in writing. *Pages 75–89 of*: Šticha, František, & Cmejrková, Svetla (eds), *The syntax of semantics and text: A festschrift for František Daneš*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Davies, Martin. 1996. Theme and information until Shakespeare. *In*: Butler, Christopher, Berry, Margaret, Fawcett, Robin, & Huang, Guowen (eds), *Meaning and form: Systemic functional interpretations*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Davies, W. D., & Allison, Jr., Dale C. 1991. *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*. International Critical Commentaries, vol. 2. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Davison, M. E. 1989. New Testament Greek word order. *Literary and linguistic computing*, 4, 19–28.
- de Beaugrande, Robert, & Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1981. *An introduction to textlinguistics*. Longman Linguistics Library, vol. 26. London and New York: Longman.
- de Saussure, Ferdinand. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Payot.

- Derrida, Jacques. 1976. *Of grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.
- Dibelius, Martin. 1961. *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*. Fourth edn. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Edited by Günther Bornkamm.
- Dik, Helma. 1995. *Word order in ancient Greek: A pragmatic account of word order variation in Herodotus*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 5. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Dik, Simon C. 1980. *Studies in functional grammar*. London and New York: Academic Press.
- Dik, Simon C. 1989. *The theory of functional grammar. Part I: The structure of the clause*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Dodd, C. H. 1961. *The parables of the kingdom*. Revised edn. Yale University Schaffer Lectures. New York: Scribner.
- Dover, Kenneth J. 1960. *Greek word order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- du Plessis, J. G. 1987. Pragmatic meaning in Matthew 13:1–23. *Neotestamentica*, **21**, 33–56.
- Durkheim, Émile. 1982. *The rules of sociological method, and selected texts on sociology and its method*. London: Macmillan.
- Eggins, Suzanne. 1994. *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. London and New York: Pinter.
- Fanning, Buist M. 1990. *Verbal aspect in New Testament Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fawcett, Robin P. 1974. Some proposals for systemic syntax, part 1. *Mals journal*, **1**(1), 1–15.
- Fawcett, Robin P. 1975. Some proposals for systemic syntax, part 2. *Mals journal*, **2**(1), 43–68.
- Fawcett, Robin P. 1976. Some proposals for systemic syntax, part 3. *Mals journal*, **2**(2), 35–68.
- Fawcett, Robin P. 1980. *Cognitive linguistics and social interaction*. Heidelberg and Exeter: Julius Groos and University of Exeter.
- Firbas, Jan. 1992. *Functional sentence perspective in written and spoken communication*. Studies in English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Firth, J. R. 1957. *Papers in linguistics 1934–1951*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Fleming, Ilah. 1988. *Communication analysis: A stratificational approach*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Friberg, Timothy. 1982. *New Testament Greek word order in light of discourse considerations*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- Fries, Peter H. 1993. Information flow in written advertising. *Pages 336–352 of*: Alatis, James E. (ed), *Language, communication, and social meaning*. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1992. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Fries, Peter H. 1995a. Patterns of information in initial position in English. *Pages 47–67 of*: Fries, Peter H., & Gregory, Michael (eds), *Discourse in society: Functional perspectives*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Fries, Peter H. 1995b. A personal view of Theme. *Pages 1–19 of*: Ghadessy, Mohsen (ed), *Thematic development in English texts*. London: Pinter.
- Fries, Peter H. 1995c. Themes, methods of development, and texts. *Pages 317–359 of*: Hasan, Ruqaiya, & Fries, Peter H. (eds), *On Subject and Theme: A discourse functional perspective*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Frisk, Hjalmar. 1933. *Studien zur griechischen Wortstellung*. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, vol. 39. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers.
- Fuchs, Ernst. 1964. *Studies of the historical Jesus*. Studies in Biblical Theology, vol. 42. London: SCM Press. Translated by A. Scobie.
- Funk, Robert W. 1966. *Language, hermeneutic, and Word of God: The problem of language in the New Testament and contemporary theology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Funk, Robert W. 1982. *Parables and presence: Forms of the New Testament tradition*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Gernsbacher, Morton Ann. 1990. *Language comprehension as structure building*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Gerot, Linda. 1995. *Making sense of text*. Making Sense of Language. Gold Coast, Queensland: Gerd Stabler, AEE.
- Geulich, Robert A. 1998. *Mark 1–8:26*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 34a. Dallas, TX: Word Books.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. *Pages 73–113 of*: Greenberg, Joseph H. (ed), *Universals of language*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.
- Gregory, Michael. 1967. Aspects of varieties differentiation. *Journal of linguistics*, 3, 177–198.

- Gregory, Michael, & Carroll, Susanne. 1978. *Language and situation: Language varieties and their social contexts*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Greimas, Algirdas Julien. 1966. *Semantique structurale, recherche de methode*. Paris: Larousse.
- Grice, H. Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. *Pages 41–58 of: Cole, Peter, & Morgan, Jerry L. (eds), Syntax and semantics 3: Speech acts*. New York: Academic.
- Gülich, Elisabeth, Heger, Klaus, & Raible, Wolfgang. 1979. *Linguistische Textanalyse. Überlegen zur Gliederung von Texten*. Papiere zur Textlinguistik, vol. 8. Hamburg: Buske.
- Gundry, Robert H. 1982. *Matthew: A commentary on his literary and theological art*. First edn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Gundry, Robert H. 1994. *Matthew: A commentary on his handbook for a mixed church under persecution*. Second edn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Guthrie, G. H. 1994. *The structure of Hebrews: A text-linguistic analysis*. Novum Testamentum Supplement Series, vol. 73. Leiden: Brill.
- Hagner, Donald A. 1993. *Matthew 1–13*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 33a. Dallas, TX: Word Books.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1967a. Notes on transitivity and theme in English — part 1. *Journal of linguistics*, 3(1), 37–81.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1967b. Notes on transitivity and theme in English — part 2. *Journal of linguistics*, 3(2), 199–244.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1968. Notes on transitivity and theme in English — part 3. *Journal of linguistics*, 4(2), 179–215.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1971. Linguistic function and literary style: An inquiry into the language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*. In: Chatman, Seymour (ed), *Literary style: A symposium*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1973. *Explorations in the functions of language*. Explorations in Language Study. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic*. London and Baltimore: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1987. Spoken and written modes of meaning. *Pages 55–82 of: Horowitz, Rosalind, & Samuels, S. Jay (eds), Comprehending oral and written language*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1994. *An introduction to functional grammar*. Second edn. London: Edward Arnold.

- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, Ruqaiya. 1976. *Cohesion in english*. English Language Series, vol. 9. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, Ruqaiya. 1989. *Language, context, and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Second edn. Language Education. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harrington, Daniel J. 1991. *The Gospel of Matthew*. Sacra Pagina Series, vol. 1. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.
- Hellholm, David. 1980. *Das Visionenbuch des Hermas als Apokalypse. Formgeschichtliche und texttheoretische Studien zu einer literarischen Gattung*. Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series, vol. 13.1. Lund: Gleerup.
- Hjelmslev, Louis. 1970. *Language: An introduction*. English edn. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Jeremias, Joachim. 1972. *The parables of Jesus*. Second edn. New York: Scribner. Translated by S. H. Hooke.
- Jones, G. V. 1964. *The art and truth of the parables: A study in their literary form and modern interpretation*. London: SPCK.
- Jülicher, Adolf. 1899. *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*. Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Kilpatrick, G. D. 1946. *The origins of the Gospel according to Matthew*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kingsbury, Jack Dean. 1969. *The parables of Jesus in Matthew 13: A study in redaction-criticism*. Richmond: John Knox Press.
- Kingsbury, Jack Dean. 1975. *Matthew: Structure, Christology, kingdom*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Kingsbury, Jack Dean. 1988. *Matthew as story*. Second, revised and enlarged edn. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Kissinger, Warren S. 1979. *The parables of Jesus: A history of interpretation and bibliography*. ATLA Bibliography Series, vol. 4. Metuchen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press and the American Theological Library Association.
- Lamb, Sydney M. 1966. *Outline of stratificational grammar*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Larsen, Iver. 1991. Word order and relative prominence in New Testament Greek. *Notes on translation*, 5, 29–34.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. Longman Linguistics Library, vol. 30. London: Longman.

- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The savage mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levine, Amy-Jill. 1988. *The social and ethnic dimensions of Matthean salvation history*. Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity, vol. 14. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1987. *Textual connections in acts*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, vol. 31. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1992. Participant reference in Koine Greek narrative. *Pages 31–44 of*: Black, David Alan, Barnwell, Katharine, & Levinsohn, Stephen H. (eds), *Linguistics and New Testament interpretation: Essays on discourse analysis*. Nashville: Broadman Press.
- Loepfe, Alfred. 1940. *Die Wortstellung im griechischen Sprechsatz (erklärt an Stücken aus Platon und Menander)*. Ph.D. thesis, Freiburg, Freiburg, Switzerland.
- Luz, Ulrich. 1990. *Das Evangelium nach matthäus: Mt 8–17*. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament, vol. I/2. Benziger Verlag, Neukirchener Verlag.
- Luz, Ulrich. 1995. *The disciples in the Gospel according to Matthew*. Second edn. Studies in New Testament Interpretation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Edited by Graham N. Stanton. First published in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 62 (1971) 141–71.
- Malina, Bruce J., & Neyrey, Jerome H. 1988. *Calling Jesus names: The social value of labels in Matthew*. Foundations & Facets: Social Facets. Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive languages. *In*: Ogden, C. K., & Richard, I. A. (eds), *The meaning of meaning*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Martin, J. R. 1992. *English text: System and structure*. Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mathesius, Vilém. 1964. On the potentiality of the phenomena of language. *Pages 1–32 of*: Vachek, Josef (ed), *A Prague School reader in linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- McKay, K. L. 1994. *A new syntax of the verb in New Testament Greek: An aspectual approach*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Newman, Barclay M. 1983. To teach or not to teach (a comment on Matthew 13.1–3). *The bible translator*, 34, 139–143.
- Olsen, Mari Broman. 1994. *A semantic and pragmatic model of lexical and grammatical aspect*. Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

- Olsen, Mari Broman. 1997. *A semantic and pragmatic model of lexical and grammatical aspect*. New York: Garland Press.
- Overman, J. Andrew. 1990. *Matthew's Gospel and formative Judaism: the social world of the Matthean community*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Perrin, Norman. 1976. *Jesus and the language of the kingdom: Symbol and metaphor in New Testament interpretation*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene. 1985. Word order in Modern Greek. *Transactions of the philological society*, **2**, 113–143.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene. 1987. The theory of empty categories and the pro-drop parameter in Modern Greek. *Journal of linguistics*, **23**, 289–318.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1971. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. Second edn. Janua Linguarum Series Maior, vol. 24. The Hague: Mouton.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1981. *Tagmemics, discourse, and verbal art*. Michigan Studies in the Humanities, vol. 3. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Porter, Stanley E. 1989. *Verbal aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with reference to tense and mood*. Studies in Biblical Greek, vol. 1. New York: Peter Lang.
- Porter, Stanley E. 1993. Word order and clause structure in New Testament Greek: An unexplored area of Greek linguistics using Philippians as a test case. *Philologia neotestamentaria*, **6**(November), 177–206.
- Poynton, Cate. 1985. *Language and gender: Making the difference*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- Propp, Vladimir. 1968. *The morphology of the folktale*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Reed, Jeffrey T. 1992. Cohesive ties in 1 Timothy: In defense of the epistle's unity. *Neotestamentica*, **26**, 131–147.
- Reed, Jeffrey T. 1995a. Identifying theme in the New Testament: Insights from discourse analysis. *Pages 75–101 of: Porter, Stanley E., & Carson, D. A. (eds), Discourse analysis and other topics in biblical Greek*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, vol. 113. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Reed, Jeffrey T. 1995b. To Timothy or not? a discourse analysis of 1 timothy. *Pages 90–118 of: Porter, Stanley E., & Carson, D. A. (eds), Discourse analysis and other topics in biblical Greek*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, vol. 113. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

- Reed, Jeffrey T. 1997. *A discourse analysis of Philippians: Method and rhetoric in the debate over literary integrity*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, vol. 136. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Rose, David. forthcoming. Some variations in Theme across languages. *Functions of language*.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. 1994. *Matthew's Christian-Jewish community*. Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sampson, Geoffrey. 1980. *Schools of linguistics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Schmid, W. 1973. *Der Textaufbau in der Erzählungen Dostoevskijs*. Poetica Beiheften, vol. 10. München: Fink.
- Schweitzer, Albert. 1968. *The quest of the historical Jesus: A critical study of its progress from Reimarus to Wrede*. New York: Collier Books, Macmillan Publishing Company. Translated by W. Montgomery.
- Scott, Bernard Brandon. 1989. *Hear then the parable: A commentary on the parables of Jesus*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Searle, John. 1969. *Speech acts*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Sellin, Gerhard. 1983. Textlinguistische und semiotische Erwägungen zu mk. 4.1–34. *New testament studies*, **29**, 508–530.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir, & Messing, Gordon M. 1984. *Greek grammar*. Revised edn. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Stanton, Graham N. 1993. *A gospel for a new people: Studies in Matthew*. First english edn. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press.
- Stendahl, Krister. 1954. *The school of St. Matthew and its use of the Old Testament*. Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, vol. XX. Lund/Copenhagen: Gleerup/Munksgaard.
- Thiselton, Anthony C. 1970. The parables as language-event: Some comments on Fuchs's hermeneutics in the light of linguistic philosophy. *Scottish journal of theology*, **23**, 437–468.
- Tolbert, Mary Ann. 1979. *Perspectives on the parables: An approach to multiple interpretations*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Via, Jr., Dan Otto. 1967. *The parables: Their literary and existential dimension*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Voelz, J. W. 1993. Present and aorist verbal aspect: A new proposal. *Neotestamentica*, **27**, 153–164.

- Wilder, Amos N. 1964. *The language of the gospel: Early Christian rhetoric*. New York and Evanston: Harper & Row.
- Yngve, Victor H. 1986. *Linguistics as a science*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.