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Reviews

Church-Driven Bible Translation

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Abstract: Over the past 20 years, the Protestant Evangelical Church of Timor (GMIT) has become the primary steward of Bible translation efforts in the Indonesian province of East Nusa Tenggara, actively shepherding the translation work in innovative ways that increase local capacity while also leveraging the unique contributions which a variety of Bible translation partners bring to the table. This collaboration under official church leadership has led to a remarkable expansion of the Bible translation effort in this region, out of proportion to the relatively small number of foreign experts supporting the work. GMIT's contributions to the partnership include: (1) hosting a Language and Culture Unit in their synod offices. This Unit supports all Bible translation and ancillary activities in the collaboration; (2) advocating for the use of local language translations in their congregations; (3) requesting that all translations done under their auspices reflect a common exegesis; (4) assigning GMIT church pastors and seminary professors to learn to check translations for faithfulness. The collaboration is supporting 20 translation projects in the region, and seven New Testaments have been published. Sustainability and enhanced Scripture engagement are among the leading benefits we have seen. This paper also looks at the risks of a church-driven approach and how these are being mitigated.

Keywords: Bible Translation, Consultation, Churches

A couple of years ago, I (Larry) heard about a group of Christian leaders who were meeting regularly to discuss "church-centric Bible translation." When one of their meetings was held in Arlington, Texas, not too far from our Seed Company office, I finagled an invitation to attend. I was inspired by a day of fellowship with a diverse group of God's servants, including mission leaders, church planters, pastors, philanthropists, and a couple of advisers with some knowledge of Bible translation. This group's passion was to develop the Church's capacity to directly execute and support Bible translation projects. Part way through the meeting, one of the regular participants turned to me and asked, "If we are successful in doing this, won't that put you [i.e., the Bible translation agencies] out of business?"

This question sprang from an unfortunate, but not-so-uncommon binary assumption, that Bible translation can (or should be) executed *either* by the Bible translation agencies *or* by the Church. While a review of the interesting theological debate about the Church and the role of parachurch organizations is beyond the scope of this paper, our experience in Indonesia suggests that viewing the Church and the Bible translation agencies in a simple binary contrast is unhelpful, to say the least.

For this reason, we have steered away from the phrase *Church-centric Bible translation* in this paper. We prefer to use the phrase *Church-driven Bible translation* to describe the collaborative Bible translation movement burgeoning in East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia where we work. By *Church-driven Bible translation*, we mean that an expression of the institutional Church—in our case, the Evangelical Christian Church in Timor (Indonesian acronym GMIT)—takes the lead in shaping and executing Bible translation projects while strategically leveraging the strengths and expertise of their Bible translation agency partners.

THE GMIT-SEED COMPANY COLLABORATION: A BRIEF HISTORY

Bible translation into Malay, the language from which Indonesian later developed, has its own history (Moeliono and Grimes 1995; Grimes 1996a, b; Sneddon 2003; and Soesilo 1994) and was very much connected to the history of Christianity in Indonesia. This is also true for local languages in Indonesia, including the Timor area. As noted by historians, the Dutch East Indies Company arrived in Kupang, the main city of Timor today, in 1653. Christianity came as the religion of these Dutch merchants, and then slowly spread as the Dutch tried to attract local kings as allies (Heuken in Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008, 80, 86–88). According to oral history, Christianity came to nearby Rote island around 1730 after three local kings visited Batavia where they learned to read and write, and learned the basics of Christianity. On returning to Rote, it is said they brought a Bible in Malay, and set up a school.[1] Much later in 1922, Pieter Middelkoop began Bible translation into the Uab Meto (Molo) language of Timor (Swellengrebel 1978; Van den End and Aritonang in Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008, 30; Van Aalst, Krayer 2016; Patty-Noach 1997). He and his colleagues also trained local church workers to spread the gospel using the local language.

Before Indonesian independence in 1945, the gospel of Luke was translated into the Rote language by a Rotinese.[2] The use of local languages in the church's

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[1] It was "a private school" where the local children could learn to read, write, and do math. For the new Christian converts, the school served as a place where they could learn about Christianity. Later, the school was managed by the local church and became a church-owned school. And I think that, since education was one of the Dutch church ministries, the school was supported by the colonial masters.

[2] Named Fanggidaej.

ministries by the Dutch missionary Le Grand and some local church workers was important for early church planting on the island of Rote (Patty-Noach 1997, 14). In 1947 when GMIT was established, Middelkoop published the Uab Meto (Molo) New Testament (Cooley 1961). It is estimated that in that year there were 80,000 believers on the mountains of Timor due to evangelism, songs, ministry, and Scripture, all using the local language.

Today GMIT is one of the largest denominations in Indonesia, with around 1,400,000 members, 46 presbyteries, 2,300 congregations, and 1,600 ordained ministers, whose members speak around 70 languages (Edwards and UBB 2018). From the start, GMIT has valued Bible translation. In 1975 GMIT ministers began to involve themselves in Bible translation work done by the Indonesian Bible Society. There were 4 GMIT ministers assigned to the Bible Society as Bible translators for four different languages in the region: Lii Hawu, Tetun, Rote, and Uab Meto.

Although GMIT's initial contact was with Translation Consultant and mentors Dr. Charles and Dr. Barbara Grimes,[3] early on they developed a collaboration with the Wycliffe USA affiliate organization, the Seed Company (see Hill 2006; Johnstone 2006).[4] The Seed Company's defining interest was in supporting Bible translation projects principally led by local staff. This made the Seed Company a good fit to support GMIT's strong priority for growing local involvement in Bible translation.

In 1998 GMIT synod leaders requested the Centre for Regional Studies at Artha Wacana Christian University to do Bible translation for the GMIT synod. This would include Scriptures, grammars, dictionaries, and other reading materials in eight languages, with other languages to be added in the future as needed.

From the beginning of the collaboration, GMIT's translation goal for each project has been a whole Bible. This goal reflects the Church's priority to have God's entire counsel available to its congregations in the languages which serve them best.

Initially, the university responded to GMIT's request through its Centre for Regional Studies. In 2004, GMIT established its own Language and Culture Unit

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[3] In 1991 Rev. Tom and Dee Therik, of Artha Wacana Christian University (the local university associated with GMIT) met Dr. Charles and Dr. Barbara Grimes at the Australian National University. A strong relationship developed between the two families. After meetings with leaders of the Christian University and the moderator of GMIT, the Grimes were invited to work in Timor. Three years later, in 1995 the Grimes to moved to Timor to work with the University and later GMIT.

[4] As Hill and Johnstone etc. observed, since the mid-1900s many missiologists associate the recent accelerated pace of Bible translation in both minority and majority languages with the work of Wycliffe Bible Translators and the United Bible Societies. The ongoing work of these two organizations also coincides with the development of Bible translation as a modern science.

(*Unit Bahasa dan Budaya*, known by its acronym UBB) which has since managed the collaboration. Details of the remarkable scope and fruitfulness of the collaboration can be seen in Appendix A. From its initial foray in four languages in 1998, the collaboration now manages Bible translation and language development projects in twenty-six languages in the province.

In the early 2000s, the university Centre for Regional Studies and the Seed Company initiated translation projects on several Rote languages (Dela, Tii, Rikou, Lole, Dengka and Termanu), Tetun, Baikeno (Oecussi, Timor-Leste), Hawu (Sabu) and later Pura. The Gospel of Mark was published in all of them. Professional journals, computer tools, and high-level discussions about translation principles and best practices were used to train the translators and raise their awareness of contextually appropriate approaches to translation. GMIT has held that Bible translation efforts should fundamentally be a program of the church. Thus, in 2004, the Center for Regional Studies's work in Bible translation was moved from the university to the synod's Language and Culture Unit (*Unit Bahasa dan Budaya* or *UBB*). Quoting Rev. Dr. Ranoh, GMIT's moderator of that period, Bible translation efforts should "be closer to the programs of the church." Dr. Ranoh emphasized, "The Word of God belongs to all churches, the whole body of Christ. In our efforts to translate the Bible, GMIT is the spearhead to serve the Church."

Beginning in 2016, Bible translation efforts were expanded with the addition of five projects in Alor-Pantar languages,[5] two in Uab Meto languages (adapting from Amarasi), and the renewal the project in Hawu (Sabu) after the original translators had passed away. Several of these projects leverage earlier work, using adaptation and other lessons learned from previous neighboring translations.

GMIT actively promotes the use of local language translations in their congregations. The entire denomination hosts a local language and culture month each year in May where cultural expressions of faith, including local language hymns and liturgies, as well Scripture translations, are celebrated and used. Many rural GMIT congregations commit to holding a worship service entirely in the local language once a month, and some regularly have three a month in the local language. This constellation of programs fuels far greater scripture engagement than would be possible without denominational endorsement.

<div align="center">KEY FEATURES IN THE COLLABORATION: COMMON EXEGESIS</div>

From the beginning of the collaboration, GMIT synod leaders requested that all translations done in the regions served by GMIT follow a common exegesis. Given that senior respected GMIT ministers were involved in making informed decisions about the exegesis, this practice has assisted pastors and lay people to accept

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[5] Wersing, Klon, Teiwa, Klamu, and Abola.

and use the Scriptures in multilingual church settings. It has avoided unhelpful confusion which would have resulted if GMIT churches in different people groups were using translations of the Bible with significant exegetical and/or textual variations. It also has captured remarkable efficiencies in translation checking in that exegetical issues have largely been settled at the outset of the collaboration. As a result, translation consultants rarely need to work through novel exegetical choices made by inexperienced translators.

Early in the collaboration translators from the Amarasi, Helong, and Dhao languages suggested that the Kupang Malay translation team work ahead so that the other teams could have the benefit of their work to help them better understand the meaning of the text. Because Kupang Malay is the *lingua franca* of the region, all the team members could understand this translation well, much better than the formal translation in Indonesian which is customarily used as a church Bible. As a result, the Kupang Malay translation became the de facto primary resource reflecting the common exegesis for all translations done under the auspices of the collaboration. Eventually the syntax and wording of the Kupang Malay translation was deliberately crafted to reflect the structure and lexicon of many of the languages of the region. This has enabled the Kupang Malay translation to be used as a "front translation" for drafting several translation projects. When questions arise, the standard remains the meaning of the original Greek or Hebrew texts.

Use of a creole *lingua franca* translation as a primary resource for translations in the region has a number of advantages. As mentioned above, Kupang Malay is far better understood by most people in the province than formal Indonesian. The better translators understand their source text, the more accurate their translations can be. Further, because the Kupang Malay translation has been crafted to serve as a front translation, in many cases even literal renderings of the Kupang Malay translation into other languages in the region end up being fairly natural and require only minor tweaking (Jacob and Grimes 2011). Finally, the Kupang Malay translation is a dynamic translation which prioritizes comprehensibility and naturalness. This has been an excellent model shaping the styles of other translations done in the collaboration.

There are also challenges to using the Kupang Malay translation as a leading resource text for translations in the collaboration. As a dynamic translation, the wording of the Kupang Malay translation diverges significantly from the formal Indonesian translation with which most church-goers are familiar. This leads to differences that need to be explained (and, in some cases, defended) by the translators. Also the Malay used on other islands in the province differs slightly from Kupang Malay. This results in some minor slippage in the comprehension of some exegetical details in the Kupang Malay translation. Finally, the syntactic adjustments reflected in the Kupang Malay translation enable it to be easily

translated in only some of the languages of the region. In cases where the local languages are significantly different in their syntactic typologies, more syntactic and wording adjustments are required, while maintaining a common semantic exegesis.[6] Finally, Kupang Malay is a stigmatized creole that many ministers and others do not think is appropriate for use in church (Jacob, June, and Grimes 2011). This stigmatization has sometimes bled into the translations in minority languages which have used the Kupang Malay as their primary resource.

KEY FEATURES IN THE COLLABORATION: HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

From the beginning of GMIT's collaboration with the Seed Company, the church's priority was to develop its capacity to support Bible translation technically in the region. In 1998 Rev. Max Jacob, a GMIT church leader, commented:

> [Early Dutch missionaries] did the translation for us, but they did not train us. We could not continue with the Old Testament, nor could we do more translation ourselves in other languages. [Other groups] have helped us get started, but because of their limited resources, we often felt abandoned and had to carry on by ourselves; that did not give good results. *So, if you will do translation with us and train us to do it to international standards, then we want to do Bible translation with you.*

It is important to note that Rev. Jacob was not proposing a quick and easy solution to the many Bible translation needs in East Nusa Tenggara. He was not suggesting, as has been posited by other groups in other places, that GMIT had both the "right" and the "capability" to support and execute faithful Bible translation by themselves. He freely acknowledged they needed to learn to do Bible translation well and he wanted them to be equipped to do so to an *international standard*, that is, a standard recognized by the international community of Bible agencies.

Later in 2002, Dr. Tom Therik, who was the rector of the Christian University associated with GMIT, reiterated this priority, saying, "If you have limited time and resources, invest them in *training Timorese*, rather than bringing in a large number of foreigners."

The first Timorese people involved in Bible translation in the collaboration were speakers of languages needing translation who were trained as translators. Several of these initial translation projects were supported by foreign facilitators, although there were two GMIT facilitators as early as 2002.

Early on, many of the translation teams were self-selecting. One person with a passion for Bible translation in their own language would recruit friends that he or she felt they could work with productively. The initial focus was on recruiting

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[6] In East Nusa Tenggara province, Bible Translation is happening in typologically diverse SVO, VSO, and SOV languages which impacts word order all the way down to the phrase level.

people who were native speakers and Christians of good repute. Through some unfortunate experiences, the quality of being able to listen respectfully to others, accept other possibilities, and work with a consensus rose in importance. Potential team members were taken on for a sustained probationary period to ensure they could take direction and work respectfully as part of a team.

Eventually, some of the more gifted, experienced translators, as well as other educated, motivated Timorese colleagues began to facilitate Bible Translation and literacy projects in other Timorese languages. Those with sufficient English competency were sent to training opportunities in Darwin and Melbourne, Australia, at Payap University in Chiang Mai, Thailand and other places. To date, five masters degrees (in linguistics and Biblical studies) and one D.Min. have been completed, with one MA and one PhD in process. Today, the bulk of Bible translation programs managed by GMIT's UBB are supported by local facilitators.

<div align="center">KEY FEATURES IN THE COLLABORATION:
GMIT BIBLE SCHOLARS CHECKING TRANSLATIONS</div>

Bible scholars associated with GMIT are also learning to check translations of the Bible for faithfulness, in roles similar to translation consultants. The first GMIT Bible scholar to check translations of Scripture in Timorese languages was Rev. Dr. Ayub Ranoh. Dr. Ranoh was a recently retired GMIT pastor, and a translator of the New Testament in his mother language, Dhao. He also was a former GMIT synod moderator, and a professor at the GMIT seminary associated with the Artha Wacana Christian University in Kupang. He was an outspoken advocate for Bible translation in East Nusa Tenggara. Dr. Ranoh's first experience checking a translation of Scripture was checking the Lole translation of the Gospel of Luke alongside Larry Jones in November 2012. Because Dr. Ranoh was a retiree, he could volunteer several days a week to participate in translation checking and learning the skills of a translation consultant. As a result, he progressed rapidly in his competence in checking translations of various New Testament genres. He was just a couple of months away from attending a translation consultant development workshop where his competence could have been evaluated and recognized by the wider Bible translation community in Indonesia when he unexpectedly died in May 2014.

In 2018, three other GMIT scholars, including Rev. Dr. Adriana Tunliu, began the process of being trained to check translations for faithfulness.

GMIT scholars bring a number of strengths to the table as candidates to assist Bible translators in East Nusa Tenggara to check their translations for faithfulness. In addition to their extensive knowledge of biblical languages, exegesis, and Bible backgrounds, they are often speakers of one or more of the languages of the region. Some of them, like Dr. Ranoh, have participated in the translation of

Scripture in their own language. They often also have some competence in English. As a result, these scholars have some intuitive knowledge of translation principles based on their multi-lingual life experience, alongside some formal training in that field.

GMIT scholars also can speak Kupang Malay, the language of wider communication in the region. This Malay dialect is related to, but distinct from Bahasa Indonesia, the official national language of Indonesia (Moeliono and Grimes 1995; Grimes 1996a; Jacob and B. Grimes 2006; Jacob and C. Grimes 2011). Because of their competence in the local language of wider communication, the GMIT scholars communicate more clearly and effectively with translators in East Nusa Tenggara than those who can only use standard Indonesian.

Finally the GMIT scholars who have learned to check translations are *ordained ministers* in the GMIT denomination. This status is a powerful, implicit endorsement of the collaborative Bible translation efforts in the East Nusa Tenggara region. GMIT congregations intuitively affirm that their denomination's ordained ministers should check the faithfulness of translations to be used in their denomination's churches.

The training path for GMIT scholars is primarily comprised of personalized mentoring, using the same principles Jesus used with His disciples. The first exposure GMIT scholars have to translation checking is observing the consultant check of significant portions of translated Scripture, e.g. a Synoptic Gospel. The first exposure is largely observing the consultant at work, then debriefing at breaks and meals. There may be opportunity near the end of the check for the scholar to lead a checking session on a simple pericope. The consultant observes the check, gives her own input in addition to the scholar's contribution, and debriefs the experience with the scholar.

After this, the GMIT scholar typically shares responsibility to lead checking sessions for a translated book of the Bible. The consultant and the GMIT scholar each prepare to lead checking sessions on parts of the book, with the GMIT scholar handling what, in the consultant's judgment, are the easier passages in the text. The scholar observes all sessions the consultant leads and vice versa. The scholar is given opportunity to give input in sections where the consultant is leading the check, and vice versa. The experience is debriefed at breaks and over meals, as well as in summary form at the end of the check.

At the next stage, the scholar is entrusted with leading the check of the translation of an entire Scripture book. The consultant is in attendance as an observer and occasional contributor, with debriefs at breaks and meals, as has become customary by this time.

After a scholar demonstrates competence checking under the direct observation of a consultant, the scholar may be invited to prepare and check a text without the consultant mentor being present. In this case, it is expected that an

experienced translation consultant is somewhere on the premises to serve as a reference for the scholar if a question arises in the course of a check, and to debrief along the way. As the trainee/scholar gains experience, report writing is added into the mix.

The training of the GMIT scholars is staged according to genre. Biblical narrative is first and is the primary context for early development of checking skills, with more difficult genres checked in later experiences. For example, Dr. Ranoh helped check several translations of Synoptic Gospels as his first exposures to translation checking. He was approved to check translations of Synoptic Gospels in East Nusa Tenggara without close supervision as a stage of his development, before he was approved to check translations of other genres.

<div align="center">TESTIMONY OF A GMIT SCHOLAR</div>

During the early years of the GMIT collaboration with the Seed Company, I (Adriana) was the liaison from GMIT overseeing the work. I also became a translator of the Kupang Malay Bible, joining the Kupang Malay translation team in 2005. In 2008 I left the team for my study abroad, one year after the dedication of the Kupang Malay New Testament.

I focused my study on Old Testament and Biblical Hebrew. In 2013, I completed my dissertation on audience issues in Bible Translation. Half of my dissertation is a translation of the book of Genesis in Everyday Indonesian. It was translated and checked with Indonesian speakers in three areas of Nusa Tenggara Timur.

In 2014, I came back and was appointed to the Theological Department of the Artha Wacana Christian University in Kupang, as a lecturer on Old Testament and Biblical Hebrew. My experience in Bible translation has benefited my teaching at the university, as we prepare the future leadership of the church and society.

In November 2018, Larry Jones invited me to participate in checking a translation of the book of Acts in the Klon language on Alor Island. It was both exciting and challenging at the same time. Even though I did not yet have any formal training to learn the skills of a translation consultant, my prior experience as a Bible translator helped me navigate through the checking process. I also struggled with my role as an ordained minister of GMIT, in that I felt a heavy responsibility to make sure that the new translation did not depart from the church's teaching.

In April 2019, I attended a translation checking training seminar with some GMIT ministers, one colleague from the Theological Department of UKAW and, two Catholic priests. We were trained to assist in checking translations for faithfulness. It was affirming to hear again and again that "Bible Translation into local languages is a strategy for church mission and discipleship, because God's Word speaks most powerfully when we hear it in the language we understand best." I am grateful to be on this track of ministry.

We learned about unique aspects of the Bible translation process, especially for minority languages. I vividly recall the long and hard years serving as a translator of the Kupang Malay Bible, the Word of God in a stigmatized creole in the Timor area. In his doctrine of divine accommodation, Calvin (Calvin, 1996) argues that God, who is incomprehensible, accommodates Himself to human understanding. It is God that stoops down to the level of humans. Calvin insists that God employs human language to reveal Himself. God has to speak in human language, or else it is impossible for humans to understand Him. If God is able to adapt Himself to human capacity in His revelation, who are we to hide God's Word to His people or to raise the bar so that only certain people can have access to the Word? (Tunliu-Dukabain, 2013).

We also learned that the consultant check is done to give input to the translation team to help assure them that their translation is faithful, accurate, understandable, and natural. A consultant, then, needs to have extensive education and expertise in Biblical exegesis and in translation principles. Knowledge in biblical languages, an understanding that the structures and vocabularies of languages can differ significantly, strategies for expressing the biblical message within the limitations of the grammar and vocabulary of different languages, communication skills, interpersonal skills, etc. are mandatory for this particular role.

I found the seminar was very helpful as I worked alongside Larry to check Joseph's story in the Teiwa language in 2019. I had more self-confidence. I know the goal of the consultant check phase and am equipped with some academic and practical skills to play my role in the Bible Translation process accordingly.

My work load at the university limits my hours to participate in translation checking and learning the skills of a translation consultant at this time. I am praying that in the future, with the new leadership in GMIT and the university, I will be given a more flexible schedule to enable me to participate more fully in supporting the ministry of Bible Translation in Nusa Tenggara Timur.

RISK MITIGATION, CHALLENGES, AND BENEFITS

A church-driven approach to Bible translation, where a church denomination takes a leading role in the execution of most stages in the translation process, entails some obvious risks. For example, historically the various parachurch Bible agencies have been well-positioned as the chief executors of Bible translation projects because the translations are meant to serve all expressions of the Christian confession, not just one denomination.

In the case of GMIT's collaboration with the Seed Company and other partners, GMIT is by far the largest denomination in East Nusa Tenggara. As the founding church of the region, GMIT has an implicit leadership role within the

circle of Protestant denominations in Nusa Tenggara Timur. This makes its leading role in regional Bible translation efforts natural and acceptable. The GMIT's Language and Culture Unit has deliberately involved representatives of other denominations in both the translation efforts themselves and in promotion of translated materials. Further, the Kupang Malay translation, which represents the unified exegesis underlying all translations done in the collaboration, has been checked and reviewed by numerous Bible translation consultants to ensure that the exegesis is at an international standard and avoids any narrow denominational idiosyncrasies.

Another possible risk in a church-driven approach is that the church scholars who are checking the translations could be insufficiently aware of translation principles. In this case, their input to translation teams during a translation check could lead to translations that literally reflect the form of the original, but fail to communicate naturally and clearly to the intended audience, a result which would clearly be counterproductive. This risk is partially mitigated by the formal training in linguistics and translation principles which has been given to several of the translators in the collaboration. The use of the dynamic Kupang Malay translation as a leading resource also inclines translation teams to prioritize naturalness and comprehension.

The consistent involvement of a core group of recognized Bible translation consultants also mitigates this risk in the GMIT collaboration. These consultants serve as mentors to GMIT scholars wanting to learn to check translations. The consultants are ultimately responsible to ensure that the translations done under the auspices of the collaboration meet an international standard of faithfulness (i.e., accurate, clear, and natural). Scholars who are candidates to check translations are screened for the knowledge, interpersonal skills, and attitudes which contribute to successful service to translation teams. Their contact with their mentors is regular, and their engagement involves a detailed, honest review of their experiences in checking translations. This creates a context where the scholars are equipped for service in translation checking, and the consultants' sphere of impact is thus broadened, while guarding the integrity of the translation efforts. This approach is similar to translation workshops done in other parts of the world where a team of senior consultants, consultants-in-training, and perhaps a Bible scholar or two have worked together to check translations from several different languages in a concentrated period.

One challenge has been to adapt to the schedule of GMIT Bible scholars who work at the seminary or are in full-time pastoral or denominational leadership roles. These scholars have difficulty allocating sufficient dedicated time to checking a translation of a book of the Bible continuously, start to finish. Typically checking such a translation can take one to two weeks of

focused attention. The GMIT scholars all have primary work responsibilities that sometimes require their attention, even in the middle of a previously scheduled translation check. We have needed to work with translation teams to plan for a somewhat less intense pace over a longer time frame to check their translations when a GMIT scholar is primarily shouldering the checking load.

On the other hand, we have seen enormous advantages to a church-driven collaboration in Bible translation. For example, the GMIT denomination has embraced the need for Bible translation in the languages of East Nusa Tenggara and has taken responsibility to initiate its own advocacy program. Another advantage is that the human resource pool which GMIT can potentially bring to bear to support Bible translation in East Nusa Tenggara is far greater than any Bible agency can deploy on their own. The GMIT network of pastors with graduate education in biblical studies far exceeds what an international Bible agency could likely assign, and the potential candidates are all in relatively close geographic proximity. This not only makes for a richer staffing environment; it is financially far less expensive as well.

CONCLUSION AND LESSONS LEARNED

The GMIT-Seed Company collaboration is notable and tellable because a convergence of key factors has led to a remarkably fruitful, synergistic, sustainable Bible translation ministry in that part of Indonesia. For example, GMIT plays a preponderant role in the religious life of rural East Nusa Tenggara where most of the local languages are spoken. As a result, their institutional leadership of a Bible translation endeavor there makes sense and is warmly welcomed. A strong local institution of higher theological education has also been a key factor in developing the human resources which have contributed to the success of the partnership. Finally, the collaboration could not have prospered without vigorous, visionary support of GMIT denominational leadership at the highest levels.

GMIT's engaged leadership in support of Bible translation has been expressed in several ways. GMIT has been generously supportive of the partnership through sponsoring visas for the few foreign staff and dedicating land on their synod property for the development of an office building for their Language and Culture Unit. GMIT synod leaders were the ones who requested that all translations done under the auspices of the Language and Culture Unit reflect a common exegesis. This addresses an understandable need for theological unity in the denomination's churches. It also enables all members of multi-lingual congregations to read the translation of their choice without confusion.[7] Finally, it has shaped the

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[7] For example, a minister serving in an Amarasi-speaking region who does not yet speak Amarasi, can follow along in the Kupang (or Tetun) Bible and be confident that the meaning and style are very close to what the Amarasi Bible says.

UBB's defining approach to Bible translation in the region through the use of the Kupang Malay translation. GMIT has also dedicated some of their own staff to the work of Bible Translation as translators, facilitators, and translation checkers. Their denominational advocacy for local language and cultural expression of faith has expanded the usage of the translations done by the Language and Culture Unit.

Obviously, positive factors like these are not all present to the same degree in other places in Indonesia or in other parts of the world. In places where there are several Christian denominations, a single denomination taking leadership for Bible translation ministry may be unwelcome. Church leaders may be ambivalent to Bible translation ministry in the local languages of their region, preferring to emphasize use of a language of wider communication for the sake of Christian unity. There is not always an easily understandable, well-checked translation of the Bible in a language of wider communication for use as a leading resource for translators. Even so, there are lessons we in the Bible agencies can glean from the GMIT-Seed Company experience.

One lesson is the fruitful timeliness of a focus on local human resource development. While the collaboration has been outstanding in its productivity in terms of the number of published portions of faithful translations of Scripture (see Appendix A), the Bible agency contribution is better measured in terms of progress in building GMIT capacity for Bible translation in their region. GMIT staff have been recipients of internships for overseas studies in linguistics, literacy, and Bible translation in addition to local workshops. The overwhelming proportion of work handled by UBB today is carried by GMIT staff trained by Bible agency staff. It is important to note that we are attempting to equip GMIT staff to execute *all* tasks associated with faithful Bible translation. No roles are reserved for Bible agency personnel. We believe this should be regarded as a best practice for Bible translation work in the 21st century.

Another lesson worth highlighting is the value of an agreed-upon common exegesis captured in an easily-understandable translation in a language of wider communication. In my (Larry's) experience, Bible translators for the world's smaller languages frequently do not have the theological education to do careful, nuanced exegesis on their own. Far from standing on a perceived "right" to make their own exegetical choices, many of these translators have said, "Just tell us what the text means so we can say it in our language." A translation in a language of wider communication which reflects broadly-accepted exegetical choices frees translators to make their own best and unique contribution, crafting natural-sounding, easily understood renderings in their language. Such leading reference translations need to be thoroughly checked by multiple consultants and carefully processed with church stakeholders to ensure acceptability. We have found that checking "daughter translations," that is, translations done

using a commonly accepted leading reference translation, enhances the efficiency of the checking process. We rarely have needed to work through the challenge of novel exegetical choices in the GMIT–Seed Company collaboration. Misunderstandings are also relatively rare because the leading reference translation, in our case the Kupang Malay translation, is so clear.

In sum, then, it is the engaged leadership of the GMIT denomination and the material, subordinate role of the Bible agencies in human resource development that have made this collaboration so fruitful and, we would say, worth emulating.

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APPENDIX A: LANGUAGE INFORMATION FOR GMIT-INVOLVED TRANSLATIONS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Language Name	Number of Speakers	Dominant Religion	Scripture	Comment
Uab Meto	Unknown	Christian (w/ traditional pockets)	Bible (LAI 2000)	Linguistically several distinct but related languages. Reports of being difficult to use in many regions.
Hawu	80-100,000	Christian (w/ traditional pockets)	NT (LAI 2000)	Consistent reports of difficulty to use in many regions. (UBB: linguistic papers, dictionary, Sunday school books)
Kupang	300,000 (1st and 2nd language users)	Christian, Muslim	NT (UBB 2007) OT portions (UBB 2016)	Stigmatized creole; now widely used in some parts of the church; linguistic papers; dictionary; school books; Sunday school books; phone app; regular use in many home groups in many congregations
Helong	14,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2012)	Funai needs a separate translation; linguistic papers; dictionary; hymns; phone app
Dhao	5,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2012)	Linguistic papers; dictionary; grammar sketch; Sunday school books; Bible dictionary, hymns; phone app
Tetun	400,000 in Indonesia; 470,000 total	Christian (w/ traditional pockets)	NT + Genesis (UBB 2013)	Linguistic papers; dictionary; grammar sketch; Sunday school books; Bible dictionary, hymns; phone app; some presbyteries report saturation with every congregation and every household using it.

Amarasi	70,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2015)	Linguistic papers; picture dictionary; grammar; school books; Sunday school books; Bible dictionary, hymns; regular use in several congregations
Tii	20,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2016)	Dictionary (in progress); school books; Sunday school books; Bible dictionary, hymns; phone app
Rote (Termanu?)	Unknown	Christian	Bible (LAI 2018)	Linguistically, Rote is several distinct but related languages.
Lole	20,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2019)	School books; Sunday school books; Bible dictionary, hymns; phone app
Dela	7,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2020?)	Grammar in progress; dictionary in progress; Bible dictionary, hymns; phone app in progress
Rikou	12,000	Christian	NT + Genesis (UBB 2020?)	Bible dictionary, hymns; phone app in progress
Dengka	20,000	Christian (w/ traditional pockets)	Mark (UBB 2004)	Local translators passed away
Pura (Blagar?)	6,500	Christian	Mark, Acts (UBB 2007-2016)	
Klon	6,000	Christian	Mark, Acts (UBB 2017-2019)	Dictionary in progress; school books
Teiwa	6,000	Christian	Mark, Acts (UBB 2017-2019)	Dictionary, grammar, school books
Wersing	4,000	Christian	Mark, Acts (UBB 2017-2019)	Dictionary in progress
Amfo'an	20,000	Christian	Mark, Acts (UBB 2018-2020)	Dictionary in progress; NT drafted

Amanuban	250,000	Christian (w/ traditional pockets)	Mark, Acts (UBB 2018-2020)	Dictionary in progress
Kabola	3,900	Christian	Mark drafted (UBB)	
Sawila	3,000	Christian	Mark, Acts drafted (UBB)	
Kula	5,000	Christian	Mark drafted (UBB)	
See Edwards & UBB (2018) language map, and www.ethnologue.com for additional languages in the region.				
Note: due to the Indonesian educational system, the vast majority of speakers of all of these languages are literate.				

African Dialogue Proverbs:
An Initial Study of Their Distribution and Forms

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Abstract: Dialogue proverbs have not been studied intensively. There has been speculation about their distribution in Africa, but no documentation. This paper investigates the distribution of dialogue proverbs (DP's) across Africa, showing that they are found much more broadly than had been previously documented.

Keywords: Africa, Dialogue Proverbs, Wellerism Proverbs

> "One of the many fascinating aspects of the study of folklore is the determination of the geographical distribution of the various forms of folklore. ... In the cases of the ... dialogue proverb ... the geographical distribution has not yet been accurately established."
> (Alan Dundes 1964, 113)

> "The tentative nature of the conclusions set forth here should be evident to the reader."
> (Joseph Greenberg 1963, 58)

1. INTRODUCTION

Proverb scholars have been aware of dialogue proverbs (DP's) for some decades, but there has been almost no research about the worldwide distribution of DP's. In his monumental two-volume bibliography on proverb studies, Wolfgang Mieder indexed only ten publications touching twelve languages under "dialogue proverb" (2009, 979). These discussed DP's in Arabic, Armenian, Finnish, German, Greek, Polish, Russian, Ruthenian, Setswana (Tswana), and Yoruba.

To define "dialogue proverbs" it is necessary to distinguish them carefully from "wellerism proverbs." A wellerism proverb has one quotation, such as the following from Amharic of Ethiopia: "When the hyena drank water upstream, the donkey that was downstream said, "Don't muddy the water" (Aberaa 2019, 580). A preliminary study of the distribution of wellerism proverbs found them in at least 73 languages across Africa (Unseth et al. 2017, 14).

In contrast, a dialogue proverb consists of two (or more) quotations from two different speakers. This is seen in an example from Ewe (Ghana): "The hare says, 'Walking slowly leads to death.' The chameleon says, 'Walking quickly leads to death'" (Knappert 1989, 94).

Some dialogue proverbs consist of a question and an answer. This is seen in the following example from Harari (Ethiopia): "'How do you cuddle your baby?' they asked the porcupine. 'I do it the way I gave birth to it,' she said" (Qoram 1984, 57).

DP's are an ancient form of proverb, found even in ancient Sumer: "The elephant boasted about himself, 'There is nothing like me in existence! Do not [...?]' The wren answered, 'But I, in my small way was created just as you were'" (Gordon 1958, 10).[1] Dialogue proverbs can also include more than two quotations, such as the following example from Bamana (Mali): "'Speech, what made you good?' 'The way I am,' said Speech. 'What made you bad?' 'The way I am,' said Speech" (Kone 1997, 221).

In his pioneering book on proverbs, Taylor introduced his readers to dialogue proverbs, "a very curious proverbial form which is utterly strange to us" (1962, 156). Taylor's examples of DP's were all from European languages (1962, 156–159), and even this was a groundbreaking contribution at the time.[2]

There has been very little scholarly attention devoted to the comparative study of DP's. Taylor, the pioneering proverb scholar, observed, "Hesseling is inclined to believe that the proverbs in the form of a dramatic dialogue are especially characteristic of Greek tradition, but it is rather a Levantine peculiarity of unknown origin. A more exhaustive description of such proverbs might throw light on questions of origin and style" (Taylor 1962, 159). But rather than showing DP's limited to either of these Mediterranean-related regions, this paper shows that DP's are found in Africa, and much more widespread than had been suspected.

Building on Taylor's work, in 1964 Dundes presented three Yoruba examples of DP's, referred to three published DP's from Sechuana (a.k.a. Tswana/Setswana), and concluded, "No doubt other African [DP] texts could be found in many of the standard African proverb collections" (Dundes 1964, 116, fn. 6). Dundes also wrote, "one would assume that they [DP's] might also be collected from other African peoples" (1964, 117). Pointing out Dundes' three examples of DP's in Yoruba, Mieder (2007, 16) pointed out that DP's "are certainly known and used beyond Western cultures and languages." But research on the distribution

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[1] Part of the original inscription is unreadable, marked by the ellipsis in square brackets, and the exact translation is not entirely clear, such as the precise species of bird, but the dialogue structure of the proverb is clear (Gordon 1958, 10).

[2] Taylor's book was originally published in 1931, but because it was later published with an added extensive index in 1962, the citations in this article cite this later edition. Taylor deserves credit for his 1931 insights which were ahead of other scholars.

of DP's across Africa (or anywhere else) has not been pursued previously, this article making the first effort to follow-up on Dundes's work.

In the list of dialogue proverbs that follows, I have been very dependent on the English glosses found in the cited sources and have quoted their words and grammatical structures. I have, however, edited the punctuation, especially the use of quotation marks. Some of the proverbs are glossed as direct speech, others as indirect speech. But some were not clear on this point.

2. EXAMPLES OF DIALOGUE PROVERBS ACROSS AFRICA

The following is a list of dialogue proverbs from every African language in which this research has discovered them.

Alaaba (Ethiopia):
DP: "When he had borrowed oxen and was ploughing near a gorge, they said, 'Why?' And he replied, 'The problem is for the elders.'" (Schneider-Blum 2009, 26)

Amharic (Ethiopia):
DP: "When they asked the mule, 'Who is your father?', he replied 'my mother is a horse.'" (Aberra 2019, 1998; Ingida 1999, 134)

Arabic (Egypt):
DP: "[The Prince] asked, 'What fell to your lot, O naked man?' He said, 'The ring, O my lord!'" (Mahgoub 1968, 103)

Arabic (Morocco):
DP: "He said to him, 'What was your father?' He said to him, '*Něffār* (the man who during Ramaḍan at certain hours of the night sounds a trumpet from the tower of a mosque). He said to him, "Thank God! Ramaḍan has come to an end.'" (Westermarck 1930, 59)

Arsi Oromo (Ethiopia):
DP: "When the senior wife says 'A re-married young horse' to her new coming fellow, the younger one also responded, 'He married me because you are worthless (the despised one).'" (Tullu 2008)

Bakgatla (Botswana):
DP: "The *thukhui* jackal said, 'I can run fast.' But the sands said, 'We are wide.'" (Mitchison and Pilane 1967, 246)

Bamana (Mali):
DP: "When the guinea fowl got caught in a trap he said to God, 'God, help me! God, help me!' God replied to him, 'If you struggle, I will help you.'" (Kone 1997, 86)

Beja (Eritrea and Sudan):
DP: "They asked the frog, 'Do you fast?' He said, 'One who lives by drinking?'" (Anonymous friend, p.c. 2014)

Chaha Gurage (Ethiopia):
DP: "If one says 'What is the cure for women?', one says, 'It is the stick, like for the donkey.'" (Leslau 1949, 217)

Ewe (Ghana):
DP: "The hare says, 'Walking slowly leads to death.' The chameleon says, 'Walking quickly leads to death.'" (Knappert 1989, 94)

Ga (Ghana):
DP: "The young wild hog asked his mother, 'Mamma, what are the warts in thy face?' She replied, 'By-and-by thou wilt have seen it already.'" (Burton 1865, 143)

Girirra (Ethiopia):
DP: "Someone asked the rabbit why she is shivering. The rabbit answered that 'I am not shivering for the rain that has been already rained but for the coming rain.'" (Kumbi 2015, 315)

Hadiyya (Ethiopia):
DP: "When a mule was asked, 'Who is your father?', he answered 'The horse is my uncle." (Garkebo 2015, 220)

Harari (Ethiopia):
DP: "If they say, 'What is soft?' Liver. They say 'What is hard?' Stomach." (Qoram 1984, 13)

Ibibio (Nigeria):
DP: "The owner of the gourd says you should return his gourd and you say, 'There is water in it.'" (Iwoketok 2014, 88)

Kabyle (Algeria):
DP: "'You ox, who is your brother?' he said, 'The one whom I plough with.'" (Belkhir 2014, 181)

Kasena (Ghana):
DP: "'Let me go, Spider.' 'How can I let go of my meat? 'Then get on with it, eat me!' 'How can I eat a fly?'" (Awedoba 2000, 236)

Kigezi and Ankole (Uganda):
DP: "'Mr. Scabies, you are breaking my buttocks!' He answers, 'Let me alone. I am doing my business.'" (Cisterino 1987, 73)

Ngwato/Sengwato (Botswana):
DP: "The aardwolf said, 'I am fast' and the sand said, 'I am wide.'" (Campbell 1972, 128)

Oromo (Ethopia):
DP: "'There's an elephant!' they said; 'Under it the children!' she answered." (Cotter 1992, #216)

Setswanna/Tswana (South Africa and Botswanna):
DP: "The *thukhui* jackal said, 'I can run fast.' But the sands said, 'We are wide.'" (Mitchison and Pilane 1967, 246)

Sierra Leone Creole English (Sierra Leone):
DP: "A pig asked his mother, 'Mom, why is your mouth so long?' His mother replied, 'Don't worry child, you are growing up, you will see.'" (Lewis-Coker 2018, 205)

Silte (Ethiopia):
DP: "'How do you cuddle [your baby]?' they asked the porcupine. 'I do it the way I gave birth to it,' she said." (Musa and Mohammed 2015, 140)

Somali (Somalia):
DP: "'Oh hyena, shall I make you a pair of shoes?' 'If you do, glory to Allah; if not—glory to the Lord of all the worlds." (Kapchits 2000, 156)

Supyire (Mali):
DP: "'My friend, you are a good person.' 'My friend, don't be a beast.'" (Carlson, p.c. May 2019)

Tigrinya (Eritrea):
DP: "'Eat!' they told him. 'Add stew!' he said." (Täklä et al. 1985, 123)

Twi (Ghana):
DP: "'Orphan, are you satisfied?' He replies, 'If you give me as much food as your own child, I will be satisfied.'" (Akrofi 1958, 168)

Wolaytta (Ethiopia):
DP: "'You (feminine) next time,' he said. But when she brewed beer, he said, 'O, my sweetie!' (Tällacchew and Ammänu 1987, 51)

Yoruba (Nigeria):
DP: "They say, 'Lame man, the load on your head is sitting crookedly.' He replies, 'It is not the load, but the legs.'" (Dundes 1964, 117)

3. Caribbean Connection

This article is about proverbs in African languages—languages of different language families across the continent of Africa. However, Africans taken as slaves to the Caribbean islands took their languages and many proverbs with

them. As they developed their creole languages, combining some elements of their languages with elements of European languages, some of their African proverbs survived in translated forms. One evidence that Caribbean creoles have deep African roots is that there is one DP that is found in Ga of Ghana, Yoruba of Nigeria, Ibibio of Nigeria, and Sierra Leone Creole English that is also found in Haitian Creole and Jamaican Creole.

Jamaican: "Hog ax him mumma say, 'Wha' mak you mout long so?' Him say, 'Nebba mind, tay bimeby you all we see.'" ["The hog asked his mother, saying, 'What makes your mouth so long?' Mother answered him, 'Honey! Honey! Honey!' she said, 'Never mind, by and by you will see why.'"] (**Leader 1907, 37)**

Haitian: "The little pig asks, 'Mama, why is your mouth so long?' Mama answers him, 'Hon! hon! hon! Don't be in such a hurry to find out, my son!'" (Ivy 1941, 493)

Ga: "The young wild hog asked his mother, 'Mamma, what are the warts in thy face?' She replied, 'By-and-by thou wilt have seen it already.'" (Burton 1865, 143)

Yoruba: "The piglet asked his mother, 'How come your nose is long like this?' The mother replied, 'When you grow up, you will know.'" (p.c. David Oluseyi Ige 2019)

Ibibio (Nigeria): "The piglet asked the mother, 'Why dig the ground?'. The mother replied, 'You will know when you have grown up.'" (Udosen, Ekah, Offong 2017, 72)

Sierra Leone Creole English: "A pig asked his mother, 'Mom, why is your mouth so long?' His mother replied, 'Don't worry child, you are growing up, you will see.'" (Lewis-Coker 2018, 205)

4. DP's with More than Two Quotations

By far the most common structure for DP's is two quotations. The data examined contains only two examples of DP's containing three quotations. There are also some examples of DP's containing four quotations, and one example of a DP with five quotations.

Examples with three quotations, one character speaking twice:[3]

Arabic (Egyptian): "There was a knock at the door. 'Who is there?' 'A wench for nothing.' 'Enter,' he said, 'even if thou wert the poison of death.'" (Burckhardt 1880, 72)

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[3] Both examples with three quotations are from Arabic. Though there does not seem to be a strong reason why other languages could not form DP's with three quotations, both the present study and my study of DP's in Asia have not found three-quotation DP's in any other language.

Arabic (Morocco): "He said to him, 'What was your father?' He said to him, '*Neffār* [the man who blows a trumpet from the tower of the mosque during Ramaḍan at certain hours of the night]. He said to him, 'Thank God, Ramaḍan has come to an end.'" (Westermarck 1930, 274)

Some DP's have two cycles of conversation, each character speaking twice.

Bamana (Mali): "'Speech, what made you good?' 'The way I am,' said Speech. 'What made you bad?' 'The way I am,' said Speech." (Kone 1997, 221)

Kasena (Ghana): DP: "'Let me go, Spider.' 'How can I let go of my meat?' 'Then get on with it, eat me!' 'How can I eat a fly?'" (Awedoba 2000, 236)

Wolaytta (Ethiopia): "When they asked, 'Who is an elder?', 'I am an elder,' said the monkey. When they asked, 'Who will take the leftover food?', 'I am small/young, let me take it,' said the monkey." (Tällacchew and Ammänu 1987, 156)

One DP has been found with five quotations, one character speaking twice, the other three times.

Arabic (Egyptian): "'Do you know him?' He said, 'I know him.' 'Did you communicate with him?' He said, 'No.' He said, 'So you do not know him.'" (Smyslova 2016, 502)

There is a dialogue proverb with similar five-part structure in Ibibio of Nigeria.

Ibibio (Nigeria): "Today today on who did the breadfruit fall? The porcupine. Yesterday yesterday on who did the breadfruit fall? The porcupine. Can't the porcupine quit sitting under the breadfruit tree?" (Iwoketok 2014, 311)

5. DIALOGUE PROVERBS SHARED ACROSS LANGUAGES

In comparing DP's from many languages, some DP's were found that maintained this structure across several languages. One example of a DP found in multiple languages is of this general shape: "They asked the mule, 'Who is your father?' The mule replied, 'My uncle/mother's brother is a horse.'"

The following DP is found in five Semitic languages of Africa, four of them spoken in Ethiopia:

Amharic (Ethiopia): "When they asked the mule, 'Who is your father?', he replied 'my mother is a horse.'" (Ingida 1999, 134)

Arabic (Egypt): "The mule was asked, 'Who is your father?' He answered, 'My maternal uncle is the stallion.'" (El-Shamy 1990, 58)

Harari (Ethiopia): "When they asked the mule, 'Who is your father?', "she said, 'My uncle is a horse.'" (Qoram 1984, 22)

Silte (Ethiopia): "If they ask, 'Mule, who is your father?' 'My maternal uncle is a horse,' she replies.'" (Musa and Mohammed 2015, 86)

Tigrinya (Eritrea & Ethiopia): "They asked, 'Mule, who is your father?' 'My uncle is a horse,' he replied." (Täklä et al. 1985, 115)

The same dialogue proverb is also found elsewhere in Africa, in Kabyle, a Berber language of Algeria:

Kabyle (Algeria): "They came to the mule, 'Who is your father?' 'The horse is my maternal uncle.'" (Wysner 2000)

The same idea, the mule's embarrassment about her father's identity, is reflected in a wellerism proverb from Oromo, a Cushitic Ethiopian language.

Oromo (Ethiopia): "'Even if I am short, I am your father,' said a donkey to a mule." (Kedir 2006, 54)

Mocking the mule about his father is ancient, found in Latin in the *Disciplina Clericalis* by Petrus Alfonsi (12th century), but traceable to earlier forms in Arabic (Lauxtermann and Janssen 2019, 114).

The dialogue structure is an important part of this proverb so it is not surprising that this dialogue structure is found in several languages. The dialogue proverb form for this is also found as a proverb outside of Africa, e.g. Persian (Roebuck 1824, 5) and Turkish (Marvin 1922, 247).

Another example of a DP found in more than one language, both in Ethiopia, is about a mother porcupine.

Silte (Ethiopia): "'How do you cuddle your baby?' they asked the porcupine. 'I do it the way I gave birth to it,' she said." (Musa and Mohammed 2015, 140)

Harari (Ethiopia): "'How do you cuddle your baby?' they asked the porcupine. 'I do it the way I gave birth to it,' she said." (Qoram 1984, 57)

The same general idea is found in a wellerism proverb in another Ethiopian language.

Wolaytta (Ethiopia): "'A mother knows how to cuddle a baby,' said the mother porcupine." (Tällacchew and Ammänu 1987, 159)

Another example of a DP found in multiple languages contains a conversation between a boasting animal and a reply by the ground, found in southern Africa.

Setswana/Tswana (Botswana): "The steenbuck said 'I am fast,' but the hills said, 'We lie spread out.'" (Campbell 1972, 128)

Ngwato/Sengwato (Botswana): "The aardwolf said, 'I am fast' and the sand said, 'I am wide.'" (Campbell 1972, 128)

Bakgatla (Botswana): "The *thukhui* jackal said, 'I can run fast.' But the sands said, 'We are wide.'" (Mitchison and Pilane 1967; Kebonye and Eze 2018, 3)

6. SPEAKERS

A variety of speakers were found in DP's: human, animal, inanimate, and even abstract nouns, similar to what has been noted for speakers in wellerism proverbs (Unseth et al 2017, 25).

Some have no speakers identified:

Supyire (Mali): "'My friend, you are a good person.' 'My friend, don't be a beast.'" (Robert Carlson, p.c. May 2019)

Some have no speakers named, but indicate the speaker by third person subject marking:

Tigrinya (Eritrea): DP: "'Eat!' they told him. 'Add stew!' he said." (Täklä et al. 1985, 123)

Some have humans identified as speakers:

Arsi Oromo (Ethiopia): DP: "When the <u>senior wife</u> says 'A re-married young horse' to her new coming fellow, the <u>younger one</u> also responded, 'He married me because you are worthless (the despised one).'" (Tullu 2008)

Some have animals as speakers:

Ewe (Ghana): DP: "The <u>hare</u> says, 'Walking slowly leads to death.' The <u>chameleon</u> says, 'Walking quickly leads to death.'" (Knappert 1989, 94)

Sierra Leone Creole English (Sierra Leone): "A <u>pig</u> asked his mother, 'Mom, why is your mouth so long?' His <u>mother</u> replied, 'Don't worry child, you are growing up, you will see.'" (Lewis-Coker 2018, 205)

Ibibio (Nigeria): "The <u>cockroach</u> says it will not die; and the <u>fowl</u> says it will not go to sleep on an empty stomach." (Iwoketok 2014, 508)

Arabic (Morocco): "The <u>snake</u> said to the <u>hedgehog</u> (who had caught the snake by the tail), 'The fat is between my eyes.' [The hedgehog] said to her, 'There I am making my exit.'" (Westermarck 1930, 298–299)

Some have inanimate objects as speakers:

Ngwato/Sengwato (Botswana): "The aardwolf said, 'I am fast' and the <u>sand</u> said, 'I am wide.'" (Campbell 1972, 128)

Some have abstract nouns as speakers:

Bamana (Mali): "'Speech, what made you good?' 'The way I am,' said <u>Speech</u>. 'What made you bad?' 'The way I am,' said <u>Speech</u>." (Kone 1997, 221)

Wolaytta (Ethiopia): "It is said, 'If they ask, saying, "Hunger, where are you going?" He [<u>Hunger</u>] says, "I am going to the house of the lazy person"'" (Talachew and Ammänu 1987)

7. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has documented new insights into dialogue proverbs in Africa. It has shown that over two dozen languages of Africa have DP's. The DP structure has been shared across a wide area. Also, some individual DP's have been shared across languages. The mechanisms by which proverbs and proverb structures spread are complex and varied. Geographical proximity helps proverbs to spread, but proverbs are also spread by travelers of many kinds.

In some African proverb collections consulted, no DP's have been found. In some others, one has been found. In contrast, in the collection of Egyptian proverbs by Burckhardt (1880), of a total of 782 proverbs, sixteen are DP's, two percent of the entire collection. In the large collection of 3002 Wolaytta proverbs from Ethiopia (Talachew and Ammänu 1987), DP's are so common that they comprise three of the first four.

The map shows the approximate location of the African languages where DP's have been documented in this article. It is clear that DP's are found widely scattered across Africa, but most of the examples documented here are from near the edges of the continent. This should not be taken as evidence that DP's are not found in languages further inland.

The uneven pattern of discovery is affected by at least two personal factors. First, the discovery of DP's in so many languages of the Horn of Africa is at least partially due to the fact that there are book-length proverb collections available for a number of languages of the Horn, and the proverbs in five of them are translated into Amharic, a language which I read. Second, in many of the countries where there are no DP's documented, proverb publishing and scholarship is often in French, a language which I do not read well.

In addition to these personal factors that have limited the discovery of DP's in some parts of Africa, but not others, I expect that DP's will be more common in some parts of Africa than others. Based on incomplete data, I predict that DP's will be scarce in the languages of the southern end of Africa.[4]

In 1964, Dundes documented DP's in Yoruba and Tswana/Setswana (1964, 116–117). The fact that we now have a map of the distribution of DP's in Africa, admittedly incomplete, is progress.

NOTE

I have not known how each African author quoted would like their names formatted. My apologies to any authors who would prefer that their names be cited differently.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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[4] I found wellerism proverbs (WP's) in very few languages of southern Africa. My research of WP's and DP's in Africa and across Asia suggests that languages that do not have WP's have no DP's.

Figure 1: Map of African Languages Known to Have Dialogue Proverbs. National boundaries and indications of where languages are spoken are not authoritative.

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Conditional Constructions in Kwakum (A91)

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Abstract: This paper describes conditional constructions in Kwakum, a sub-Bantu language spoken in the East Region of Cameroon. Kwakum conditionals are mainly distinguished by markers and mood. The *ke* 'if' conjunction is the most common introducer to Kwakum conditionals, and then the level of validity is distinguished by the mood of the subordinate clause. Kwakum does, however, have a unique counterfactual conditional construction which clearly indicates that the speaker does not want to present the proposition as true. Tense does not play a major role in Kwakum conditionals, other than the fact that counterfactuals are tenseless.

Keywords: Africa, Kwakum, Conditional, Bantu

1.   INTRODUCTION

Nicolle makes the case that "[i]n contrast to the extensive literature on conditionals in English and other major European languages … far less work has been done on conditional constructions in other languages" (Nicolle 2017, 1). This paper describes the conditional constructions in Kwakum (A91), a sub-Bantu language spoken primarily in the East Region of Cameroon.[1] The data was provided by Kwakum language consultants in and around Dimako, Cameroon, and can be accessed at: http://haretranslation.com/the-kwakum-language.

Following much of the literature, I refer to the two parts of the conditional sentence as the **protasis** (*p*) and the **apodosis** (*q*). Nicolle says, "In a conditional sentence, a (typically subordinate) clause (the protasis) states some condition, the truth of which is not asserted, under which another (main) clause (the apodosis) holds" (Nicolle 2017, 1). The protasis is also sometimes referred to as the antecedent and the apodosis as the consequent (as in Kroeger 2019). Following Thompson et al., I distinguish between two basic semantic categories of conditionals: reality and unreality (Thompson et al. 2007, 255). Within reality conditionals, further distinctions are made between: 'real' present situations, habitual/

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[1] Guthrie classifies it as a sub-Bantu language principally due to the fragmentary class and agreement system (Guthrie 1948). See Hare (2018, 5-8) for more information.

generic situations, and past situations. Within unreality conditionals, I distinguish between imaginative (including hypothetical and counterfactual) and predictive conditionals. Following Kroeger, I also examine three "non-standard" conditional types: relevance, factual, and concessive conditionals (Kroeger 2019, 349–50).

Table 1 lists the structural marking of each type of conditional clause in Kwakum. While more detailed analysis is given below, the following patterns are observed: 1) the subordinating conjunction *ke* 'if' usually introduces the protasis with the apodosis being unmarked; 2) when the speaker considers the protasis to be false, the modal *baka* 'CNTRFCT' occurs immediately before the verb in the protasis, and the conjunction *pe* 'then' introduces the apodosis; 3) the protasis and apodosis of reality conditionals are never in subjunctive mood; 4) the protasis of unreality conditionals is always in subjunctive mood; and 5) tense occurs in both the protasis and apodosis of all conditionals, except for the tenseless protasis in the *baka...pe* construction.

		Protasis				Apodosis		
		Conj.	Modal	Tense	Mood	Conj.	Tense	Mood
Reality	Real present	*ke*		PRS	IND		PRS	IND
	Habitual/generic	*ke*		PRS	IND		PRS	IND/IMP
	Past situation	*ke*		PAST	IND		varies	IND
Unreality	Hypothetical	*ke*		varies	SBJV		varies	IND
	Counterfactual		*baka*	none	SBJV	*pe*	varies	IND
	Predictive	*ke*		varies	SBJV		varies	IND
Non-Standard	Relevance	*ke*		PRS	IND		varies	IND
	Factual	*ke*		varies	IND		varies	IND
			baka	none	SBJV	*pe*	varies	IND
	Concessive	*tɔɔ*		varies	SBJV		varies	IND

Table 1: Marking of Kwakum conditional clauses

The above observations regarding Kwakum conditionals are more evident after the reader has a general understanding of tense (§1.1) and mood (§1.2) in Kwakum.

1.1   Tense in Kwakum

Hare (2018) claimed that Kwakum tense markers are auxiliaries and provided evidence for four past tense auxiliaries, a present tense auxiliary, and three future tense auxiliaries. Some tense auxiliaries occur before the verb and some after. The present tense auxiliary is a proclitic which cliticizes to the verb. A summary of their basic forms, distribution, and time constraints is found in Table 2 below with V in the "Form" column marking the location of the verb in relation to the auxiliary.

Tense label	Abbreviation	Form	Time constraint
Remote past	P4	V *mɛ*	Not "recent" past
Middle past	P3	V *koo*	Yesterday to one year
Near past	P2	*mɛ* V	Today
Immediate past	P1	*mɛh* V	Just ended
Present	PRS	*m=*V	Present/Habitual/Immediate Future
Near future	F1	*fɛ* V	Immediate future
Middle future	F2	*sɔɔ* V	One day to one year
Remote future	F3	*sɔɔŋgɛ* V	Distant future

Table 2: Tense Auxiliaries

I followed a traditional "graded tense" view in which Kwakum tenses show degrees of remoteness in time. So, when discussing an event that occurred earlier today, a speaker would choose the near past auxiliary. However, if the event occurred in the distant past, he would choose the remote past auxiliary. Though I believe this view to be inadequate to explain all the data, until more research can be done, it will suffice to explain how tense is used generally in conversation. What is important to note for this paper is that these tense auxiliaries typically adhere to Comrie's definition of tense as "grammaticalised expression of location in time" (Comrie 1985, 9). Their occurrence in conditional clauses follows this pattern.

The copula is *bɛ* 'COP' except in present tense with indicative mood. In (1), the copula *bɛ* 'COP' occurs before the remote past auxiliary *mɛ* 'P4'. However, in present tense with indicative mood, the copula is *ji* 'PRS.COP', as in (2) or the reduced form *i* 'PRS.COP' in (3).[2] Generally, the full form *ji* occurs with a nominal subject as in (2) and the reduced form *=i* with a pronominal subject as in (3), but both forms can be found with both types of subjects. I consider this free variation.

(1) Se **bɛ**   mɛ   mbomɔ.
     1PL COP   P4   families
     'We were families.' (*Origins* 40)

(2) Manepoka   **ji**   ibomɔ   lyaambɔ.
     Manepoka   PRS.COP   family   1SG.POSS
     'Manepoka is my family.' (*Origins* 41)

(3) A=**i**   mbɔsɔ   jasi.
     3SG=PRS.COP   bad   thing
     'It is a bad thing.' (*Til* 19)

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[2] The present tense auxiliary proclitic *m=* 'PRS' does not occur with the present tense copula *ji* 'PRS.COP' or its reduced form *=i.*

1.2   *Mood in Kwakum*

Unlike tense, which is marked by auxiliaries, verbs are inflected with a final vowel suffix to encode mood. This paper only distinguishes indicative and subjunctive mood. Most indicative verbs have a final vowel of either -ɔ or -ɛ 'IND', though these final vowels do not attach to verbs that end in a vowel. The indicative final vowel for *bund-* 'sprout' is -ɔ, as in (4).

(4)   A   m=i   bund-ɔ.
      3SG   PRS=IPFV   sprout-IND
      'It is sprouting.' (DH9 25.8)

Subjunctive mood is marked by the final vowel -*u* 'SBJV'. In causative constructions, the verb *saa* 'do/make' provides a causative or coercive meaning and requires the subjunctive mood on the complement clause verb. In (5), the verb *bund-* 'sprout' is used again, but this time in a *saa* 'causative' construction, and it receives the final vowel -*u* 'SBJV'. The subjunctive mood has a phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorph -*ŋ*, which occurs after verb roots and stems that end in a vowel, as in (6).

(5)   Ni=a   saa   naa   a   bund-**u**.
      1SG=P1³   make   COMP   3SG   sprout-SBJV
      'I made it sprout.' (DH9 25.9)

(6)   A   n=saa   naa   ni   m=boŋlaa-**ŋ**.
      3SG   PRS=make   COMP   1SG   PRS=think-SBJV
      'That makes me think.' (DH9 107.17)

2.   GRAMMATICAL MARKING OF REALITY AND UNREALITY CONDITIONALS

As mentioned above, Thompson et al. make a basic distinction between reality and unreality conditionals (Thompson et al. 2007, 255). **Reality conditionals** refer to 'real' present situation, habitual/generic situations, or past situations. With reality conditionals, the speaker represents the protasis and the apodosis to be true. In contrast, the term **unreality conditional** refers to 'unreal' situations which can be either imaginative or predictive and which do not commit the speaker to believing in the validity of either the protasis or the apodosis.

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³ The immediate past auxiliary has two suppletive allomorphs: *mɛh* 'P1' which occurs when the subject is a full NP, and =*a* 'P1' which occurs with pronominal subjects and cliticizes to the subject pronoun. More information can be found in Hare (2018, 126).

2.1   Reality Conditionals

The first of the reality conditionals refers to a **real present situation** which is marked by present tense in both the protasis and the apodosis. In (7), the fact that it was raining was already established. In (8), I asked the consultant to answer the question "Is Irene African?" where Irene is a Cameroonian woman known to both of us. These are real present conditionals in that the protasis is known to be true. In (7), the auxiliary *m=* 'PRS' assimilates to the place of the following consonant and cliticizes to the verb in both the protasis and apodosis. In (8), the present tense, indicative mood form of the copula *ji* 'PRS.COP' occurs. The protasis for all reality conditionals is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ke* 'if' and the apodosis is unmarked. The conjunction *pe* 'then' which marks the apodosis in counterfactuals (see §2.3) cannot be inserted or it makes the sentence ungrammatical, as in (9). The order of the protasis and the apodosis can be reversed (compare (7) and (10)).

(7) [Ke   pulɔ   n=no   tan,]$_P$ [pi   waambɔ   n=solɔ.]$_Q$
     if   rain.N PRS=rain.V outside dog 1SG.POSS   PRS=get.wet
     'If it is raining outside, my dog is getting wet.' (DH15 141.2)

(8) [Ke   a=i   Camerounaise,]$_P$ [a ji   kondu   África.]$_Q$
     if   3SG=PRS.COP Cameroonian   3SG PRS.COP young.woman   Africa
     'If she is Cameroonian, she is African.' (DH15 113.1)

(9) *Ké   a=i   Camerounaise, **pe** a ji   kondu   África.

(10) [Pi   waambɔ   n=solɔ,]$_Q$ [ke   pulɔ   n=no   tan.]$_P$
      dog   1SG.POSS   PRS=get.wet if   rain.N   PRS=rain.V   outside
      'My dog is getting wet, if it is raining outside.' (DH15 151.2)

The second type of reality conditional is what Thompson et al. call a **habitual/generic situation**. Example (11) was elicited referring to a situation in which I am walking around town. I mentioned that if I see someone who is Makaa, I speak in French. But if I see someone who is Kwakum, I speak Kwakum. Both the protasis and the apodosis contain the present tense auxiliary *m=* 'PRS' which is consistent with the grammatical use of the present as a habitual marker.

(11) [Ke   ni   n=je   monɔ Kwákum,]$_P$ [ni   n=dombɔ   Kwakum.]$_Q$
      if   1SG   PRS=see child Kwakum   1SG   PRS=speak   Kwakum
      'If I see a Kwakum person, I speak Kwakum.' (DH15 147.3)

The final type of reality conditional refers to a **past situation**. In (12), the Kwakum proverb calls the hearer to not take out their frustration on a weaker person when it was a strong person who offended them. The protasis is introduced by *ke* 'if' and contains the near past auxiliary *meh* 'P2' which indicates the

situation has already occurred. The apodosis is a negative command which has no tense auxiliary but contains the *bɛk* 'NEG' which is used to negate verbs that are not in indicative mood.

(12)   [Ke cilɔ   **meh** biw-ɔɔ,]ₚ [gwe **bɛk** kɛ bolyaa nɛ   gwake.]_Q
        if   gorilla P2   hit-2SG   2SG NEG go avenge with chimpanzee
        'If the gorilla hit you, do not go get vengeance on the chimpanzee.' (SH4
        133.25)

2.2   Unreality Conditionals

According to Thompson et al., "[t]here are two types of unreal situations: those in which we *imagine* what might be or what might have been, and those in which we *predict* what will be" (Thompson et al. 2007, 255). Following their categorization, I refer to the former as **imaginative conditionals** (with subcategories of hypothetical and counterfactual) and the latter as **predictive conditionals.**

2.3   Imaginative Conditionals

Hypothetical conditionals are "those in which the speaker simply doesn't know whether the antecedent is true or not" (Kroeger 2019, 234). In Kwakum, such conditionals contain the subjunctive form of the verb in the protasis, as with *bɛ* 'SBJV.COP' in (13).[4] The protasis is again introduced by the conditional word *ke* 'if'. For this sentence, I had asked "Is Margaret African?" However, the speaker did not know Margaret. Therefore, he answered not knowing if the antecedent was true or false. In this sentence the present tense is appropriate; however, past and future tense can be found in both the protasis and apodosis of imaginative conditionals, depending on the timeframe of the actions.

(13)   [Ke a   m=**bɛ**   Camerounaise,]ₚ [a   ji
        if 3SG   PRS=SBJV.COP   Cameroonian   3SG   PRS.COP

        kondu   África.]_Q
        young.woman   Africa
        'If she is Cameroonian, she would be African.' (DH15 113.3)

    Counterfactual conditionals are those in which "the speaker believes the antecedent to be false" (Kroeger 2019, 234). In Kwakum, the counterfactual requires

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[4] As mentioned above, the copula is *ji* 'PRS.COP' in the present tense with indicative mood and *bɛ* 'COP' in all other tenses and moods. In (13), the copula *bɛ* 'COP' co-occurs with the present tense marker *m=* 'PRS'. This indicates a non-indicative mood, and here is analyzed as the subjunctive.

a completely different set of conditional markers: *baka...pe*. In example (14), I asked the question "Is Amélie African?" However, we were speaking of an American who was clearly not Cameroonian. In the protasis, the verb is in the subjunctive mood and there is no tense auxiliary. In the apodosis the present tense form of the copula is used. In the apodosis of (15), the *sɔɔ* 'F2' middle future tense auxiliary is used. This is because the consultant is not considering that if he had planted the cocoa he would presently have a lot of money, but that he would have received money when they were in full maturity. Note that reversing the protasis and the apodosis is not allowed with counterfactuals, as illustrated in (16) which is ungrammatical.

(14)   [A   baka   bɛ   Camerounaise,]P   [pe   a   ji
        3SG   CNTRFCT   SBJV.COP   Cameroonian   then   3SG   PRS.COP

            kondu   África.]Q
            young.woman   Africa
            'If she were Cameroonian, she would be African.' (DH15 113.5-6)

(15)   [Ni   baka   bɛlɔ   cacao   bulaawe,]P   [pe   ni   sɔɔ   bɛ
        1SG   CNTRFCT   plant   cocoa   a.lot   then   1SG   F2   COP

            nɛ   pɛnge   bulaawe.]Q
            with   money   a.lot
            'If I had planted a lot of cocoa, I would have a lot of money.' (DH15 91.9-10)

(16)   *[Pe   ni   bɛ   nɛ   pɛnge   bulaawe,]Q   [ni   baka   bɛlɔ   cacao.]P (DH15
       151.3)

In example (17), the speaker is referring to someone who had died. Both the protasis and the apodosis are considered false as the speaker knows there was no medicine and the person died. Here the protasis is again tenseless, but the middle past *koo* 'P3' is used in the apodasis, as the actual death was in the past. There is a second construction that was given to me by a consultant in the Doumé region, seen in (18). Instead of the *baka...pe* construction, the modal *mbe* 'CNTRFCT' appears in the protasis. Two consultants in the Dimako region understood this construction but said that it was something only people in the Doumé region would say.

(17)   [Cyɛti   **baka**   bɛ,]P   [**pe**   a   gwi   koo   wɛɛ.]Q
        medicine   CNTRFCT   SBJV.COP   then   3SG   die   P3   NEG
        'If there had been medicine, he (would) not have died.' (DH15 140.4a)

(18)   [Cyɛti   **mbe**   bɛ,]P   [**pe**   a   gwi   koo   wɛɛ.]Q
        medicine   CNTRFCT   SBJV.COP   then   3SG   die   P3   NEG
        'If there had been medicine, he (would) not have died.' (DH15 277.21)

2.4   Predictive Conditionals

Predictive conditionals provide information about what is *predicted* to occur. Example (19) demonstrates that predictive conditionals are grouped with imaginative conditionals syntactically with the subjunctive form of the copula *bɛ* 'COP' in the protasis. The verb in the protasis of (19) follows this pattern, with the final vowel *-u* indicating subjunctive mood. Both the future tense auxiliary *fɛ* 'F1', as in (19), and the present tense auxiliary *m=* 'PRS', as in (19) and (19), are appropriate in predictive conditionals. There is no structural distinction between hypothetical and predictive conditionals.[5]

(19)   [Ke   a   m=bɛ   nɛ   mɔni,]$_P$ [a   fɛ   bɔɔmɔ ntua.]$_Q$
         if   3SG   PRS=SBJV.COP with   money   3SG   F1   buy   car
         'If he has the money, he will buy a car.' (DH15 121.27)

(20)   [Ke   ɔ   m=pot-u   pula   bulaawe ɔ   tambu te]$_P$ [gwe
         if   3SG   PRS=SBJV.COP cassava   a.lot   LOC field   in   2SG

         m=è   pewaa   nɛ.]$_Q$
         PRS=NEG   lack   with
         'If you plant a lot of cassava, you will not lack (it).' (DH15 93.13)

3.   OTHER TYPES OF CONDITIONALS

All the above conditionals rank in what Kroeger calls "standard conditionals" (Kroeger 2019, 231). There are, however, several other types of conditionals, including: relevance (or speech act) conditionals, factual conditionals, and concessive conditionals.

3.1   Relevance Conditionals

Relevance conditionals (also known as speech act conditionals) are those "in which *q* is asserted and *p* states a situation under which *q* would be relevant" (Nicolle 2017, 5). For instance, in (21), the apodosis states a situation: 'I received his letter' and the protasis gives the reason that this is relevant: 'if he asks you'. This is not a normal conditional in that the speaker is committed to the truth of the apodosis whether or not the protasis is true. The speaker received the letter whether or not the hearer is asked the question. Example (22) demonstrates that the reordering of the *p* and *q* is permissible.

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[5] While the distinction between hypothetical and predictive conditionals might seem unnecessary, some linguists claim that in certain languages, imaginative conditionals are marked with an "imaginative marker", whereas predictive conditionals are not (Thompson et al. 2007, 259). While no such distinction exists in Kwakum, I have kept the categorical distinction.

(21) [Ke   a   n=laks=ɔɔ,]ₚ   [ni=a=o   byelɔ   kaata   wɛ.]_Q
       if   3SG   PRS=ask=2SG   1SG=P2=PRF   receive   letter   3SG.POSS
      'If he asks you, I received his letter.' (DH15 129.5)

(22) [Ni=a   daambɔ   kaandɔ,]_Q   [ke   gwe   ŋ=kaamɔ.]ₚ
       1SG=P2   prepare   couscous   if   2SG   PRS=want
      'I prepared some couscous if you want (it).' (DH15 121.29)

3.2   Factual Conditionals

Another 'non-standard' conditional is what has been referred to as a **factual conditional.** Kroeger says that "[f]actual conditionals carry the presupposition that someone other than the speaker (often the addressee) believes or has said that the proposition expressed by the antecedent is true" (Kroeger 2019, 232). In Kwakum, the conditional construction used here depends on whether or not the speaker is representing the protasis to be true. In (23), the conditional follows the pattern of the counterfactual (*baka...pe* + SBJV) because the speaker does not believe that the protasis is true. However, in (24), the construction is closer to the reality conditional with *ke* 'if', and the present tense indicative form of the negative copula (*fe*)*tè* 'NEG.COP'. In this example, the speaker is responding to someone who has said, "The food I am eating is not good" and is thus affirming the original speaker's belief in the protasis.

(23) A=i   nɛn   [a   baka   bɛ   nɛ   kifeki,]ₚ
       3SG=PRS.COP   like.that   3SG   CNTFCT   SBJV.COP with   wisdom

      [pe   a=i   nɛ   kum.]_Q
       then   3SG=PRS.COP   with   riches
      'Oh yeah, if he is smart, he (should) be rich.' (DH15 129-131.6-7)

(24) [Ke   a   tɛɛ[6]   toyawe,]ₚ   [bɛk   ji   yɛ.]_Q
       if   3SG   NEG.COP   good   NEG   eat   3SG
      'If it is not good, don't eat it.' (DH15 131.8)

3.3   Concessive Conditionals

The final type of conditional is the **concessive conditional** in which a speaker "asserts that the consequent is true no matter what, regardless of whether the antecedent is true or false" (Kroeger 2019, 232). In English, concessive conditionals are often framed in an "even if" construction. In Kwakum the conjunction *tɔɔ* 'even' introduces the protasis, which also often includes the present tense auxiliary, as in (25). The protasis in example (26) includes *bɛ* 'SUBJ.COP' which is

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[6] The present indicative copula has a specific negative form *fetɛɛ* 'NEG.COP', which also has a reduced form *tɛɛ* 'NEG.COP', as seen here and in 26.

the subjunctive form of the copula. It is likely that the subjunctive is used in the other examples as well, but is masked by the object pronoun. The future occurs in the apodosis of (27), and the apodosis occurs before the protasis.

(25)   [Tɔɔ   gwe   m=biw-ɛɛ,]ₚ   [ni   m=aambɔ   kɛ.]_Q
        even   2SG   PRS=BEAT-1SG   1SG   PRS=NEG.1SG   go
        'Even if you beat me, I am not going.' (DH15 59.5)

(26)   [Tɔɔ gwɛ   m=bɛ   isuka momya   ɔ   bondaki nɛ,]ₚ
        even 2SG   PRS=SBJV.COP last woman   LOC earth   DEM

        [nin tɛɛ   nɛ   kul   ni   ŋ=gwalaa nɛ   gwe.]_Q
        1SG   NEG.COP with   force 1SG   PRS=marry with   2SG
        'Even if you were the last person on earth, I (would) not marry you.'
        (DH15 133.14-15)

(27)   [Nim fɛ   maasɔ nji   mine,]_Q [tɔɔ a   n=jol=ɛɛ.]ₚ
        1SG F1   finish food   DEM   even 3SG   PRS=kill=1SG
        'I am going to finish this food even if it kills me.' (DH15 133.16)

4.   CONCLUSION

This article offers the first detailed examination of conditionals in Kwakum. The distinctions between the different constructions are based on the level of validity that the speaker wants to convey for the proposition. This level of validity is communicated in three primary ways: 1) choice of conjunction, 2) mood selection, and 3) presence or absence of modal *baka* 'CNTRFCT'. Tense is also an important consideration, though overall it plays a more minor role than in other languages.

If the speaker wants to present the propositions as definitely true or that he is unsure of its validity, he will use the conjunction *ke* 'if'. If the speaker wants to convey that the propositions are false, he will use the modal *baka* 'CNTRFCT' in the protasis and the conjunction *pe* 'then' in the apodosis. Finally, for concessive conditionals the speaker will use the conjunction *tɔɔ* 'even'.

By itself, the conjunction *ke* 'if' does not distinguish statements the speaker wants to convey as definitely true from those that are possibly true. To indicate certitude, Kwakum speakers select the indicative mood in the protasis. In cases where the speaker wants to convey that he is unsure of the validity of the proposition, he will use the subjunctive mood in the protasis. The speaker also chooses the subjunctive mood in the protasis of the *baka...pe* construction to present the propositions as false. Finally, the speaker chooses the subjunctive mood for the protasis of concessive conditionals marked by the conjunction *tɔɔ* 'even'.

Tense does not play a role in communicating the validity of the statements in Kwakum conditionals. This distinguishes Kwakum from other languages like

Ghɔmálá' (a Grassfields Bantu language of Cameroon) in which "[r]eal and unreal conditionals are distinguished by the tense used in conditional sentences: past tenses for unreality conditionals and present and future tenses for reality conditionals" (Bessala and Fotso 2017, 154). The only exception to this rule is that counterfactual conditionals (and any other conditional in which the speaker wants to present the propositions as false) are tenseless in the protasis.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person	NP	Noun phrase
2	Second person	P	Protasis
3	Third person	P1	Immediate Past Tense
COND	Conditional	P2	Near Past Tense
CNTRFCT	Counterfactual	P3	Middle Past Tense
CONJ	Conjunction	P4	Remote Past Tense
COP	Copula	PERF	Perfect
DEM	Demonstrative	PL	Plural
F1	Near Future Tense	POSS	Possessive
F2	Middle Future Tense	PRS	Present Tense
F3	Remote Future Tense	PRS.COP	Present Indicative Copula
IMP	Imperative Mood	Q	Apodosis
IND	Indicative Mood	SBJV	Subjunctive Mood
INTR	Interrogative	SBJV.COP	Subjunctive Copula
LOC	Locative	SG	Singular
N	Noun	V	Verb
NEG	Negation	YNQ.NEG	Biased YNQ Negation
NEG.COP	Negative Copula		

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Relative Clauses in Kwakum (A91)

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Abstract: This paper describes how relative pronouns combine with a postrelative marker to bookend headed and headless relative clauses in Kwakum. Three relativization strategies occur in Kwakum: relative pronouns, gaps, and pronoun retention.

Keywords: Bantu, Headed and Headless Relative Clauses, Postrelative Marker, Relative Pronoun, Relativizer, Resumptive Pronoun

1.   INTRODUCTION

Bantu languages belong to the "Type A" languages listed in Heine's work on African language typology (Heine 1976, 39–40). He lists twelve dominant features that describe this subset of African languages including: SVO-adverbials word order, prepositions, nominal qualifiers follow the noun, and tense-aspect markers precede the verb. While Kwakum does not strictly adhere to all these patterns, Kwakum relative clauses follow the head noun, when such a noun is present.

Section 2 describes headed and headless relative clauses in Kwakum, while §3 describes five relative pronouns that co-occur with a postrelative marker. Section 4 provides evidence for a gap strategy, and §5 for a pronoun retention strategy which involves resumptive pronouns. Section 6 briefly discusses the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977) as it relates to Kwakum. All data used in this article can be found at https://haretranslation.com/the-kwakum-language.

2.   RELATIVE CLAUSES AND THE HEAD NOUN

A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of a noun phrase (NP) by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC (Andrews 2007, 206). Andrews' definition permits the two types of relative clauses in Kwakum: headed RCs and headless RCs (what Andrews calls "Free RCs"). In both types, the RC occurs within an NP, and restricts the reference of the noun phrase, even if the head noun is not overtly present in the NP.

2.1   Headed RCs

In Kwakum, the head noun can be overt, and in this case, always precedes the
RC. I refer to these RCs as **headed**. In (1), the head noun is in boldface and the RC
is bracketed. The head noun, *paam* 'man' is restricted by the RC: of the men in
sight, the reference is to the one "who wears red clothing."

(1) **Paam**   [mo   lɛŋaa   kidɛlɔ   bɛtɛŋ   yi]   n=dombɔ.
     man   REL.PRO   wear   clothing red   REL   PRS=speak
     'The man who wears red clothing speaks.' (DH5 75.5)

RCs can also be non-restrictive, "in which the referent of the head noun can
be identified independently, and the clausal modifier simply presents additional
information about that referent" (Kroeger 2005, 231). However, this paper only
describes **restrictive** RCs which delimit the referent, distinguishing the head
noun from other possibilities.

2.2   Headless RCs

A second and more common structure found in Kwakum relative clauses is
headless relative clauses. In contrast to the headed RC in (1), these clauses have
no head noun within the NP. In (2), the RC stands on its own modifying the omit-
ted head of the subject NP in the matrix clause.

(2) [Mo   yɛ   n=dowaa   naa   sya   ɔ   saa=si   yi]
     REL.PRO   3PL   PRS=call   COMP   expert   LOC   home=1PL.POSS   REL
     ji   ndɛtɛ.
     PRS.COP   big
     'The one whom they call the expert in our place is important.' (DH6 113.1)

In example (2), the RC occurs in the same place as in (1); however, the head
noun is missing. Compare Figure 1 and Figure 2, which describe the constituent
structure of (1) and (2) respectively.

Again, the main difference between the headed RC in (1) and the headless RC
in (2) is that the former has an overt head noun, whereas in the latter the head
noun is omitted.

3.   RELATIVE PRONOUN STRATEGY AND POST RELATIVE MARKER *yi* 'REL'

Kwakum has five relative pronouns: *mo* 'person', *gwo* 'people', *ndɔɔ* 'place/
where', *cak* 'thing', and *boku* 'temporal'. Each of these relative pronouns is de-
rived from a noun. *Mo* is a phonologically reduced form of *momɔ* 'person', with
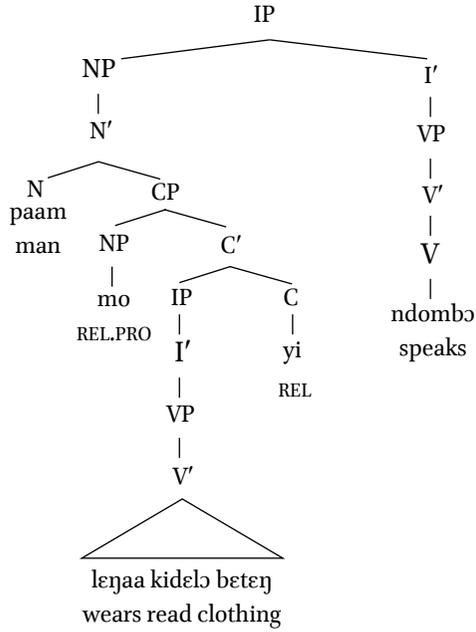*gwo* being the reduced form of the plural of this noun. The other three forms are
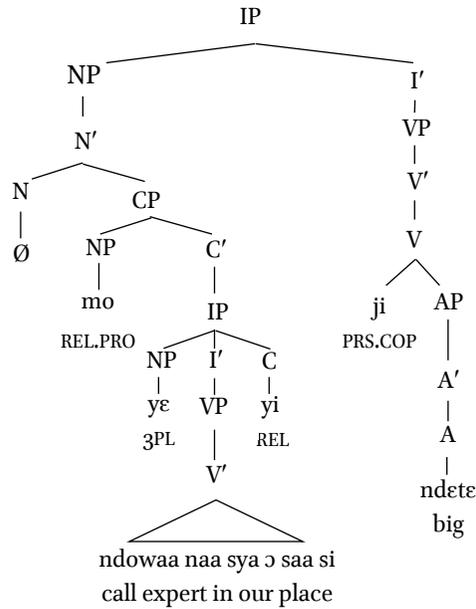
Figure 1: C-Structure for (1)[1]

Figure 2: C-Structure for (1)

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[1] Empty branches are omitted in the trees in this paper.

derived from the nouns *ndɔɔ* 'place', *cak* 'thing', and *boku* 'time.period'. The relative pronoun occurs immediately after the head noun in headed RCs. The relative clauses in (1) and (2) conclude with a postrelative marker *yi* 'REL'.

3.1   *Mo 'Person' and Gwo 'People'*

Sentences (1) and (2) contain the relative pronoun which is derived from the reduced noun *mo* 'person'. **relative pronouns** (as opposed to **relativizers**) "mark nominal properties such as gender, number, and case" (Keenan 1985, 149). The relative pronoun in question agrees with the head noun in number, as seen below. In (3) the relative pronoun has the form *gwo* 'REL.PRO', as the (omitted) antecedent is plural. This follows the Kwakum Noun Class 1/2 format: *mo-/gwo-*. Interestingly, and uncharacteristically for a Bantu language, these relative pronouns do not accord with the noun class of the head noun. Thus, rather than a form for each noun class, it has only two forms: singular (*mo*) and plural (*gwo*). The relative pronoun *mo* 'REL.PRO' can be used in both headless RCs, as in (2), or headed RCs, as in (4). It is the most widely used relative pronoun, and it can be used to relativize animate nouns, as in (1); inanimate nouns, as in (4); and temporal nouns, as in (5). This relative pronoun is even used in headless temporal RCs, as in (6).

(3)   [Gwo   cindi   n=jaalɔ   yi],   yɛ   bɛ   cilaŋ.
       REL.PRO   all   PRS=give.birth REL   3PL   COP   signed.up
       'All of (the people) who give birth (would) be signed up.' (DH8 49.2–3)

(4)   Mose   nia   cilɛ   pɔmbu   **kidɛlɔ**   [mo   yɛ
       today   1SG.P2   write   for   clothing   REL.PRO   3PL

       lɛŋaa   ɔ   misɔn   yi].
       wear   LOC   church   REL
       'Today I wrote about the clothing we wear to church' (DH5 155.2–3)

(5)   **Jowo**   [mo   be   mɛ   yi],   sɛ   ŋ=kɛ   bɛndɔ
       day   REL.PRO   follow   P4   REL   1PL   PRS=go   look

       ntaambɔ   yɔɔ
       trap   DEM
       'The day which followed, we went to see those traps.' (DH8 161.9)

(6)   Mo   y'a   kɛ   jɔlɛ   yi],   je   n=jɔlɛ
       REL.PRO 3PL'P2   go   wash   REL   3PL   PRS=wash

       yɛ   tambye   tambye.
       3SG   well   well
       'When they go wash, they wash it very well.' (DH8 65.2)

3.2 *Ndɔɔ* 'Place/Where'

Kwakum also has a locative relative pronoun derived from the noun *ndɔɔ* 'place/where'. This pronoun does not agree with the head noun in number; however, it agrees with the semantic idea 'location/place'. Example (7) shows that the bracketed clause is a relative clause (as opposed to an adjunct clause). The head noun, *idoŋ* 'room', is present and delimited by the relative clause meaning 'where our father sleeps'. Example (8) demonstrates that *ndɔɔ* 'REL.PRO' can be used in headless RCs as well. The relative clause in (8) follows the locative preposition *ɔ*, a position that is filled by the NP 'Bamenda' in (9). My analysis follows that of Heath who claims that in the neighboring language, Makaa (A83), "subordinate clauses that express time, location, or manner are not adverbial clauses, but RCs" (Heath 2003, 348).

(7) Cindi   wusu,   sɛ   n=cimsɛ   **idoŋ**   [ndɔɔ   papa
     all   1PL.POSS   1PL   PRS=honor   room   REL.PRO   father

     wusu   n=daalɔ   yi].
     1PL.POSS   PRS=sleep   REL
     'All of us, we honor the room where our father sleeps.' (DH14 73.36)

(8) Yɛ   ŋ=kɛ   jamsɛ   le   ɔ   [ndɔɔ   gw'a   taakɛ
     3PL   PRS=go   pour   then   LOC   REL.PRO   2SG'P2   put

     mbambu   yi].
     boards   REL
     'Then they go pour (the cement) in (the place) where you put the boards.'
     (DH5 35.16)

(9) A   m=i   kɛ   ɔ   bamɛnda.
     3SG   PRS=IPFV   go   LOC   Bamenda
     'He is going to Bamenda (name of a city).' (DH4 67.5)

3.3 *Cak* 'Thing'

As mentioned above, *mo* 'REL.PRO' can be used to relativize inanimate head nouns. The relative pronoun derived from the noun *cak* 'thing' also relativizes inanimate head nouns, but only in headless RCs. In fact, if there is no head noun present, and the referent of the NP is inanimate and singular, *cak* 'REL.PRO' **must** be used instead of *mo* 'REL.PRO', as in (10). In this sentence, the omitted head noun is an inanimate object *ŋko kál* 'bullet'.

(10) [Cak   yɛ   n=je   yi],   a'i   mbɔsɔ   casi.
      REL.PRO   3PL   PRS=see   REL   3SG'PRS.COP   bad   thing
      '(The bullet) that they see is a bad thing.' (DH8 181.18)

3.4   Boku 'Time Period'

Kwakum has a temporal relative pronoun derived from the noun *boku* 'time period'. Like *cak* 'REL.PRO', *boku* 'REL.PRO' only occurs when the RC is headless. In (11), *boku* modifies an omitted temporal noun.

(11)   [Boku   yɛ   n=je   bupa   yi],   yɛ   n=dokɛ.
        REL.PRO   3PL   PRS=see   animal   REL   3PL   PRS=throw
        '(At the time) when they see an animal, they throw it." (DH13 89.26)

3.5   Postrelative Marker yi 'REL'

Every relative clause in the above data contains a final *yi* 'REL'. Heath calls this a "relative marker/relativizer" when it occurs in Makaa relative clauses (Heath 2003, 347). The relativizer *yi* 'REL' does not occur in complement clauses like (12) or adjunct clauses like (13). Both types of subordinate clauses contain an invariant complementizer *naa* 'COMP' but have no final marker.

(12)   Sambu   mɛɛ   kaam   {naa   a   kawaaŋ   cimya   we
        God   NEG   like   COMP   3SG   share   glory   3SG.POSS

        nɛ   ivikla}.
        with   statues
        'God does not like to share his glory with statues.' (DH6 25.30)

(13)   {Pɛpɛl naa   gwɛ   dombu},   pa   n=le   boŋlaa   tambye.
        before COMP 2SG   speak   first   PRS=then   think   well
        'Think before you speak.' (DH7 23.22)

The relativizer *yi* 'REL' is always found at the end of a clause when one of the five relative pronouns is present. Kwakum is one of the few languages that take both a relative pronoun and a relativizer. The two relative clause markers bracket the relative clause: one at each end. The reason *yi* 'REL' is a relativizer (as opposed to a relative pronoun) is that it does not change form. A relativizer "is normally an invariant particle (one that doesn't change shape)" (Kroeger 2005, 235). Phonetically *yi* 'REL' alternates between [yi] and [i]; however, this difference is phonological or idiosyncratic.

In the neighboring language, Makaa (A83), a similar bracketing occurs with relative clauses. The beginning of the RC is marked by a high tone, and a relative pronoun terminates the clause. The relative pronoun receives the noun class concord of the head noun (Heath 2003, 347). This is illustrated in (14), where the relative pronoun *wá* 'NC2:REL' accords with the head noun *b-àŋg* 'NC2-those'.

(14) mə́ cèèl b-àŋg [bwó dí ´ bùl ´ sēy **wá**]
      I   want NC2-those NC2:they HAB MacH work MacH work NC2:REL
      'I like those who work hard.' (Heath 2003, 347)

In an even more closely related language, Kako (A90), when a noun is delimited by a relative clause, the head noun is immediately followed by an obligatory determiner which is immediately followed by a relative pronoun, and a demonstrative appears at the end of the relative clause. The relative pronoun and the demonstrative agree with the head noun in animacy and number.[1] This can be seen in (15), where the head noun *gwàlɔ̀* 'hoe' and the postrelative demonstrative are inanimate and singular in form.

(15) mí mǎ kwèɗyà gwàlɔ̀ té [yī
      1SG PAR find.INF hoe DET REL

      Yélè dǐmbìdyá **kɛ̀**]
      Yélé lose.PAS REF.DEM
      'I found the hoe that Yélé lost.' (Ernst 2002, 104)

This leads me to believe that historically this particle, probably a form of the demonstrative, did agree with the head noun. However, as Kwakum is in a state of reduced Bantu properties, it is not surprising that the expected concord is missing. Frajzyngier claims that the postrelative marker in Chadic languages historically was a form of the definite marker. However, in modern languages, where the postrelative is obligatory, definiteness is not always communicated, and in some cases the form has changed (Frajzyngier 1983, 444). It is possible that a similar process occurred in Kwakum, resulting in an invariant form of the marker that no longer resembles the demonstrative.

I have been unable to find any other language like Kwakum that uses two relative markers where the first is a relative pronoun and the second an invariant relativizer.

4.   GAP STRATEGY

While the relative pronoun strategy described in §3 is the most common relativization strategy in Kwakum, a gap strategy also occurs in which the relative pronoun is omitted.

In (16), the head noun (*fyɛti* 'tree') is present and one would expect the relative pronoun *mo* 'REL.PRO' to begin the relative clause. However, the relative pronoun is

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[1] Ernst does not consider Kako to have a noun class system, and nouns are classed then only by animacy and number (see Ernst 1992, 32).

missing,[2] though the postrelative marker *yi* 'REL' remains. The relative pronoun cannot be omitted when there is no head noun present unless the relative clause begins with a copula as in (18).

(16)   Yɛ   ŋ=kulɔ   kɔ,   fyɛti   [___   yɛ   n=dowaa
       3PL   PRS=grate tree.type tree   3PL   PRS=call

       naa   kɔ   yi].
       COMP   tree.type REL
       'They grate the Ko, the tree (that) they call Ko.' (DH8 19:6)

The present tense form of the copula (*ji* 'PRS.COP') sometimes occurs as the first constituent of a relative clause. In (17), a head noun (in this case a pronoun, *ja* '3PL') is present, but a gap occurs where one would expect to find the relative pronoun *gwo* 'REL.PRO' and the copula appears. In this case, as with the omission of the relative pronoun in (16), the postrelative *yi* 'REL' remains. Example (18) demonstrates that relative clauses which begin with a copula can be used in headless clauses as well.

(17)   **Ja**   fɔku,   [___   ji   feki   mɛ   ɔ   pɛŋ Kanda yi   yɛ
       3PL   certain   PRS.COP pass   P4   LOC side Kanda REL   3PL

       m=be   jiki   gwe   ŋkombɔ   ŋkombɔ.
       PRS=follow river   there forest   forest
       'Certain of them, who went to the region of Kanda, followed the river there into the forest.' (DH14 125.25–27)

(18)   [___ Ji   ciklɛ mɛ ɔ   pɛŋ Dɛndɛŋ yi], yɛ   n=jilɔ   ɔ   gwe.
              PRS.COP   stay   P4 LOC side Dendeng REL 3PL PRS=live LOC there
       '(Those) who stayed in the region of Dendeng, live over there.' (DH14 121.17–18)

<h3 align="center">5.   PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY</h3>

On rare occasions, relative clauses in Kwakum can contain a resumptive pronoun. In (19), the object of the preposition *nɛ* 'with' in the relative clause is relativized. The object of the preposition is the pronoun *jɛ* '3SG' whose antecedent is the head noun *paam* 'man'. (The pronoun *jɛ* '3SG' is underlined in the relative clause.) This strategy is what Kroeger calls pronoun retention, in which "the relativized function is represented by a pronominal 'copy' of the head noun – a regular pronoun which occurs inside the modifying clause and agrees with the head noun in gender and number" (Kroeger 2005, 237). This resumptive pronoun can be found when oblique arguments or possessors are relativized, as described below.

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[2] The missing relative pronoun is represented by '___'.

(19) Paam   [ni   n=sɛɛ   nɛ   jɛ   yi]
      man   1SG   PRS=work   with   3SG   REL

'the man I work with…' (Njantcho Kouagang 2018, 303)[3]

6. ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY

As a general rule, it has been found that certain grammatical functions (e.g. obliques) are more difficult to relativize than others. In 1977, Keenan and Comrie noted that on the basis of data from about fifty languages, "relativizability of certain positions is dependent on that of others" (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 66). They presented in this article what they referred to as the "Accessibility Hierarchy." In this hierarchy, the functions are more difficult to relativize as one moves from left to right. A modified version of this hierarchy by Kroeger (2004, 181) is seen in (20).

(20)   SUBJ > OBJ > OBL > Possessor

Every one of these functions can be relativized in Kwakum. Although relative pronouns are often used for each function, when one reaches the oblique point in the hierarchy, a **resumptive pronoun** can also occur within the RC. This resumptive pronoun is required for certain constructions in which an oblique argument is relativized. However, it appears obligatory whenever a possessor is relativized. This follows the hierarchical idea presented here where it is predicted that "retention of the pronoun is found with positions that are more difficult to relativize" (Comrie 1981, 26).

6.1 Subject

The Accessibility Hierarchy predicts that, while the other functions may prove to be impossible to relativize, "every language can relativize on subjects" (Comrie 1981, 158). So, it is not surprising that Kwakum can do just that. For examples of a relativized subject, see (1), (3), and (5).

6.2 Object

The primary object can be relativized, as in (4) and (10). However, this is also true of secondary objects, as in (22). In a clause with the verb *fe* 'give', as in (21), the recipient (Boris) is the primary object and the theme (*saŋgla* 'bread') is the secondary object. In the relative clause in example (22), the primary object is *gwɛ* 'you.' The secondary object, *teucɛ cindi* 'all the counsel', is the head noun in the matrix clause.

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[3] Any data taken from Njantcho Kouagang has been reformatted and reinterpreted according to my analyses.

(21) Davidi   m=i   fe   Bo   saŋgla.
      David   PRS=IPFV   give   Boris   bread
      'David is giving Boris the bread.' (DH10 11.5)

(22) Teucɛ cindi [a'i   nɛ   kul   a   m=fe   gwɛ   _____
      counsel all   3SG'PRS.COP with force   3SG   PRS=give   2SG

      yi],   ɔ   n=jalaa   nɛ   jitlɛ   ntɔ.
      REL   2SG   PRS=must   with open   ears
      '(To) all the counsel he can give you, you must open your ears.' (DH14 199.21)

6.3   Oblique

Oblique arguments are also available for relativization in Kwakum. In (23), the locative phrase *ɔ kisim te* 'in the kitchen' is an obligatory oblique argument of the verb *jilɔ* 'stay'. The matrix verb *jilɔ* 'stay' in (24) takes an obligatory locative argument which is filled with a relative clause that also has *jilɔ* 'stay' as its verb, but the locative oblique argument is gapped.

(23) Paam   m=ɛɛ   jalaa   nɛ   jilɔ   ɔ   **kisim   te.**
      man   PRS=NEG   must   with stay   LOC   kitchen   in
      'Man must not stay in the kitchen.' (DH14 181.25)

(24) Sɛ   tatlɛ   jilɔ   ɔ   [ndɔɔ   sɛ   pa   mɛ   jilɔ   yi].
      1PL   begin   stay   LOC   REL.PRO   1PL   first P4   stay   REL
      'We began to stay in (the place) where we first stayed.' (DH14 125.25)

In certain oblique constructions, a resumptive pronoun is required. For example, in (25) the resumptive pronoun *yɛ* 'him' is coreferential with the head noun *paam* 'man'. However, in example (25), the RC without the resumptive pronoun is not grammatical. Njantcho Kouagang has suggested that the resumptive pronoun is only obligatory in benefactive relative clauses (Njantcho Kouagang 2018, 304).

(25) Paam   [ni   n=sɛɛ   pɔmbu   y̱ɛ̱]
      man   1SG   PRS=work   for   3SG
      'the man I work for …' (Njantcho Kouagang 2018, 304)

(26) *Paam [ni   n=sɛɛ   pɔmbu   ___]
      man   1SG   PRS=work   for
      *'the man I work for …' (Njantcho Kouagang 2018, 304)

6.4 Possessor

The final grammatical function that can be relativized is the possessor. This function requires a resumptive pronoun as illustrated in (27), where the relative pronoun *mo* occurs and the resumptive pronoun *=e* '3SG.POSS' is cliticized to the noun 'father'. The resumptive pronoun is underlined for easy identification.

(27) A'i   mɔɔnɔ paam [mo   sanj=<u>e</u>   kam=e
      3SG'PRS.COP child   man   REL.PRO father=<u>3SG.POSS</u> like=3SG

      bulawe   yi].
      a.lot   REL
      'He is a boy whose father loved him a lot.' (DH13 257.4)

7.   CONCLUSION

This paper has surveyed relative clauses in Kwakum. I have demonstrated two types of relative clauses: headed and headless. These relative clauses are introduced by five different relative pronouns derived from the nouns: *mo* 'person', *gwo* 'people', *ndɔɔ* 'place', *cak* 'thing', and *boku* 'time period'. I have argued that these are all relative pronouns rather than relativizers, as they agree with the head noun, whether grammatically or semantically. Each of these types of relative clauses is terminated by a relativizer *yi* 'REL', which I argued is not a relative pronoun mainly because this particle is invariant. There was a brief discussion of left dislocation to indicate topic, which explains the presence of a subject pronoun following many relative clauses where the RC is the matrix subject. Finally, Kwakum was seen to be consistent with the predictions of the Accessibility Hierarchy, namely with the presence of the resumptive pronoun only when an oblique argument or a possessor is relativized.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adjective	NEG	Negation
A'	A-Bar	NP	Noun Phrase
AGR	Agreement	OBJ	Object
AP	Adjective Phrase	OBL	Oblique
C	Complementizer	P2	Near Past Tense
C'	C-Bar	P4	Remote Past Tense
CP	Complementizer Phrase	PL	Plural
COMP	Complementizer	POSS	Possessive
COP	Copula	PRS	Present Tense
C-structure	Constituent Structure	PRS.COP	Present Indicative Copula

DEM	Demonstrative	RC	Relative Clause
HAB	Habitual	REL	Relativizer
I	Inflection	REL.PRO	Relative Pronoun
I'	I-Bar	SG	Singular
IP	Inflection Phrase	SpecIP	Specifier of IP
IPFV	Imperfective Aspect	SUBJ	Subject
LOC	Locative	SVO	Subject, Object, Verb
MacH	Macro-stem High	V	Verb
N	Noun	V'	V-Bar
N'	N-Bar	VP	Verb Phrase
NC	Noun Class		

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Book Reviews

Arnold, Bill T., and Brent A. Strawn. 2019. *The World around the Old Testament: The People and Places of the Ancient Near East.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 531 pp.

From a historical perspective, the Old Testament is a collection of strange documents. Were we to approach these for the first time, without any previous ecclesiastical context, we would find many strange ideas and unfamiliar people. Major players in the Old Testament include a variety of people groups and nations, many of whom we lacked any information outside of Scripture until the mid- to late-1800s, when so many ancient Near Eastern documents began to be unearthed. Geography is difficult to memorize, and topography is even harder without having been to the Near East. If one wants to enter into the historical and social world of the Old Testament, it can be hard to find a volume that serves a "one size fits all" function.

Admittedly, *The World around the Old Testament* does not serve that function either. Despite its subtitle, it focuses predominantly on the ancient people groups and nations that are directly relevant for Old Testament studies. While the sub-title includes "places," there is very little emphasis throughout on geography or topography. For those issues, one should consult a different work such as *Behind the Scenes of the Old Testament* (Baker Academic, 2018).

Its narrower focus on people groups and nations is, arguably, a strength of the book. If one were translating the book of Kings, for instance, one will want to know something about the Assyrians and the neo-Babylonians, both of whom are covered in this volume. Social or war practices of these nations may become relevant in translating or explaining passages in which such practices are exhibited. Knowing a bit about the ancient Near Eastern kings who are mentioned in the Old Testament will go a long way toward understanding the passages better and being able to teach them to others, including those who are encountering the Old Testament for the first time (e.g., newly recruited national translators). This book is, then, probably more helpful for the Bible student, scholar, and translation consultant than it is for the layman or pastor.

The editors, Arnold and Strawn, are both well-regarded Old Testament scholars who specialize in ancient Near Eastern backgrounds. The volume consists of thirteen chapters covering the following nations or people groups: Amorites, Assyria, Babylonia, Ugarit, Egypt, the Hittites and their neighboring Hurrians, Aram, Phoenicia, the Transjordan nations (Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites), Philistia, Persia, Arabia, and Greece.

The chapters are longer, compared to some other background books, with these thirteen chapters spreading to 500 pages. Most chapters are 30–40 pages, although Christopher Hays (with Peter Machinist) is the outlier with 77 pages. Granted, he covers the Assyrians, who are arguably the most important nation to study if one wants to understand better the history of Israel and some of her literary forms.

That the chapters are longer means that those who wish to consult them will need some time to soak in the information. They are not short dictionary entries, but rather contain a vast amount of information presented concisely and sometimes with the complexity that is necessary for the topic. Scholars and students who are wading into ancient Near Eastern studies may find these chapters accessible entry points, but they might also profitably consult first a shorter encyclopedia entry. These shorter entries can give overviews that will make 30–40 page histories of ancient nations much easier to digest and retain.

The reader should know that most of these chapters are not comprehensive histories. The Egyptian chapter focuses mostly on the New Kingdom, and then shortly on the following years down to 332, and finally discusses points of contact between Egypt and Israel. The chapter on Assyria focuses heavily on the neo-Assyrian empire, which is the period in which Assyria had so many dealings with Israel and Judah.

On the other hand, a chapter such as Mark Smith's on Ugarit does read as an overview of the city and all that we know about it, with a section at the end on Old Testament parallels in Ugaritic literature. The difference is of course the nature of the subject: Ugarit had no prominent dealings with Israel historically, as Egypt and the neo-Assyrians did.

In addition to the editors, the contributors (e.g., Christopher Hays, Mark Smith, and K. Lawson Younger Jr.) are trusted and generally veteran scholars on their topics. There are a good number of illustrations and tables, but in a book like this I would have lobbied for many more to help the reader visualize the long, complex histories with numerous kings, viziers, vassals, etc. I recommend purchasing the hardback over the paperback, the binding of the latter being glued and very rigid, nearly falling apart after my first round with the book. Those serving overseas would likely profit from the Logos version to save shelf space and frustration with the binding.

Overall, I was pleased with the layout of the book by nation and people group, and the information was somewhat concise and relevant to Old Testament studies. Learning more about these ancient neighbors of Israel will only bring the Old Testament alive in a new way, and I cannot recommend this field of study enough. Arnold and Strawn's group of contributors have created a helpful, up-to-date resource that will be as good a place as any to start.

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Clark, David J. 2019. *Analyzing and Translating New Testament Discourse*. Dallas, TX: Fontes Press. 279 pp.

David Clark is a retired UBS Bible translation consultant with over three decades of worldwide experience in Oceania, Thailand, India, Nigeria, and Russia. A fantastic travelogue of his years working with Bible Translation teams in Oceania entitled *Of Islands and Highlands* (Fontes Press, 2019) shows a life of dedicated scholarly service to teams in far-flung fields.

The book's title makes it seem to be a comprehensive how-to or otherwise textbook on discourse structures in the New Testament. While this subject is applied in the various chapters, the book is really a collection of the author's published journal articles on the subject.

Twelve of the fourteen chapters are articles reproduced from the United Bible Society's journal *The Bible Translator*, for which he is one of the most prolific contributors. The chapters are arranged according to the articles' publication dates that span 29 years (1978–2007).

The articles can be grouped topically into three types. First are whole book discourse analyses, of which six are included in the book. One of them covers two books (1 and 2 Thessalonians) in a comparative analysis. The other books include Matthew, Titus, 3 John, Jude, and Ephesians. There is also one chapter with a full discourse analysis of "The Sermon on the Plain" in Luke. The second type covers vocative use in the NT. Three chapters are devoted to a discourse analysis of vocatives covering the Gospels, Acts and Revelation, and the Epistles. Clark argues that vocative use has to do with social standing. The third type examines phrases (in discourse). Two chapters look at how the phrase ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι functions as a discourse border marker in the Synoptics (ch. 9) and in the Fourth Gospel (ch. 14).

The book has a couple weaknesses. First, I considered ch. 3 "la bête noire." It has a second author, Jan De Waard, and covers the discourse structures of the Gospel of Matthew. Weighing in at 100 pages with three appendices, it bears all the tediousness, length, and esoteric language of a slightly digested master's thesis. This anomaly of a chapter could have been its own monograph and should have never been included in this collection of short articles. Secondly, as mentioned above, the title and its cover are misleading. It seems like a textbook, which it most certainly is not.

The volume also has several strengths. Speaking of writing his classic tale, "The Hobbit," J.R.R. Tolkien wrote, "it grew like a seed in the dark out of the leaf-mould of the mind: out of all that has been seen or thought or read, that has long been forgotten, descending into the deeps." The metaphor of the leaf compost pile ("mould" in Tolkein's words) for the mind is more accurate than the modern mind-as-computer metaphor. As a memory is not an individual file in our brain's

server hermetically sealed off from all other memories. Instead, like a compost pile, the neural networks that make up our memories blend into each other and then become something more than the sum of their parts. Thus, when we learn a new thing, it is not simply added to the top of a column of carefully stacked factoids, but it literally changes the structure of our brains and affects how we understand other things.

Translators' and translation consultants' brains are no exception. The fields that they ought to be familiar with are legion: sociolinguists, Hebrew, Greek, the trade language's grammar, the minority language's grammar, translation theory, semantics, pragmatics, phonology, phonetics, Biblical worlds background, exegesis, discourse analysis, etc. These fields make up a thick leaf mould that is always in need of more material for a more precise composted insight for translation decisions.

This book's greatest strength is that it provides that kind of good leaf-mould material for New Testament discourse analysis. The articles are short, solidly researched, practical, and have a clear takeaway. Clark is at his best when he writes for those who are at the translation desk. To be frank, the chapters are short enough, clear enough, and clever enough for one to want to continue to read them and in turn be affected by them (ch. 3 excluded).

For example, when I was consultant checking the Gospel of John with a translation team in Central African Republic recently, the takeaway from Clark's article on the use of "ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι" in the Gospel of John solidly stuck in my brain.

So, as a Bible translator or translation consultant, should you read the contents of this book? Yes, and read it with the same joy and fervor of a chortling miser counting his gold. Whether you buy this book is up to personal preference. The reader should be aware that twelve of the articles are available to read in Translator's Workplace for those who have access to the database. But if you have the means and prefer a physical book, then go forth and purchase it in joy.

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Comfort, Philip Wesley, and David P. Barret. 2019. *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*. Kregel Academic.

Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barret have gifted the public with an updated version of the corrected and expanded version of the 1999 publication of *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*. The 2019 edition has been significantly expanded, coming to the reader in two large hardback volumes. The first volume contains a brief ten-page introduction to Comfort and Barret's methodology and goals, as well as their presentation of papyri 1–72. Volume two includes

papyri 75–139, as well as uncials and over 200 pages discussing their controversial approach to dating Greek New Testament manuscripts. With photographs of over 100 manuscripts, this volume is a valuable acquisition for those willing to become more familiar with the raw world of papyrology and textual criticism.

Each chapter is named after its respective papyrus and contains information about the contents of the writings, proposed date, provenance, housing location, physical features, proposed textual character, and a bibliography for the papyrus at hand. The reader can usually expect a few paragraphs explaining in more detail the history of the manuscript or its features (see P47), though at times the discussion about date, textual character, and provenance can take over a few pages (as in P46).

Though not every manuscript in the volume contains images, the number of pictures available is surprising and worth the cost of the volumes. However, due to the quality of the paper in the book and the process of scanning and printing the photograph in black and white, many images will remind the reader of Xerox machines. It would be interesting to see a fourth edition of this work utilize higher quality pages for the manuscripts, as in McKendrick's and Doyle's *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture* (British Library, 2007) or Stone's *The Story of the Bible* (Thomas Nelson, 2010). It is advisable, then, for readers to verify where each manuscript is hosted online and then experience the manuscript in the higher quality format. The images in the volumes are indeed its most valuable tool, but given the *material* of the book, the reader may be better off referencing the two-volume work and using the available images online whenever possible.

Clearly, the *material* in which texts are written on can affect the experience of studying them. Comfort and Barrett assert the opposite (1.10), but readers should not assume that most textual critics downplay the materiality of manuscripts. Larry W. Hurtado has consistently brought to light the significance of the materiality of manuscripts (*The Earliest Christian Artifacts* [Eerdmans, 2006] and *Texts and Artefacts* [T&T Clark, 2017]) and the latest volume by Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman demonstrates quite well the integration of culture with the somewhat "lab-like" task of textual criticism (*To Cast the First Stone* [Princeton University Press, 2018]). Furthermore, while some approaches to textual criticism value the *text* in the artifact as something somewhat disconnected from the artifact itself, Comfort and Barrett instead contrast the artifact with time, affirming that manuscripts are valuable because of their *date* (1.10). Comfort does not explain why early dates are better, but he narrates his attempt to give manuscripts an earlier date as an "uphill battle" against an academic establishment that opposes early dates "because it is believed that the time lapse between the autograph and the copy is too short" (1.14). The reader can only wonder why the majority of their evangelical and conservative colleagues do not agree with their assessments.

Recognizing that dating manuscripts is mostly an act of "educated guess-work" (1.12), the authors focus mainly on handwriting analysis (1.14–15). This is problematic because, first, contemporary paleography does not treat handwriting analysis as the main method of assigning date ranges for manuscripts (see Nongbri's *God's Library* [Yale University Press, 2018], 57). Second, though they recognize the subjectivity of the field, they seem to be overly confident in comparative paleography and comparative stylistics (2.282–285). We know, however, that differences in style can demonstrate geographical rather than chronological difference. Furthermore, they seem to be unaware of writing exercises present in P. Oxy. 31.2604 and other manuscripts, which demonstrate that some scribes were able to and in fact did write in styles centuries removed from their own (Nongbri, *God's Library*, 64). It is unclear, then, how their recognition of subjectivity actually influences their practice in re-dating about fifty manuscripts (2.278–279).

Proposing new dates is not a problem *per se.* As they rightly note, many have uncritically assumed that dates in critical editions are authoritative and unchanging. Such an attitude is misguided, given that even the most tried and approved scholars at times disagree with proposed dates (as with P4; see 2.278). However, earlier dates are not, by their very nature, better. Elijah Hixson has correctly pointed out that some of our earlier manuscripts have been corrupted by orthodox scribes attempting to make a stronger case for their theological positions (see his chapter in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism* [IVP, 2019], 90–109, esp. p. 92). Moreover, Gregory R. Lanier demonstrates how sometimes later manuscripts can be more reliable (pp. 110–131). By artificially pushing for earlier dates, the authors exemplify how some Christians allow their faith to decide matters outside the faith prior to analyzing the evidence, which requires them to re-create all of the evidence in relation to their pre-conceived notions. Sadly, inattentive readers can read Comfort and get the idea that his ideas are more widely accepted than they truly are. Somewhat quickly, then, their praiseworthy attempt to bring manuscripts closer to the public becomes a popularization of their idiosyncratic views to an untrained public. Paleography can indeed be practiced responsibly, but at times it devolves into wishful thinking or mere apologetics (Nongbri, *God's Library*, 72; Orsini and Clarysse in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88, no. 4, [2012]: 445).

In short, readers who purchase Comfort's and Barrett's volumes in hopes of becoming more familiar with the manuscripts themselves are making a great investment. Their commitment to compare manuscripts that have been dated but not compared in the past needs to be done more often (2.279). In addition, their recognition of their personal agenda in the beginning of the book, and the dedication of a significant portion of the second volume to their methodology is also commendable.

Readers should be cautious regarding the dates proposed for manuscripts, always consulting reviews written about Comfort's and Barrett's volumes (especially Orsini and Clarysse's), as well as the standard works utilized in training scholars all over the world, independent of their faith tradition, lest they get the impression that Comfort's and Barrett's dating is widely accepted—or worse, that the reason to reject their approach is merely ideological.

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Jones, Mari C., and Sarah Ogilvie, eds. 2013. *Keeping Languages Alive: Documentation, Pedagogy and Revitalization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 269 pp.

The book under review contains sixteen chapters, divided into three sections: documentation, with eight chapters, plus pedagogy and revitalization, with four chapters each. The authors include indigenous speaker and academic advocates.

Beginning the section on documentation is Chapter One, "Language Documentation and Meta-Documentation," by Peter Austin, which discusses the need to document the documentation process itself, so-called 'meta-documentation.' Austin suggests three approaches for creating a meta-documentation theory: deductive approaches, inductive approaches, and comparative approaches. He then describes two ways of classifying language projects and what researchers and granting agencies should be striving for in project classifications.

In Chapter Two, "A Psycholinguistic Assessment of Language Change in E. Indonesia," Amanda Hamilton, Jawee Perla, and Laura C. Robinson, evaluate the Hawai'i Assessment of Language Access (HALA). The aim of HALA was to determine whether psycholinguistic testing could determine language dominance in a bilingual or diglossic group as a prediction of language shift before sociolinguistic factors showed the shift already in progress. HALA measured speeds with which a speaker accesses the verbal representation of a given lexical item's pictorial representation. Slower L1 reaction could indicate language shift in progress. This was the predicted result for Adang [adn] when bilingual speakers of L1 Adang and Indonesian [ind] were tested.

In the Third Chapter, "Documentation of Endangered Sign Languages: The Case of Mardin Sign Language," authors Ulrike Zeshan and Hasan Dikyuva discuss a rural sign language of south-eastern Turkey. They differentiate sign languages that develop in urban environments and those like Mardin Sign Language (MarSL) which develop in rural communities, often due to high hereditary

deafness. In the rural communities, signed languages are often also used by hearing community members. The authors note the importance of participatory data collection and input into the production of documentary materials as a means of giving insight into the culture, as well as the language. Subsequent distribution of materials produced to the wider deaf community can promote understanding of cultural heritage.

Chapter Four, "Re-imagining Documentary Linguistics as a Revitalization-driven Practice," by David Nathan and Meili Fang, discusses how documentary linguistic corpora often fail to meet the needs of language revitalization. The chapter claims that documentary linguistics could support language teaching and learning, and challenges the idea that doing so would compromise the corpus. They suggest documenting the often neglected categories of emotion and intertextuality. The chapter advises that documenters would benefit from having pedagogical training, in addition to expected competencies in linguistics and fieldwork. It discusses curriculum development through community engagement and concludes with a brief discussion of accountability, ethics, and giving back to communities.

In Chapter Five, "Language Documentation and Community Interests", John Henderson promotes community-developed and -informed meta-documentation. Using the example of the Laves Protocol developed for Laves' 1931 corpus of Noongar ([nys] or possibly [xrg], on which, see further below) texts, Henderson discusses ten themes crucial to the development of community-oriented meta-documentation. His two primary conclusions are that: (1) communities should be involved in all aspects of documentation projects, including developing information that describes the corpus and its use, and (2) there are common issues to be addressed in all such documentation, and researchers should not only be aware of them, but also seek ways to engage with the community, as appropriate to specific contexts.

The Sixth Chapter, "American Indian Sign Language Documentary Linguistic Fieldwork and Digital Archive," by Jeffrey E. Davis, has a focus on Plains Indian Sign Language [psd], the most widespread and highly endangered variety of American Indian Sign Language (AISL). He explains the linguistic environment of AISL, discusses terminological issues, and notes that AISL is commonly used by both deaf and hearing community members. His work is multidisciplinary, with the goal of a growing corpus for AISL. His results show that AISL is not primitive, emblematic, or dying. In fact, it is typologically similar to other signed languages. He also concludes that the varieties of AISL are genetically related, having 80-90% lexical similarity. However, with only 50% lexical similarity with ASL, the two signed languages are not genetically related, but are in contact with some borrowing.

In Chapter 7, "Purism in Language Documentation and Description," Michael Riessler and Elena Karvovskaya discuss how purist attitudes among native

speakers of a language affect documentation and language planning. The authors note the paradoxical relationship purists have with revitalization efforts and state that their research shows "how puristic attitudes can... give rise to language variation and change." The authors explain that purist attitudes can have negative effects on language learners, while at the same time they are the ones agitating for the use of an endangered language and frequently "are among the most valuable resource persons and consultants." The authors use their study of focus particles in Kildin Saami [sjd] to illustrate their points, concluding that purist attitudes should be documented since they can actually cause language shift.

Chapter Eight, "Greek-speaking Enclaves in Pontus Today: The Documentation and Revitalization of Romeyka," by Ioanna Sitaridou, offers insight into one of Turkey's Muslim minority groups who speak an endangered variant of Pontic Greek. She assesses language vitality with female speakers of all ages and promotes a community-driven approach to revitalization in which Romeyka [pnt] speakers document their own language. Given Turkey's apparently changing attitude toward ethnic minorities, Sitaridou is cautiously optimistic about Romeyka's status in Turkey.

Initiating the section on pedagogy is the Ninth Chapter, "New Technologies and Pedagogy in Language Revitalization: The Case of *Te Reo Māori* in Aotearoa/New Zealand," which is a collaboration by Tania M. Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, and Muiris Ó Laoire. The authors claim that new technology should inform language learning and teaching in order to improve language revitalization efforts. The authors assert that a productive response to globalization is for minority language communities to find ways to interact with the wider communities they find themselves in, for example using globalization and its technology to their advantage. They illustrate their points using Te Reo Māori [mri], the indigenous language of Aotearoa, New Zealand, as a case study.

In Chapter Ten, "Teaching an Endangered Language in Virtual Reality," Hanna Outakoski reports that virtual reality can assist with revitalization projects, as illustrated by her North Saami [sme] work. While many Saami lack heritage language skills, the Saami situation is unique in that they are adept with technology, making online distance learning ideal. The project used a virtual-world platform, as well as traditional distance learning platforms. One advantage of the program was the use of avatars to provide anonymity that invited more risk-taking in speaking the language.

Chapter 11, "A Nomadic School in Siberia among Evenk Reindeer Herders," by Alexandra Lavrillier is about the Evenk [evn] language, spoken by 70,000 people, with the chapter's focus being a group in Siberia. From the 1930s to the 1950s, children were required to attend boarding schools, taught exclusively in Russian, with Russian-only instruction lasting until the 1980s. The written Evenk used today was standardized in the 1930s, making it unnatural and difficult for

modern Evenk people, due to how the language has changed. This incongruence demotivates Evenk children from learning to read it. Other barriers are a lack of governmental support and a lack of interaction between academics and the nomadic peoples. The implementation of a nomadic school allowed children to stay with their parents and still learn, and has made notable positive effects in the Evenk community.

Chapter 12, "Task-based Language Teaching Practices that Support Salish Language Revitalization," by Arieh Sherris, Tachini Pete, Lynn E. Thompson, and Erin Flynn Haynes, focuses on current efforts in curriculum, assessment, and material development for the Kalispel-Pend D'Oreille [fla] variety of Salish in a language immersion school for L2 learners in North Dakota. The authors report on the Salish Student Oral Proficiency Assessment, which consists of three proficiency levels and is used to rate L2 learners based on their ability to perform various tasks and their control of various linguistic structures. Testing indicated that students were not attaining the expected oral proficiency level and led to the development of teacher training workshops using task-based curricula for spoken interaction. The community may be able to use archived L1 speaker recordings to develop L2 learner tasks, demonstrating one way that language documentation can feed into curriculum development and thereby aid in revitalization efforts.

Finally come the chapters on revitalization. In Chapter 13, "Speakers and Language Revitalization: A Case Study of Guernésiais (Guernsey)," Yan Marquis and Julia Sallabank discuss Guernésiais [nrf] context and current revitalization efforts on Guernsey Island. The authors describe the history of the language, as well as factors contributing to its critical endangerment, noting specifically that the evacuation of children during WWII disrupted intergenerational transmission. Two current efforts to increase language use and visibility—a cultural festival and an after-school language program—have problems: (1) terminological conflicts, (2) sociolinguistic problems regarding who can make language decisions, (3) orthographies (or lack thereof), (4) deference to French, and (5) aversion to language change vis-a-vis appealing to (potential) younger users. The authors conclude that given the disagreement among stakeholders, the best course of action is to record fluent speakers and archive the data, in hopes that the corpus will contribute to future language learning materials.

In Chapter 14, "On the Revitalization of a 'Treasure Language': The Rama Language Project of Nicaragua," Colette Grinevald and Bénédicte Pivot review the Rama Language Project (RLP), giving a 25-year retrospective on Grinevald's Rama [rma] work. It includes a discussion of the sociopolitical backdrop of Nicaragua in the 1980s and how Grinevald came to be involved with the Nicaraguan government's efforts to save the Rama language.

Chapter 15, "Whistled Languages: Including Greek in the Continuum of Endangerment Situations and Revitalization Strategies," by Maria Kounell, Julien

Meyer, and Andrew Nevins, introduces whistled languages as varieties of corresponding spoken languages. Such whistled languages enable communication at greater distances than shouted speech. Two things have contributed to the decline of the whistled Greek of Antia village: fewer traditional activities and a decrease in population. The authors propose revitalization activities based on those which have had success in whistled languages elsewhere. They are optimistic about the future of Antia whistled Greek due to remaining high fluency levels in some speakers and motivation to preserve it in the remaining speakers.

In the Sixteenth Chapter, "What is Language Revitalization Really About? Competing Language Revitalization Movements in Provence," James Costa and Médéric Gasquet-Cyrus argue that competing approaches to language revitalization in Provençal (Occitan) [oci] have more to do with sociological than linguistic factors. They conclude that conflict is inherent to revitalization, such that "no revitalization movement can ever be homogenous." They suggest that sociolinguistic ideological studies could research the complex factors involved and people's motivations regarding language issues, with research findings contributing to more productive discussions amongst the groups.

Overall, we evaluate the book as not being appropriate as an introduction to documentary linguistics because it assumes familiarity with the documentary literature. We commend the book's division into three sections so that the chapters in each section form thematic units. While the target audiences overlap, one wonders why these sixteen studies were grouped together. What are the relationships between its sections?

Such cohesion issues could have been addressed in at least two ways. First, an introductory chapter by editors Jones and Ogilvie could have noted relationships both within and between sections. In addition, the editors could have required cross-referencing between the chapters themselves, which was only done once by Riessler and Karvovskaya, citing Austin's Chapter 1 in their Chapter 7. In our own reading, we noticed the following overlooked opportunities for cross-referencing: (a) Chapter 1 and Chapter 5 on meta-documentation; (b) Chapters 3 and 6 on rural sign languages; (c) Chapters 4 and 12, on pedagogy being a growth area for linguists; (d) Chapters 13 and 16, on the difficulties of revitalization where French is the language of wider communication; (e) Chapters 7 and 11, both on nomadic reindeer herders.

A further shortcoming, which would have required little effort to include, is the failure to identify languages through the use of internationally accepted codes like ISO 639-3. Unique identification of languages is critical in documentary linguistics. For example, in Chapter 5, we hypothesized the code [nys] for the language name "Noongar." But two possible options of ISO-639 codes for this language name are given in *Ethnologue* (SIL International, 2020). The code [nys] is given as an alternate name for Nyungar, and appears to be a cover term for a

group of at least six related varieties, each of which also has its own ISO code. One of these, also having Noongar as an alternate name, is Minang [xrg].

As it is, readers are left to impose their own coherence on the collection, which contributes numerous ways to improve our practice of language documentation as it relates to pedagogy and revitalization. The book's geographic coverage (excluding Africa), its divisions by academic domains, and its discussions of signed, whistled, and spoken languages, make it more of a sampler-pack than a collection of interrelated works.

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Koorevaar, Hendrik J., and Mart-Jan Paul, eds. 2016. *Theologie des Alten Testaments: Die bleibende Botschaft der hebräischen Bibel*. Giessen: Brunnen. 416 pp.

Theologie des Alten Testaments is a 2016 German translation of a work originally published in Dutch as *Theologie van het Oude Testament: de blijvende boodschap van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel* (Boekencentrum, 2013) by the faculty of Evangelische Theologische Faculteit (Leuven) and edited by Hendrick Koorevaar and Mart-Jan Paul. It is the result of many years of creative work by conservative Western European scholars who have proposed their own approach to studying biblical theology of the Old Testament (BTOT). The book is a scholarly publication aimed at students and experienced academics in the field of OT studies. It consists of four parts with nine contributing scholars.

The first part contains two chapters. In chapter one, Julius Steinberg offers readers a brief, but highly informative overview of the history of the academic study of BTOT from Luther and the Reformation to John Goldingay and contemporary scholarship (pp. 4–12). The author defines BT as "tracing the understanding of faith reflected in the OT and, accordingly, uncovering the theological significance of the corresponding texts" (pp. 3–4). It is followed by a discussion of models of BTOT in the 20th and 21st centuries (pp. 12–28), helpfully broken down into three groups: (1) thematic; (2) historical; and (3) literary or canonical.

In the second chapter, written by Steinberg and Koorevaar, the authors discuss methodology for doing BTOT and suggest 2 methods: (1) literary and theological (revealing the key topics presented in the center of the canon and at the seams); and (2) thematic (according to which all foundational topics are already mentioned in Genesis). This chapter also contains a brief description of the contents of the book (pp. 28–29).

The goal of the literary approach, according to the authors, is "to read the entire OT from the literary point of view, as it is intended to be read" (p. 30). BTOT, according to the literary model, is not limited to studying books in a specific order, but tries to compose a "theological structure," or a general message of the whole OT from the "bricks" found in each individual book (p. 30–31). As the general plan for their structure, the authors adopt the canonical order of the books of the OT, according to the list mentioned in Bava Batra in the Babylonian Talmud, instead of the more common grouping (Law-Prophets-Scriptures), based on the Torah. Unfortunately, as an example of their structural-theological approach, the authors offer only the analysis of Exodus-Leviticus.

Regarding the thematic method, the authors correctly note the problems in choosing topics. They propose the following six: creation, the ways of God, sin, the promise of a seed and calling of Abraham, the cult, possession of the land. Any attempt to write a BTOT faces the challenge of integrating Wisdom literature, which has long been considered a "stepchild" in this process. The authors attempt to resolve this problem by observing that "wisdom is not a theological field of study, but a certain way of life, a characteristic attitude towards reality" (p. 45), hence, "in the thematic approach it does not stand out as a separate topic, since it cannot be considered an independent theological theme" (p. 46). Nevertheless, the authors note that "wisdom is given the opportunity to speak out on any of the selected topics" (p. 46).

Regarding the historical dimension, the authors deservedly criticize the documentary hypothesis in particular and the historical-critical method as a whole (pp. 49–52). The authors propose their own approach to constructing BTOT, which they label "historical-canonical," in which "the historical material of the OT is used as a starting point" (p. 55). Thus, the OT is approached as having compositional unity and presenting historically reliable information, taking into account both the importance of the theological message (synchronic) and history (diachronic) and, as a result, observing the "fascinating picture of the whole OT" (p. 60).

Part two also consists of two chapters. The third chapter written by Koorevaar outlines the essence of the structural-canonical approach, which is based on the belief that "those who are somewhat responsible for completing the canon left the theological and didactic keys with which the message of the OT can be summarized in the form of several main thematic directions" (p. 64). Rejecting the order of books found in *BHS* (p. 66, footnote 8), the author prefers the so-called exile-return model (p. 70), in which special emphasis is made on the analysis of "seams," thematic trajectories in the "knots," the relationship between the beginnings and the endings of all three parts, as well as the canonical editing at the junctions of the main parts (which are [1] Genesis - 2 Kings or "the priestly canon;" [2] Jeremiah - Malachi or "the prophetic canon;" and [3] Ruth - Chronicles or "the wisdom canon"). Even though the author's approach seems well

thought out and fairly consistent, some controversial features, for example, the preferred canonical sequence of books or counting letters, numbers and sections, make it in certain parts too idiosyncratic and not entirely convincing.

The fourth chapter, once again authored by Koorevaar, illustrates the proposed method by turning to Exodus-Leviticus. The author assumes, "that initially these three books were conceptually perceived as a single whole" (p. 93). Despite the controversial nature of this statement, Koorevaar provides reasonable arguments in favor of the literary unity of these three books (pp. 94–97). Pages 93–127 represent, perhaps the most complex and interesting part of the book, namely the structural theology of Exodus-Leviticus. Intriguing textual observations, explanations and conclusions abound here, forcing the reader to delve deeper into the text, structure and message of this part of the Tanakh.

The third part of the book is the largest and contains chapters 5–10 (pp. 127–271), offering readers a thematic and theological analysis of the six topics mentioned above. Each topic is covered according to the following outline: (1) introduction; (2) the priestly canon; (3) the prophetic canon; (4) the wisdom canon; (5) conclusions. The last, fourth, part of the book is devoted to connecting the theology of OT with that of the NT.

Chapter 11 is dedicated to the intertestamental period (Lorein), and chapter 12 presents the New Testament as a continuation and completion of the Old (Mart-Jan Paul). It consists of both a general structural-canonical and thematic analysis of the NT, as well as the study of the continuity and discontinuity between the Testaments. In addition, the book has an extensive bibliography, a subject-index, and an index for both biblical and extrabiblical sources.

Undoubtedly, both beginning students and seasoned scholars will find this volume informative and thought-provoking. Of course, not everyone will find the method proposed here completely convincing. However, it will surely encourage the readers to evaluate their own positions, as well as sharpen their exegetical skills as they interact with textual observations made by the authors. This book is highly recommended for those who would like to become more familiar with the academic study of the Old Testament, especially from a conservative Christian Western European perspective.

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Merkle, Benjamin L., and Robert L. Plummer. 2017. *Greek for Life: Strategies for Learning, Retaining, and Reviving New Testament Greek.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 152 pp.

In a time when there seems to be a new emphasis on learning and using the biblical languages, there also seem to be few practical guides as to how a student

can effectively learn and retain the languages to which they may have been exposed in their theological education. This gap has now been effectively filled by Benjamin L. Merkle, professor of New Testament and Greek at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary and Robert L. Plummer, professor of New Testament Interpretation at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. *Greek for Life* gives the eager Greek student a careful and user-friendly guide to learning Greek effectively as well as sound advice on how to retain one's knowledge of Greek during ministry.

In the first chapter, Merkle and Plummer give the reader reasons to learn Greek in the first place, and the advantages gained by having a facility in the language. They also answer some objections to the claim that the existence of multitudes of English translations renders obsolete the need for a working understanding of Greek. After each chapter, the reader will find a devotional reflection from the Greek New Testament that shows the practical importance of knowing Greek, as well as a series of reflections that guide the reader in meditating on and applying the contents of the chapter.

One of the most valuable chapters in the book is entitled "Go to the Ant, You Sluggard." It discusses academic laziness, diligence, the plethora of distractions that are encountered in language acquisition, and includes a helpful section on time management. It is a convicting and candid lecture demonstrating that the greatest difficulty in learning Greek is a matter of discipline, not some special "gift for languages." Merkle and Plummer are honest in their exhortations, though also sensitive to those who are active and busy in ministry.

Chapter three stresses the value and importance of reviewing vocabulary and paradigms—two areas that are frequently neglected by those wanting to take shortcuts in learning Greek. Chapter four very helpfully discusses effective memorization techniques, discerned through fastidious research, that can be applied not only to Greek but to any area of academic study.

Chapter five gives the reader practical suggestions on how to incorporate Greek into their personal devotions and scripture memorization. Far too often in theological education, there is a gap between academics and spiritual growth. Merkle and Plummer show that this does not have to be the case and that the two actually complement one another.

Chapter six presents a multitude of resources available to maintain one's Greek through daily practice, such as phone apps, websites, blogs, videos, software, and discussion lists. The reader comes away thoroughly convinced that there is absolutely no reason why their Greek should languish or wither away from lack of use.

Another valuable chapter, entitled "Don't Waste Your Breaks," deals with how the Greek student can avoid losing their Greek skills over the winter and summer breaks. It gives resources, methods, and techniques to help students maintain their Greek while at home or away from their studies.

Merkle and Plummer's final chapter is expressly for those who have let their Greek skill wither and die due to the various duties of life and ministry. It offers hope to those who want to revive their Greek skill and effectively use it at a level they might once have known, through describing how one might accomplish such a task.

The book is written from a pastoral viewpoint with the average student in mind. Having a book like this over 35 years ago would have made a world of difference in this student's Greek experience. I highly recommend it to any Greek student, novice, or scholar. There is nothing quite like it on the market. The Greek student would do well to imitate the merchant in the parable who, after finding a pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had and bought it. Fortunately, it is inexpensive enough that it will not cost all that one has and is an investment that will repay its purchase price many times over in the benefits that one gleans from its wise and practical counsel. Every professor of Greek should make this required reading for every Greek class that they teach.

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Ogden, Graham S., and Lynell Zogbo. 2019. *A Handbook on Judges*. UBS Handbook Series. Miami: United Bible Societies. xii, 1008 pp.

It will not be surprising to avid users of the *UBS Handbook Series* that the editions produced in the last decade or so are markedly different from those of the earlier generation in the series. Having recently completed in my consultant work a reading of the recent publications of *Ezra/Nehemiah* (Noss and Thomas) and *Ezekiel* (Gross and Stine), the 1000+ page *Judges* Handbook is clearly in the scope of these later editions. It is marked by thorough scholarship of the original texts, alternative major language translations, and extensive exegetical and translation input and suggestions. While being careful not to overstate its presentation, it is hard not to regard the *Judges* Handbook as anything less than a masterpiece of Bible translation scholarship.

The Introduction to *Judges* is thorough, reviewing the major themes of the biblical writer, the key ideas addressed by the authors and their implications for translators, and the logical divisions of the text. Readers will note the productive subject heading introductions throughout the volume, including those which mark chapter, sections, and sub-sections. The verse-by-verse text, in a word, is comprehensive! It is thorough, both in the big picture, and in the minute details, especially as impacted by the text(s) of the LXX and the commentary provided by the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP). Similar to other offerings in the Handbook series, this volume addresses comments on the 'base texts' of the Good News Translation and the Revised Standard Version, in a similar fashion

to SIL's *Translator's Notes* series basing on the New International Version. However, *Judges* goes well beyond GNT and RSV commentary in its broad survey of translation renderings. There is in fact much verbiage on alternative translations and the resulting angles to consider; the underlying manuscripts; and, the various textual traditions. At some stage, the reader may wonder if this is too much information to process. But, when considering the purpose and scope of the authors, which is a comprehensive treatment on multiple levels, this also falls into line with their intentions.

There are some noticeable distinctives of *Judges*, which I have not found in other recent volumes I have read in the series. These no doubt have arisen from the authors' special interest, research, and experience. These include the following.

The first is an extensive presentation on the Hebrew word, or particle, *waw*. It seems that very few verses do not have some commentary on the meaning of *waw*, and how various translations render it. And this is true not just for how *waw* appears by itself, but in combination with other Hebrew words or markers. For example, the authors write this on Judges 9:42: "This verse begins with the Hebrew word *wayehi* (literally "And it was"), a marker that often begins a new episode. RSV does not render it, but translators can add an appropriate expression from their language. Many versions begin a new section here."

Another distinctive is a consistent focus on Hebrew discourse narrative. The student of Hebrew discourse will recognize the teaching and influence of Robert Longacre (popularized in his book *The Grammar of Discourse*), when the authors mention "high points", "climax", "action", "slowing down the camera", "participant reference/identification", "background information" and other such Longacre-esque terms. Chapter 3 of the Handbook noticeably employs several of these. The references to Longacre in fact position the Handbook to examine renderings well beyond word choices or how to translate a clause, surmising on how certain characteristics fit in the big picture of the entire Judges narrative. Here are three examples:

1. In chapter 19, the authors note: "It is very possible that this shifting is part of what Longacre calls a "zone of turbulence" which leads up to some climactic moment."
2. From 8:27: "The detailed description of the spoils of war in the previous verse is the storyteller's way of slowing down the story and building suspense. However, instead of a climax of victory, readers and listeners discover to their horror that Gideon, the chosen "savior" of Israel, is leading his people into idolatry."
3. From 14:3: "The audience is informed that the LORD is, in fact, putting a plan in place to punish the Philistines. If possible, translators should try to show this is background material by using an appropriate expression."

Another specialty interest of the authors is commentary and analysis on the

use of repetitive Hebrew sounds within a verse or section. While I have encountered some of this in other Handbooks, it is prevalent in *Judges*. For example, the authors write in chapter 12: "In the first sentence the consonants *ts*, *f* and *sh* are repeated, while in the last sentence the consonants *f* and *sh* are again prominent. These fricative sounds, which evoke fire, also occur in the final verse of this section (12.6), thus forming a kind of envelope around this literary unit." They offer a very helpful perspective and note on text classification and original use of these scriptures, reminding the readers that the "text was oral to begin with." Thus, they use this basis to justify their repeated discussions on the consistent and noticeable sounds emanating from the Hebrew texts.

Understanding the term 'rhetorical' in its classical sense, the reviewer notes a fair bit of commentary on the rhetorical sense of the text. While rhetorical analysis no doubt adds to the voluminous presentation, it is helpful for grasping the wider intentions of the biblical writer, and in turn provide background considerations for translation application. For example, in the well-known passage of Gideon and the fleece, the authors write: "In this verse (6:37), Gideon seems to be negotiating with the LORD. He wants to carry out an experiment to find out if what the LORD says will really happen. Theologians are divided as to how to interpret Gideon's attitude and act here. Is he showing his faith or doubting the LORD's word? It is better if translators can render this episode on a neutral note, so readers and listeners can draw their own conclusions. Gideon first states what he will do and then the conditions under which he will decide whether to believe the LORD. He will carry out his experiment twice, to make sure he is drawing the right conclusion."

In the Introduction to the volume, the authors prepare the readers for some higher-level terminology, such as *inclusio* and enallage ('third person and first person reference to the same person'). Some of these specialty terms are used often, but are perhaps not very transparent on their own as commonly-used terms by those with certain levels of education or experience. Thus, these terms are indeed useful for understanding author intent in *Judges*, but are perhaps not necessarily 'friendly' for lesser-educated MTTs, but will be of more use to those with a university education background.

In addition to major language translation renderings, the authors offer some local or minority language examples, though seemingly all from Africa. No doubt this arises from the background experience of at least one of the authors. These are useful considerations, and if supplemented by other language areas would perhaps be even more useful. And these are offered not just in back-translation type examples, but also from details related to a discourse perspective. For example, the authors write at one point: "However, RSV and many other versions prefer to cast this independent clause as a dependent time clause. Indeed, in many African languages dependent clauses often lead

up to a climax." That is helpful cross-linguistic information which will no doubt stimulate the practitioner to further consideration.

Even with its comprehensive approach, there are some terms or concepts that could use more input. For example, the rendering of clay pots in Judges 7 does not receive a thorough explanation or alternative. As I considered the rendering in the language I was consulting on, I realized that this is an unknown term, and translation input would be appreciated. On the other hand, it was instructive to read their comments on the simple term 'door' (noting that in this reviewer's experience, this term has never been an issue). The authors write in 19:22, that "...you will need to address 'door' in the Bible. "Beating on the door": Beating renders a Hebrew participle meaning "beat continually and violently." CEV renders this clause well by saying "and started banging on the door." NJB has "they battered the door." In some cultures houses may not have doors, so translators may say "they angrily announced their arrival."

In summary, the UBS Handbook on *Judges* is a highly welcomed addition to the field of Bible translation scholarship. Its broad scope and specialty distinctives will be appreciated for many years to come by translation scholars and practitioners.

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Theophilos, Michael P. 2020. *Numismatics and Greek Lexicography*. London: T&T Clark. 296 pp.

Michael Theophilos wants to change the way scholars think about Greek lexicography by providing both a method and an example of how numismatic evidence (i.e., study of coins) can contribute to the discipline. In his own words, Theophilos writes that "[t]he goal of this volume is to bring two distinct areas of historical enquiry, namely numismatics and post-classical Greek lexicography, into a more fruitful dialogue. In so doing, this volume aims to cover new methodological ground as well as application of the theory to New Testament studies" (p. 3). The book is divided into two sections, including several chapters that explore the history and methodology for studying numismatics as well as several cases studies that explore how numismatic evidence can add value to New Testament exegesis.

Part One consists of an introduction (pp. 3–18), the history of coinage (pp. 19–42), the study of coinage (pp. 43–70), and critical issues in the appeal to coinage (pp. 71–101). These studies provide a methodological foundation for the project and also a justification for the use of coins in lexicographic studies. In addition to providing useful information about where to find published information regarding numismatic evidence, Theophilos explores the problems and prospects

of using coins as evidence. For example, are coins simply propaganda of rulers who mint coins (pp. 71–76)? Did ancient people actually pay attention to coins (pp. 76–77)? Do coins present only a truncated view of the upper-class elite (pp. 77–78)? Each of these questions is addressed as Theophilos seeks to justify his use of coins in the study of Greek lexicography.

Theophilos also addresses the lack of and, sometimes, misuse of numismatic evidence in Greek lexicography, especially trusted lexicons. For example, BDAG (3rd ed., 2000) contains fifty-four references to coins/numismatics in its thousands of entries. Only five of these references have any bearing on the meaning of the lexeme under discussion (p. 8). Yet, even the five examples included in BDAG are seriously deficient, dated, and even misleading (p. 9). As Theophilos shows, an investment in more comprehensive and rigorous work on numismatics has the potential to reap great dividends for Greek lexicography.

Part Two consists of seven case studies on the following lexemes: φίλος (pp. 105–14), καρποφόρος (pp. 115–26), νεωκόρος (pp. 127–42), θεός, ἐλευθερία, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, κάβειρος (pp. 143–63), χαρακτήρ (pp. 165–73), κτίστης (pp. 175–91), βασιλεὺς βασιλέων (pp. 193–215). Space does not permit a full summary and review of each chapter, so I will focus on a few examples to illustrate the pay-offs for Greek lexicography and New Testament exegesis.

In his study of φίλος, Theophilos notes "the alleged tension in John 15 between 'friendship' and 'obedience.'" The key text is John 15:14: ὑμεῖς φίλοι μού ἐστε ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ("you are my φίλοι if you do what I command you"). While most interpreters rely upon standard lexicons (e.g., BDAG) to arrive at a meaning of the word in the domain of emotion and friendship, Theophilos demonstrates that the numismatic evidence provides a much-needed corrective to the assumed semantic domain of the ΦΙΛ-lexeme. Surveying coins dating from 96 BCE to 81 CE, Theophilos discusses various expressions that appear on coins: e.g., "friend of Caesar," "friend of the emperor," "friendship and allegiance," etc. Theophilos concludes that "when one takes into consideration the numismatic material in conjunction with the literary evidence, a substantial case can be made that the ΦΙΛ-lexeme includes not merely an emotional or personal dimension of friendship, but also the dimension of obligation" (114). The use of φίλος in John 15:14 with the sense of obligation is not only understandable but natural in a context where fidelity and allegiance to Jesus is expected. Although Theophilos's summary of the evidence of BDAG is correct, I note that other lexicons such as The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek and A Greek-English Lexicon (Liddell, Scott, and Jones) could have been helpful for New Testament exegetes. Both lexicons indicate that φίλος was used as a title in the court of the Ptolemies, suggesting a sense similar to that suggested by the numismatic evidence. This observation does not negate Theophilos's contribution, but rather underscores the idea that external evidence and resources are needed to understand and interpret the New Testament correctly.

A second example is the discussion of κτίστης (1 Pet 4:19), which is typically translated as "creator" in modern English Bibles. Theophilos demonstrates that the numismatic record broadens the semantic domain of κτίστης "beyond this strict category of cosmological creator" (p. 176). Drawing upon coins with wide geographic distribution, he shows that κτίστης was a regular designation for kings, especially to refer to a ruler as a founder of a city or a people. The pay-off here is two-fold. First, 1 Pet 4:19 can now be read as an encouragement that God has founded the Christian community and stands over it as its ruler. A corollary of this first point is that members of the community must obey their ruler (p. 191). Second, Theophilos rightly draws attention to the potential criticism of the Roman empire implied by this terminology. Whereas κτίστης was a common term used in Roman and Greek propaganda, the author of 1 Pet 4:19 applies the same title to God, re-asserting "God's providential role and ultimate authority over the inhabitants of cities throughout Asia Minor" (p. 190). Here, again, there is a significant methodological lesson to be learned. As Theophilos notes, most NT scholars and Bible translations explain and translate κτίστης in light of the verb κτίζω. The rationale for this appears to be that κτίστης is a hapax legomenon. But knowledge of the numismatic evidence shows that κτίστης could have a different connotation than κτίζω.

Finally, although not technically part of the case studies in Part Two, Theophilos has a fascinating excursus on "the buying power of coinage in antiquity" (pp. 92–101) that includes several tables that compare the relative values of coins in various geographic locations and times. While this information is useful for many purposes, Theophilos brings this information to bear on Matt 20:2, which in the NRSV is translated as "for the usual daily wage" (ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν). He points out that the word "usual" has no basis in the Greek text and is a misrepresentation of the first-century economy. What Theophilos shows is that in comparable evidence in the first century CE, the approximate day-rate for work would have been 0.4575 denarii. In Matt 20:1–16, the landowner who agrees to pay one denarius would have been thought of as "overly generous in offering what would be at least 100 percent more than the expected norm for this type of manual labour" (99).

One can only hope that the implications of *Numismatics and Greek Lexicography* are capitalized upon by scholars interested in Greek lexicography and exegesis of the New Testament. The cases studies should prove useful for exegetes working on New Testament texts with the key terminology he includes. The methodological discussion has the potential to help shape the future of Greek lexicography and, especially, the tools upon which students and scholars rely. Theophilos's study is sure to leave an impression on the field. Scholars of the New Testament and early Christianity are in his debt.

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Short Notices

Noss, Philip A., and Charles S. Houser, eds. 2019. *A Guide to Bible Translation: People, Languages, and Topics*. History of Bible Translation 4. Swindon, England: United Bible Societies. 1012 pp.

This massive volume is the fourth installment in UBS's series "History of Bible Translation" and complements the first volume of the series, *A History of Bible Translation* (ed. Noss, rev. ed. 2011). It divides into three sections: People, Languages, and Topics. Noss wrote a useful introduction to each section to help the reader understand the criteria for inclusion and the issues at hand. The People section provides short entries on 153 significant Bible translators, ranging from one to several paragraphs (Luther seems to be the longest entry at twelve paragraphs). The Languages section contains entries on key languages, including those of the earliest Bible translations and those of great significance in the modern period. The Topics section is by far the largest at around 600 pages. Its 400 entries range from a short paragraph to several-page discussions.

The 180 contributors represent a variety of Bible translation organizations, universities, and (importantly) nations. Five contributors translated articles from Italian, Spanish, Russian, and Estonian. The physical copy is a larger trim size to accommodate the content and to ensure that the binding will hold through frequent use, although those with limited shelf space will be happy to know that as I write this, the Kindle version is available for $9.99 on Amazon.

There is no doubt that editors Noss and Houser, as well as the United Bible Societies and all those involved, should be proud of this useful and professionally produced volume. Bible translators, missionaries, students, and missiologists will be served by consulting the volume as needed. Consultants and translators may appreciate having it on hand as they encounter translation problems and seek a quick entry on a topic for illumination.

T. A. S.

Brown, Keith, and Jim Miller. 2019. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 481 pp.

This dictionary was first published in 2013 but became available as a more affordable paperback in 2019. The editors produced the volume especially for use by students in linguistics programs or courses, especially those within the British

university system. At around 3,000 entries in just under 500 pages, the entries are brief snippets. Some are only a sentence-long definition, while others are a short paragraph, and a few (e.g., the entry on the IPA) are brief in explanation but accompanied by one or more charts.

The volume is affordable in paperback and is available for Kindle. Students of linguistics will find it especially helpful as they are constantly attempting to remember the new terms they encounter. Missionaries and translators might find the dictionary handy as they continue to read linguistic literature and need refreshers on terminology and theories. Scholars may find the volume useful for short, citable definitions.

T. A. S.